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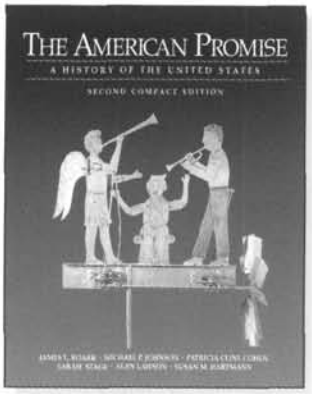
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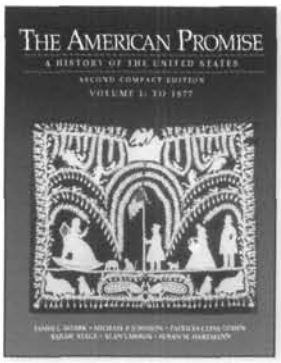
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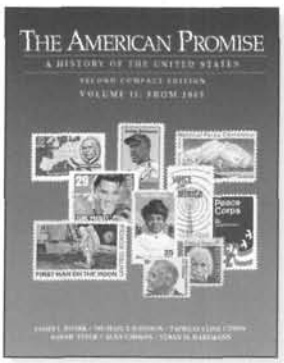
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Contents

VOLUME 107 • NUMBER 5 • DECEMBER 2002

In This Issue xiv

Articles

The Devil in the Convent
BY MOSHE SLUHOVSKY 1379

From Majesty to Mystery: Change in the Meanings of Black Madonnas from the Sixteenth to Nineteenth Centuries
BY MONIQUE SCHEER 1412

A Small Way of Saying "No": Moscow Working Men, Spartak Soccer, and the Communist Party, 1900–1945
BY ROBERT EDELMAN 1441

Review Essays: Beyond the Cultural Turn

Introduction 1475

Back and Beyond: Reversing the Cultural Turn?
BY RONALD GRIGOR SUNY 1476

A Response to *Beyond the Cultural Turn*
BY PATRICK BRANTLINGER 1500

Cultural Theory in History Today
BY RICHARD HANDLER 1513

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Reviews of Books

METHODS/THEORY

RONALD INDEN, JONATHAN WALTERS, and DAUD ALI. *Querying the Medieval: Texts and the History of Practices in South Asia.*
By Stewart Gordon 1521

ROGER D. MARKWICK. *Rewriting History in the Soviet Russia: The Politics of Revisionist Historiography, 1956–1974.*
By Chris Ward 1522

PAUL K. LONGMORE and LAURI UMANSKY, editors. *The New Disability History: American Perspectives.*
By John Vickrey Van Cleve 1523

BRUCE MAZLISH. *The Uncertain Sciences.*
By Richard Olson 1524

COMPARATIVE/WORLD

SCOTT GORDON. *Controlling the State: Constitutionalism from Ancient Athens to Today.*
By Herman Belz 1525

JAMES C. RILEY. *Rising Life Expectancy: A Global History.*
By Andrew Hinde 1526

DAVID A. GERBER, editor. *Disabled Veterans in History.*
By James M. Diehl 1527

MEREDITH BALDWIN WEDDLE. *Walking in the Way of Peace: Quaker Pacifism in the Seventeenth Century.*
By Louise A. Breen 1528

PETER LINEBAUGH and MARCUS REDIKER. *The Many-Headed Hydra: Sailors, Slaves, Commoners, and the Hidden History of the Revolutionary Atlantic.*
By Kathleen J. Higgins 1529

BLAIR A. RUBLE. *Second Metropolis: Pragmatic Pluralism in Gilded Age Chicago, Silver Age Moscow, and Meiji Osaka.*
By Louise McReynolds 1530

JONATHAN S. MCMURRAY. *Distant Ties: Germany, the Ottoman Empire, and the Construction of the Baghdad Railway.*
By Allan Mitchell 1531

TAMI DAVIS BIDDLE. *Rhetoric and Reality in Air Warfare: The Evolution of British and American Ideas about Strategic Bombing, 1914–1945.*
By Michael S. Neiberg 1531

YEVETTE RICHARDS. *Maida Springer: Pan-Africanist and International Labor Leader.*
By Penny Von Eschen 1532

ERIC T. JENNINGS. *Vichy in the Tropics: Pétain's National Revolution in Madagascar, Guadeloupe, and Indochina, 1940–1944.*
By John Kent 1533

PHILLIP C. NAYLOR. *France and Algeria: A History of Decolonization and Transformation.*
By Joshua Cole 1534

WYATT WELLS. *Antitrust and the Formation of the Postwar World.*
By Marc Allen Eisner 1535

LARA V. MARKS. *Sexual Chemistry: A History of the Contraceptive Pill.*
By Donald T. Critchlow 1536

ASIA

ALAN J. BERKOWITZ. *Patterns of Disengagement: The Practice and Portrayal of Reclusion in Early Medieval China.*
By Chun-shu Chang 1537

RANDALL A. DODGEN. *Controlling the Dragon: Confucian Engineers and the Yellow River in Late Imperial China.*
By Roxann Prazniak 1537

PHILIP C. C. HUANG. *Code, Custom, and Legal Practice in China: The Qing and the Republic Compared.*
By Albert Feuerwerker 1538

NEIL J. DIAMANT. *Revolutionizing the Family: Politics, Love, and Divorce in Urban and Rural China, 1949–1968.*
By Stanley Rosen 1539

BARBARA J. BROOKS. *Japan's Imperial Diplomacy: Consuls, Treaty Ports, and War in China 1895–1938.*
By Michael A. Barnhart 1540

LEO T. S. CHING. *Becoming "Japanese": Colonial Taiwan and the Politics of Identity Formation.*
By Frederick R. Dickinson 1541

E. TAYLOR ATKINS. *Blue Nippon: Authenticating Jazz in Japan.*
By Michael H. Kater 1542

MICHAEL SALMAN. *The Embarrassment of Slavery: Controversies over Bondage and Nationalism in the American Colonial Philippines.*
By Paul A. Kramer 1543

CANADA AND THE UNITED STATES

BRUCE CURTIS. *The Politics of Population: State Formation, Statistics, and the Census of Canada, 1840–1875.*
By Theodore M. Porter 1544

MARGARET DERRY. *Ontario's Cattle Kingdom: Purebred Breeders and Their World, 1870–1920.*
By Brooks Blevins 1545

KENNETH MICHAEL SYLVESTER. *The Limits of Rural Capitalism: Family, Culture, and Markets in Montcalm, Manitoba, 1870–1940.*
By Catherine Cavanaugh 1545

MIRIAM WRIGHT. *A Fishery for Modern Times: The State and the Industrialization of the Newfoundland Fishery, 1934–1968.*
By Bill Parenteau 1546

JOHN SEELYE. *Memory's Nation: The Place of Plymouth Rock.*
By Robert A. Gross 1547

ROBERT W. T. MARTIN. *The Free and Open Press: The Founding of American Democratic Press Liberty, 1640–1800.*
By Jeffery A. Smith 1548

PHYLLIS WHITMAN HUNTER. *Purchasing Identity in the Atlantic World: Massachusetts Merchants, 1670–1780.*
By Alison Games 1549

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KIRSTEN FISCHER. *Suspect Relations: Sex, Race, and Resistance in Colonial North Carolina.*
By Martha Hodes 1550

JULIE WINCH. *A Gentleman of Color: The Life of James Forten.*
By Hugh Davis 1550

KEITH L. DOUGHERTY. *Collective Action under the Articles of Confederation.*
By John P. Kaminski 1551

SANDRA F. VANBURKLEO. *"Belonging to the World": Women's Rights and American Constitutional Culture.*
By Mary Frances Berry 1552

KENNETH R. MAYER. *With the Stroke of the Pen: Executive Orders and Presidential Power.*
By Michael A. Palmer 1553

STEPHEN F. KNOTT. *Alexander Hamilton and the Persistence of Myth.*
By James M. Banner, Jr. 1554

JAMES P. RONDA. *Finding the West: Explorations with Lewis and Clark.*
By Mary Lee Spence 1555

JONATHAN D. SASSI. *A Republic of Righteousness: The Public Christianity of the Post-Revolutionary New England Clergy.*
By Peter S. Field 1555

WILLIAM F. HARTFORD. *Money, Morals, and Politics: Massachusetts in the Age of the Boston Associates.*
By Frederic Cople Jaher 1556

JAMES W. COOK. *The Arts of Deception: Playing with Fraud in the Age of Barnum;* BENJAMIN REISS. *The Showman and the Slave: Race, Death, and Memory in Barnum's America.*
By Paul Reddin 1557

GREGG D. KIMBALL. *American City, Southern Place: A Cultural History of Antebellum Richmond.*
By Kathleen C. Berkeley 1558

ALEX BONTEMPS. *The Punished Self: Surviving Slavery in the Colonial South.*
By Michael A. Gomez 1559

MARILYN IRVIN HOLT. *Indian Orphanages.*
By Robert A. Trennert 1560

MARVIN R. O'CONNELL. *Edward Sorin.*
By Mary Jo Weaver 1561

DOUGLAS MORGAN. *Adventism and the American Republic: The Public Involvement of a Major Apocalyptic Movement.*
By Ruth Alden Doan 1562

MATTHEW G. HANNAH. *Governmentality and the Mastery of Territory in Nineteenth-Century America.*
By Bruce Curtis 1562

LINDA E. SMEINS. *Building an American Identity: Pattern Book Homes and Communities, 1870–1900.*
By Alexander von Hoffman 1564

CATHERINE COCKS. *Doing the Town: The Rise of Urban Tourism in the United States, 1850–1915.*
By Jon Sterngass 1564

DAVID IGLER. *Industrial Cowboys: Miller and Lux and the Transformation of the Far West, 1850–1920.*
By Donald C. Jackson 1565

KEITH L. BRYANT, JR. *Culture in the American Southwest: The Earth, the Sky, the People.*
By Dan Flores 1566

PATRICIA A. SCHECHTER. *Ida B. Wells-Barnett and American Reform, 1880–1930.*
By Allen F. Davis 1566

JEAN BETHKE ELSHTAIN. *Jane Addams and the Dream of American Democracy: A Life.*
By Katherine G. Aiken 1567

ERIC RAUCHWAY. *The Refuge of Affections: Family and American Reform Politics, 1900–1920.*
By Elizabeth J. Clapp 1568

NIKKI MANDELL. *The Corporation as Family: The Gendering of Corporate Welfare, 1890–1930.*
By Angel Kwolek-Folland 1569

MICHAEL REISCH and JANICE ANDREWS. *The Road Not Taken: A History of Radical Social Work in the United States.*
By Kriste Lindenmeyer 1570

KIRSTEN SWINTH. *Painting Professionals: Women Artists and the Development of Modern American Art, 1870–1930;* LAURA R. PRIETO. *At Home in the Studio: The Professionalization of Women Artists in America.*
By Karen J. Blair 1571

CAROLYN KITCH. *The Girl on the Magazine Cover: The Origins of Visual Stereotypes in American Mass Media.*
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MARK ELLIS. *Race, War, and Surveillance: African Americans and the United States Government during World War I.*
By William G. Jordan 1573

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By Merline Pitre 1574

KAREN BUHLER-WILKERSON. *No Place Like Home: A History of Nursing and Home Care in the United States.*
By Beatrix Hoffman 1574

JONATHAN ENGEL. *Doctors and Reformers: Discussion and Debate over Health Policy, 1925–1950.*
By Sandra Opdycke 1575

JILL WATTS. *Mae West: An Icon in Black and White.*
By Thomas Doherty 1576

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By Regina Lee Blaszczyk 1577

MORTON KELLER and PHYLLIS KELLER. *Making Harvard Modern: The Rise of America's University.*
By John R. Thelin 1578

JUSTUS D. DOENECKE. *Storm on the Horizon: The Challenge to American Intervention, 1939–1941.*
By John D. Chappell 1579

KENNETH WILLIAM TOWNSEND. *World War II and the American Indian.*
By Alison Bernstein 1580

CAROLINE CHUNG SIMPSON. *An Absent Presence: Japanese Americans in Postwar American Culture, 1945–1960.*
By Henry Yu 1581

XIAOJIAN ZHAO. *Remaking Chinese America: Immigration, Family, and Community, 1940–1965.*
By George Anthony Peffer 1582

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By Gary R. Hess 1583

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By Kristin Hoganson 1584

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PAUL BUHLE and DAVE WAGNER. *A Very Dangerous Citizen: Abraham Lincoln Polonsky and the Hollywood Left.*
By Richard Gid Powers 1586

JEROME F. SHAPIRO. *Atomic Bomb Cinema: The Apocalyptic Imagination on Film.*
By Kenneth D. Rose 1587

KIRSE GRANAT MAY. *Golden State, Golden Youth: The California Image in Popular Culture, 1955–1966.*
By Marguerite S. Shaffer 1588

JAMESON W. DOIG. *Empire on the Hudson: Entrepreneurial Vision and Political Power at the Port of New York Authority.*
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By Melvyn Dubofsky 1592

KENNETH C. WOLENSKY, NICOLE H. WOLENSKY, and ROBERT P. WOLENSKY. *Fighting for the Union Label: The Women's Garment Industry and the ILGWU in Pennsylvania.*
By Xiaolan Bao 1593

JOHN HINSHAW. *Steel and Steelworkers: Race and Class Struggle in Twentieth-Century Pittsburgh.*
By James D. Rose 1594

STEPHEN G. N. TUCK. *Beyond Atlanta: The Struggle for Racial Equality in Georgia, 1940–1980.*
By Jack E. Davis 1595

ALLISON GRAHAM. *Framing the South: Hollywood, Television, and Race during the Civil Rights Struggle.*
By Randall M. Miller 1596

MARK NEWMAN. *Getting Right with God: Southern Baptists and Desegregation, 1945–1995.*
By Charles H. Lippy 1596

JOHN P. JACKSON, JR. *Social Scientists for Social Justice: Making the Case against Segregation.*
By Vernon J. Williams, Jr. 1597

HENRY L. MINTON. *Departing from Deviance: A History of Homosexual Rights and Emancipatory Science in America.*
By Vernon A. Rosario 1598

M. L. TINA STEVENS. *Bioethics in America: Origins and Cultural Politics.*
By Leslie J. Reagan 1599

JOSEPH A. PALERMO. *In His Own Right: The Political Odyssey of Senator Robert F. Kennedy.*
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By Ada Ferrer 1605

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By Claudia Swan 1628

FRANCIS HASKELL. *The Ephemeral Museum: Old Master Paintings and the Rise of the Art Exhibition.*
By Marcia Pointon 1629

EAMON DUFFY. *The Voices of Morebath: Reformation and Rebellion in an English Village.*
By Roger B. Manning 1630

STEPHEN GAUKROGER. *Francis Bacon and the Transformation of Early-Modern Philosophy.*
By James R. Jacob 1631

CYNDIA SUSAN CLEGG. *Press Censorship in Jacobean England.*
By Harold Weber 1631

JANELLE GREENBERG. *The Radical Face of the Ancient Constitution: St. Edward's "Laws" in Early Modern Political Thought.*
By Mary Hill Cole 1632

DAVID LEMMINGS. *Professors of the Law: Barristers and English Legal Culture in the Eighteenth Century.*
By Norma Landau 1633

FRANK LORENZ MÜLLER. *Britain and the German Question: Perceptions of Nationalism and Political Reform, 1830–63.*
By Scott W. Murray 1634

MARJORIE MORGAN. *National Identities and Travel in Victorian Britain.*
By Michael Saler 1635

DAVID WRIGHT. *Mental Disability in Victorian England: The Earlswood Asylum, 1847–1901.*
By Allan Ingram 1636

L. A. CLARKSON and E. MARGARET CRAWFORD. *Feast and Famine: Food and Nutrition in Ireland 1500–1920.*
By Michael Turner 1637

DAVID A. BELL. *The Cult of the Nation in France: Inventing Nationalism, 1680–1800.*
By Robert Tombs 1638

CARLA HESSE. *The Other Enlightenment: How French Women Became Modern.*
By Joan B. Landes 1638

PHYLLIS H. STOCK-MORTON. *The Life of Marie d'Agoult, alias Daniel Stern.*
By Alison Finch 1639

JEREMY D. POPKIN. *Press, Revolution, and Social Identities in France 1830–1835.*
By Simon Burrows 1640

AVNER BEN-AMOS. *Funerals, Politics, and Memory in Modern France, 1789–1996.*
By Philip Nord 1641

ANNE COVA. *Au service de l'église, de la patrie et de la famille: Femmes catholiques et maternité sous la III^e^ République.*
By Elinor A. Accampo 1642

ISABELLE VEYRAT-MASSON. *Quand la télévision explore le temps: L'histoire au petit écran, 1953–2000.*
By Charles Rearick 1643

RUDOLF DEKKER. *Childhood, Memory and Autobiography in Holland: From the Golden Age to Romanticism.*
By Anne E. C. McCants 1644

GÖRAN MALMSTEDT. *Bondetro och kyrkoro: Religiös mentalitet i stormaktstidens Sverige.*
By Harald Gustafsson 1645

JONAS NORDIN. *Ett fattigt men fritt folk: Nationell och politisk självbild i Sverige från sen stormaktstid till slutet av frihetstiden.*
By Göran Rystad 1646

CHARLOTTE TORNBJER. *Den nationella modern: Moderskap i konstruktioner av svensk nationell gemenskap under 1900-talets första hälft.*
By Pirjo Markkola 1647

RISTO PELTOVUORI. *Sankarikansa ja kavaltajat: Suomi Kolmannen valtakunnan lehdistössä 1940–1944.*
By Pekka Kalevi Hamalainen 1648

ELISHEVA CARLEBACH. *Divided Souls: Converts from Judaism in Germany, 1500–1750.*
By Deborah Hertz 1649

KAREN HAGEMANN. *"Mannlicher Muth und Teutsche Ehre": Nation, Militär und Geschlecht zur Zeit der Antinapoleonischen Kriege Preußens.*
By Philip G. Dwyer 1650

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

JEAN H. QUATAERT. *Staging Philanthropy: Patriotic Women and the National Imagination in Dynastic Germany, 1813–1916.*
By Helmut Walser Smith 1651

ANDREW ZIMMERMAN. *Anthropology and Antihumanism in Imperial Germany.*
By Woodruff D. Smith 1652

ALASTAIR R. THOMPSON. *Left Liberals, the State, and Popular Politics in Wilhelmine Germany.*
By John F. Flynn 1653

JOHN HORNE and ALAN KRAMER. *German Atrocities, 1914: A History of Denial.*
By Jeffrey Verhey 1653

GOPAL BALAKRISHNAN. *The Enemy: An Intellectual Portrait of Carl Schmitt.*
By Roderick Stackelberg 1654

PAUL JULIAN WEINDLING. *Epidemics and Genocide in Eastern Europe 1890–1945.*
By Geoffrey Cocks 1656

MICHAEL THAD ALLEN. *The Business of Genocide: The SS, Slave Labor, and the Concentration Camps.*
By Jan Erik Schulte 1657

MICHAEL L. HUGHES. *Shouldering the Burdens of Defeat: West Germany and the Reconstruction of Social Justice.*
By Peter H. Merkl 1658

ROBERT G. MOELLER. *War Stories: The Search for a Usable Past in the Federal Republic of Germany.*
By Hanna Schissler 1659

SHELDON R. ANDERSON. *A Cold War in the Soviet Bloc: Polish-East German Relations, 1945–1962.*
By John Connelly 1660

LARRY WOLFF. *Venice and the Slavs: The Discovery of Dalmatia in the Age of Enlightenment.*
By Traian Stoianovich 1661

EMANUELA SCARPELLINI. *Comprare all'americana: Le origini della rivoluzione commerciale in Italia 1945–1971.*
By Jonathan Morris 1661

MARIA BUCUR and NANCY M. WINGFIELD, editors. *Staging the Past: The Politics of Commemoration in Habsburg Central Europe, 1848 to the Present.*
By Alon Confino 1662

KEELY STAUTER-HALSTAD. *The Nation in the Village: The Genesis of Peasant National Identity in Austrian Poland, 1848–1914.*
By William W. Hagen 1663

DANIEL STONE. *The Polish-Lithuanian State, 1386–1795.*
By J. T. Lukowski 1665

VIRGIL KRAPAUSKAS. *Nationalism and Historiography: The Case of Nineteenth-Century Lithuanian Historicism.*
By Saulius Suziedelis 1666

ANDREW WILSON. *The Ukrainians: Unexpected Nation.*
By Orest Subtelny 1667

ULRIKE TISCHLER. *Die habsburgische Politik gegenüber den Serben und Montenegrinern 1791–1822: Förderung oder Vereinnahmung?*
By Robin Okey 1667

ROBERT P. GERACI and MICHAEL KHODARKOVSKY, editors. *Of Religion and Empire: Missions, Conversion, and Tolerance in Tsarist Russia.*
By Gregory L. Bruess 1668

DAVID KERANS. *Mind and Labor on the Farm in Black-Earth Russia, 1861–1914.*
By Yanni Kotsonis 1669

SARI AUTIO. *Suunnitelmatalous Neuvosto-Karjalassa 1928–1941: Paikallistason rooli Neuvostoliiton teollistamisessa.*
By Timo Vihavainen 1670

MELANIE ILIČ. *Women Workers in the Soviet Interwar Economy: From "Protection" to "Equality."*
By William B. Husband 1671

MIDDLE EAST AND NORTHERN AFRICA

RONEN SHAMIR. *The Colonies of Law: Colonialism, Zionism and Law in Early Mandate Palestine.*
By Rashid Khalidi 1672

CAESAR E. FARAH. *The Politics of Interventionism in Ottoman Lebanon, 1830–1861.*
By Karl K. Barbir 1673

ELIZABETH THOMPSON. *Colonial Citizens: Republican Rights, Paternal Privilege, and Gender in French Syria and Lebanon.*
By Margaret L. Meriwether 1674

HOURI BERBERIAN. *Armenians and the Iranian Constitutional Revolution of 1905–1911: "The Love for Freedom Has No Fatherland."*
By Ervand Abrahamian 1675

SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA

BENGT SUNDKLER and CHRISTOPHER STEED. *A History of the Church in Africa.*
By Charles W. Weber 1676

JAN ROGOZIŃSKI. *Honor Among Thieves: Captain Kidd, Henry Every, and the Pirate Democracy in the Indian Ocean.*
By Kris Lane 1676

NEMATA AMELIA BLYDEN. *West Indians in West Africa, 1808–1880: The African Diaspora in Reverse.*
By Mac Dixon-Fyle 1677

JOHANNES FABIAN. *Out of Our Minds: Reason and Madness in the Exploration of Central Africa.*
By Jonathan Sadowsky 1678

LYN SCHUMAKER. *Africanizing Anthropology: Fieldwork, Networks, and the Making of Cultural Knowledge in Central Africa.*
By George W. Stocking, Jr. 1679

JOCELYN ALEXANDER, JOANN MCGREGOR, and TERENCE RANGER. *Violence and Memory: One Hundred Years in the "Dark Forests" of Matabeleland.*
By Jane L. Parpart 1680

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Film Reviews

THE TICHBORNE CLAIMANT. Directed by David Yates. By Rohan McWilliam 1682

THE CAT'S MEOW. Directed by Peter Bogdanovich. By John C. Tibbetts 1683

MADAME SATÃ. Directed by Karim Aïnouz. CIDADE DE DEUS [*City of God*]. Directed by Fernando Meirelles. ÔNIBUS [*Bus 174*]. Directed by José Padilha. By Darién Davis 1684

PATH TO WAR. Directed by John Frankenheimer. By Nicholas J. Cull 1685

Collected Essays

METHODS/THEORY

BRIAN KEITH AXEL, editor. *From the Margins: Historical Anthropology and Its Future.* 1687

COMPARATIVE/WORLD

ECKHARDT FUCHS and BENEDIKT STUCHTEY, editors. *Across Cultural Borders: Historiography in Global Perspective.* 1687

H. V. BOWEN, MARGARETTE LINCOLN, and NIGEL RIGBY, editors. *The Worlds of the East India Company.* 1687

WALTRAUD ERNST, editor. *Plural Medicine, Tradition and Modernity, 1800–2000.* 1687

JEAN-PAUL GAUDILLIÈRE and ILANA LÖWY, editors. *Heredity and Infection: The History of Disease Transmission.* 1688

ELISABETH GLASER and HERMANN WELLENREUTHER, editors. *Bridging the Atlantic: The Question of American Exceptionalism in Perspective.* 1688

CARL LEVY and MARK ROSEMAN, editors. *Three Postwar Eras in Comparison: Western Europe 1918–1945–1989.* 1688

BEVERLY LEMIRE, RUTH PEARSON, and GAIL CAMPBELL, editors. *Women and Credit: Researching the Past, Refiguring the Future.* 1688

MARK PHILIP BRADLEY and PATRICE PETRO, editors. *Truth Claims: Representation and Human Rights.* 1689

ASIA

JUDITH M. BROWN and ROBERT ERIC FRYKENBERG, editors. *Christians, Cultural Interactions, and India's Religious Traditions.* 1689

BONNIE B. C. OH, editor. *Korea under the American Military Government, 1945–1948.* 1689

CANADA AND THE UNITED STATES

WILLIAM PENCAK, MATTHEW DENNIS, and SIMON P. NEWMAN, editors. *Riot and Revelry in Early America.* 1689

KENNETH R. BOWLING and DONALD R. KENNON, editors. *The House and Senate in the 1790s: Petitioning, Lobbying, and Institutional Development.* 1690

JAMES F. BROOKS, editor. *Confounding the Color Line: The Indian-Black Experience in North America.* 1690

LAWRENCE LEE HEWITT and ARTHUR W. BERGERON, JR., editors. *Louisianians in the Civil War.* 1690

ALEXANDRA MINNA STERN and HOWARD MARKEL, editors. *Formative Years: Children's Health in the United States, 1880–2000.* 1690

CARIBBEAN AND LATIN AMERICA

MICHAEL RIEKENBERG, STEFAN RINKE, and PEER SCHMIDT, editors. *Kultur-Diskurs: Kontinuität und Wandel der Diskussion um Identitäten in Lateinamerika im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert; 24 Beiträge gewidmet Hans-Joachim König.* 1690

EUROPE: ANCIENT AND MEDIEVAL

ANDREW GILLETT. *On Barbarian Identity: Critical Approaches to Ethnicity in the Early Middle Ages.* 1691

PATRICK J. DUFFY, DAVID EDWARDS, and ELIZABETH FITZPATRICK, editors. *Gaelic Ireland c. 1250–c.1650: Land, Lordship and Settlement.* 1691

GIORGIO CHITTOLINI and KASPAR ELM, editors. *Ordini religiosi a società politica in Italia e Germania nei secoli XIV e XV.* 1691

EUROPE: EARLY MODERN AND MODERN

JOHN CHRISTIAN LAURSEN, editor. *Histories of Heresy in Early Modern Europe: For, Against, and Beyond Persecution and Toleration.* 1692

CHRISTOPHER HARPER-BILL, CAROLE RAWCLIFFE, and RICHARD G. WILSON, editors. *East Anglia's History: Studies in Honour of Norman Scarfe.* 1692

CHARLES W. J. WITHERS and PAUL WOOD, editors. *Science and Medicine in the Scottish Enlightenment.* 1692

HARTMUT BERGHOFF *et al. The Making of Modern Tourism: The Cultural History of the British Experience, 1600–2000.* 1692

FRIEDRICH LENGER, editor. *Towards an Urban Nation: Germany since 1870.* 1693

HEINZ REIF, editor. *Adel und Bürgertum in Deutschland: Entwicklungslinien und Wendepunkte im 19. Jahrhundert.* 1693

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HEINZ REIF, editor. *Adel und Bürgertum in Deutschland: Entwicklungslinien und Wendepunkte im 20. Jahrhundert.* 1693

CHRISTHARD HOFFMANN, WERNER BERGMANN, and HELMUT WALSER SMITH, editors. *Exclusionary Violence: Antisemitic Riots in Modern German History.* 1693

JOHN P. MCCORMICK, editor. *Confronting Mass Democracy and Industrial Technology: Political and Social Theory from Nietzsche to Habermas.* 1693

SILVANA SEIDEL MENCHI and DIEGO QUAGLIONI, editors. *Matrimoni in dubbio: Unioni controverse e nozze clandestine in Italia dal XIV al XVIII secolo.* 1694

MIDDLE EAST AND NORTHERN AFRICA

NIKKI R. KEDDIE and RUDI MATTHEE, editors. *Iran and the Surrounding World: Interactions in Culture and Cultural Politicst.* 1694

SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA

KRISTINE JUUL and CHRISTIAN LUND, editors. *Negotiating Property in Africa.* 1694

Documents and Bibliographies 1695
Other Books Received 1697
Communications 1704
Annual Index 1706
Topical Index 1749
Index of Advertisers 48(a)

Topical Table of Contents

Administration
1537, 1553, 1562, 1584, 1607, 1625, 1637, 1645, 1665, 1670

Agriculture
1545, 1637, 1669

Anthropology/Archaeology
1603, 1611, 1616, 1617, 1652, 1678, 1679

Art/Architecture
1564, 1571, 1628, 1629

Biography
1532, 1550, 1554, 1561, 1566, 1567, 1576, 1583, 1585, 1600, 1617, 1639, 1654

Business/Finance
1527, 1535, 1545, 1564, 1569, 1594, 1657, 1661

Careers/Professions
1542, 1633

Childhood/Youth
1560, 1620

Class
1550, 1556, 1594, 1596, 1604, 1620, 1633, 1640

Colonial/Postcolonial
1533, 1534, 1541, 1543, 1603, 1604, 1606, 1608, 1612, 1613, 1652, 1672, 1674, 1677, 1678, 1679, 1680

Comparative
1527, 1530

Constitutional
1525, 1548, 1552, 1553, 1632, 1665, 1675

Crime/Violence
1615, 1653, 1676, 1680

Cultural
1521, 1527, 1530, 1542, 1547, 1559, 1564, 1566, 1571, 1572, 1576, 1577, 1588, 1597, 1598, 1611, 1622, 1623, 1625, 1629, 1638, 1639, 1641, 1644, 1645, 1649, 1659, 1662, 1667 1679

Demography
1526

Diasporas
1677

Economic
1535, 1546, 1549, 1589, 1607, 1610, 1658, 1670, 1671

Education/Students
1560, 1561, 1578

Empire
1533, 1613, 1620, 1646, 1667, 1668, 1673

Environment/Landscape
1537, 1546, 1565, 1566

Ethnicity
1541, 1581, 1582, 1590, 1667, 1668

Exploration/Travel
1555, 1635, 1678

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ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Family
1539, 1545, 1568, 1582, 1620, 1625, 1628, 1636, 1642, 1644

Film
1576, 1586, 1587, 1588, 1596, 1659

Folklore
1611

Foreign Relations/Diplomatic
1531, 1534, 1535, 1540, 1583, 1584, 1585, 1609, 1610, 1634, 1648, 1660, 1665, 1667, 1673

Gay/Lesbian
1598

Gender
1527, 1539, 1550, 1552, 1568, 1569, 1571, 1574, 1584, 1612, 1614, 1615, 1627, 1639, 1640, 1647, 1650, 1674

Genocide
1656, 1657

Health/Disease
1526, 1527, 1536, 1636, 1637, 1656

Historiography
1522, 1554, 1584, 1600, 1616, 1619, 1632, 1643, 1666

Ideology
1522, 1528, 1533, 1568, 1574, 1579, 1584, 1586, 1596, 1601, 1605, 1606, 1615, 1638, 1654, 1657, 1660, 1670

Immigration/Migration
1582, 1658

Indigenous Peoples
1541, 1560, 1580, 1602, 1603, 1608, 1613, 1677

Industry
1565, 1593, 1594

Institutions
1523, 1551, 1562, 1574, 1575, 1578, 1636, 1651, 1676, 1679

Intellectual
1524, 1528, 1537, 1548, 1555, 1556, 1577, 1597, 1601, 1622, 1623, 1625, 1626, 1629, 1631, 1638, 1654, 1661, 1666

Journalism
1548, 1572, 1640, 1647, 1648, 1653

Labor
1532, 1569, 1592, 1593, 1594, 1615, 1671

Language/Linguistics
1625

Legal/Legislative
1525, 1538, 1551, 1565, 1599, 1618, 1621, 1633, 1654, 1671, 1672

Literature
1521, 1537, 1619, 1621, 1623, 1625, 1626, 1628, 1635, 1638, 1639, 1644, 1646, 1649, 1661

Local/Regional
1545, 1547, 1556, 1558, 1566, 1588, 1589, 1595, 1596, 1624, 1625, 1670, 1676

Maritime
1529

Material Culture
1564, 1572, 1577, 1627, 1661

Media/Communications
1643, 1659

Medicine
1536, 1574, 1575, 1599, 1611

Memory
1523, 1547, 1554, 1555, 1641, 1643, 1653, 1659, 1662, 1680

Methods
1521, 1524, 1615, 1619

Military
1527, 1531, 1540, 1604, 1610, 1620

Music
1542, 1588

National Histories
1544, 1555, 1601, 1667

Nationalism
1534, 1605, 1634, 1635, 1638, 1646, 1647, 1650, 1651, 1661, 1662, 1663, 1666, 1667, 1672, 1674

Nobility
1617, 1621, 1625

Oral History
1615

Peasants
1663, 1669

Philanthropy
1599, 1631, 1636, 1651

Political
1522, 1525, 1531, 1532, 1533, 1535, 1538, 1543, 1544, 1546, 1548, 1551, 1553, 1554, 1555, 1556, 1566, 1573, 1579, 1580, 1583, 1584, 1586, 1591, 1592, 1595, 1600, 1601, 1605, 1607, 1609, 1612, 1615, 1618, 1628, 1631, 1632, 1634, 1641, 1653, 1661, 1665, 1673, 1675

Psychology/Psychiatry
1597, 1623

Race/Racism
1527, 1532, 1543, 1550, 1558, 1559, 1566, 1573, 1574, 1581, 1595, 1596, 1597, 1604, 1605, 1656

Radicalism
1570, 1579, 1595, 1632

Reform
1539, 1551, 1566, 1567, 1568, 1592

Religion
1528, 1549, 1555, 1561, 1562, 1591, 1596, 1608, 1613, 1622, 1624, 1626, 1630, 1631, 1638, 1645, 1649, 1668, 1672, 1673, 1676

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Revolution
1529, 1606, 1609, 1634, 1638, 1640, 1667, 1675

Rural
1606, 1663, 1669, 1680

Science/Technology
1531, 1536, 1537, 1545, 1598, 1599, 1626, 1631, 1643, 1652

Sexuality
1536, 1550, 1584, 1598, 1614, 1627

Slavery
1529, 1543, 1559

Social History
1523, 1527, 1537, 1538, 1539, 1544, 1549, 1550, 1562, 1565, 1569, 1578, 1581, 1590, 1591, 1596, 1614, 1615, 1620, 1624, 1676

Social Movements
1528, 1550, 1552, 1574, 1575, 1586, 1590, 1600, 1642, 1653

Social Policy
1523, 1560, 1567, 1570, 1573, 1574, 1580, 1582, 1642, 1658

Terrorism/Espionage
1584, 1609

Theory
1524, 1562, 1587

Tourism
1564, 1635

Trade
1549, 1589, 1610

Transportation
1531

Urban
1530, 1558, 1564, 1590, 1591, 1661

Wars
1540, 1573, 1579, 1580, 1581, 1583, 1587, 1648, 1650, 1653, 1658, 1660

Women
1552, 1567, 1570, 1572, 1585, 1593, 1614, 1617, 1638, 1642, 1651, 1671, 1674

World
1525, 1526, 1529

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In This Issue

This issue contains three articles and a tripartite review essay. The articles examine group possession among nuns, the cultural significance of Black Madonnas, and the use of sport as a form of political expression. The Review Essays analyze the impact of the "cultural turn" from three different analytical and disciplinary perspectives. In addition, the issue contains our usual array of book and film reviews.

Articles

Moshe Sluhovsky examines the relations between group diabolic possession in late medieval and early modern convents and changes in female spirituality. He argues that, rather than associating demonic possession with the witch craze, we should think of it as a form of ecstatic communication with the supernatural. Analyzing more than fifty cases of group possessions in convents, Sluhovsky informs us that only five cases led to witchcraft accusations and most ended in secrecy within the convent walls. Group possessions in convents resulted, he maintains, from psychological and spiritual tensions within monastic communities. Late medieval and early modern nuns lived within a contradictory set of expectations. They were trying to negotiate activism with enclosure, individuality with communality, and normative behavior with exceptional spiritual achievements. The tensions that resulted from these contradictory goals led to a heightened sense of anxiety and suspicion. Wishing for God but most likely encountering the devil, late medieval and early modern nuns were educated always to suspect their own spiritual quest. The devil, after all, was known for his ability to disguise himself as an angel of light. Sluhovsky contends, therefore, that the exact nature of the possessing agency was not automatically clear to the nuns themselves, their mother superiors, or the male theologians and exorcists who examined them. Once exorcists and theologians decided that a woman was possessed by demons rather than by God, the nuns themselves were easily persuaded to participate in the reshaping of their experience into a narrative of diabolic possession. This enabled their reintegration into the community and put an end to their suffering and self-doubts. Sluhovsky's analysis is a compelling example of the benefits of subjecting a complex experience to multiple explanations.

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Monique Scheer explains that "Why is she black?" is very often the first question that comes up in connection with the black madonnas that began to appear in early modern European churches. Some have argued that the color was intentional, resulting from the fact that Mary's cult took the place (actually or psychologically) of pre-Christian mother goddesses depicted with black skin. Many scholars have maintained that the color is purely accidental, resulting from candle soot and chemical changes in the paint, and therefore essentially uninteresting. Scheer fashions a new approach to these objects by focusing not on the color's origin but rather on when and how worshipers perceived the dark complexion of these images and what it meant to them. In other words, she approaches the topic of black madonnas from the angle of a history of perception. On the one hand, Scheer does so to understand them from within the context of popular devotion to Mary; on the other, she analyzes the learned discourse on black madonnas, from theological interpretations of the color to the positivistic view that the color is accidental, as a way of examining a new understanding of skin color that emerged with the rise of a scientific paradigm of human races. Scheer thus contributes to the discussion on the European perception of black skin through history by giving us an example of how perception is determined by culture and therefore has a history. And her article also suggests how images once highly revered can become illegible and therefore enigmatic.

Robert Edelman uses an analysis of soccer clubs among Soviet workers both to go beyond the cultural turn and back to the issues of class. Soccer was one of the few areas of Soviet life in which the individual citizen had a significant measure of free choice. Soviet fans were free to choose their own teams and heroes, and those highly subjective choices represented attitudes toward the regime and other aspects of Soviet life. He examines fan choice to enlarge the debate about the attitudes of the Soviet working class in the 1930s, particularly their attitudes toward the party-state. Edelman explains that the debate flourished during the 1980s among Western scholars but stalled after the collapse of the USSR and the shift in the profession away from labor history. The fact that the politically and institutionally independent civilian Spartak team was the favorite of the Moscow male working class, which comprised the majority of the soccer audience, is important. In the absence of election returns, public opinion surveys, and a free press, team choice—as elsewhere in Europe—allowed Soviet workers to work out political identities vis-à-vis the regime. Along with examining the class dynamics of Spartak's rivalry with the secret police's Dinamo sports club, he shows the ways this social cleavage between subordinate and dominant elements was reinforced by the differing body cultures and styles of masculinity adopted by the followers of the two teams. Edelman's argument demonstrates the importance of moving sport away from the profession's margins and into the center of scholarly concerns. He does so by demonstrating that it was an activity that involved millions, who took it very seriously indeed. Although he acknowledges that these were matters of play, Edelman insists that the choices Soviet citizens made about the way they played may have been even more revealing than those they made on the factory floor or at a party congress.

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Review Essays

The three essays assess the impact of the "cultural turn" on recent scholarship from different analytical and disciplinary perspectives. They focus in particular on a 1999 volume, *Beyond the Cultural Turn*, edited by Victoria E. Bonnell and Lynn Hunt. **Ronald Grigor Suny**, who is in political science, asserts that the conceptual revolution associated with the "cultural turn" deeply affected some social sciences, particularly history, historical sociology, and anthropology, but has had very little impact on political science. He explores the shift among social historians from a loose affiliation with the neo-Marxism of the 1960s to an engagement with culture and experience, under the influence of the British Marxist historian E. P. Thompson, and the appropriation at about the same time of the ethnographic methods of Clifford Geertz. The "cultural turn," with its emphasis on a more fluid, less bounded notion of culture, its Foucauldian concepts of power, and its self-reflexive attention to the role of the investigator, found little resonance among political scientists, many of whom moved from an interest in political culture and behavioralism to rational choice and game theory. Suny suggests that political science may find added value in trying to understand politics by incorporating some of the approaches of the cultural interpretivists. **Patrick Brantlinger**, a Victorianist from English, examines what seems to be the reluctance of *Beyond the Cultural Turn*'s editors to claim affiliation for their "new cultural history" with either cultural studies or the new historicism. He suggests that, in the case of the latter, the reason may be that Stephen Greenblatt and other new historicists are more accepting of poststructuralist theory (especially Michel Foucault) and its relativizing implications than the editors and some of the contributors to the book are willing to be. In the case of cultural studies, the reason may be that the movement has shifted away from its quite marked historical dimension in the work of its pioneers—Raymond Williams, E. P. Thompson, Richard Hoggart—toward a much more contemporary focus on the mass media. Yet several of the contributors acknowledge their interest, at least, especially in cultural studies approaches to cultural-symbolic politics and emphasize the narrative and, indeed, fictive components of recent historiography. As earlier for T. B. Macaulay and Thomas Carlyle, the "new cultural history" seems to answer the art-versus-science question by stressing that historiography is an art. Yet the editors and several of the contributors seem eager to affiliate with anthropology, especially by way of Clifford Geertz's "thick description," suggesting their desire to maintain that historiography is still as much science as art. **Richard Handler**, an anthropologist, maintains that, in contemporary Western scholarship and common sense, there is an enduring tension between realist, or objectivist, and constructionist, or semiotic, epistemologies. He argues that there is no analytically useful "beyond" to be found "beyond the cultural turn," nor is a return to "the social" a useful response to perceived excesses of semiotic theory. The dilemma raised by Bonnell and Hunt is one that anthropologists have faced throughout the history of the modern discipline, especially in the rivalries between British social

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and American cultural anthropology. Within the Boasian tradition, where Handler locates himself, there is no need to posit a distinction between "the social" and "the cultural," since all human activities and symbols are at once "real" (even "material") and symbolic. He also rejects the argument that the semiotic "foundationalism" of contemporary culture theory draws on a naturalizing rhetoric. Instead, Handler insists that theorists may well believe that symboling is universal for humans, but that does not entail the idea that symbols are "natural."

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A woodcut from 1598 shows an exorcism performed on a woman by a priest and his assistant, with a demon emerging from her mouth. In Pierre Boaistuau, *et al.*, *Histoires prodigieuses et memorables, extraictes de plusieurs fameux autheurs, Grecs, & Latins, sacrez & prophanes* (Paris, 1598), vol. 1.

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The Devil in the Convent

MOSHE SLUHOVSKY

THE MASS DEMONIC POSSESSION of the Ursuline nuns of Loudun in 1633–1640 is among the most famous (or infamous) episodes in the history of diabolic possession and witchcraft accusations in early modern Europe. It is nevertheless worth summarizing the events. During the night of September 22, 1632, two nuns encountered a spirit. Two days later, a large black ball traversed the refectory, pushing some nuns to the ground. The following week, a human skeleton was seen walking in the convent's corridors. Two more weeks passed before the spirit acquired the clear image of the priest Urbain Grandier, the *curé* of the Loudunais parish of Saint-Pierre-du-Marché, and a controversial figure in town. In the following weeks, numerous nuns were attacked and possessed by evil spirits. Some sisters heard voices, some were beaten and slapped by invisible entities, while others laughed immodestly and involuntarily. Exhibiting supernatural physical strength, screaming, crying, fainting, and suffering from uncontrollable seizures and convulsions, the sisters showed all the traditional marks of diabolic possession. According to well-established Catholic tradition, exorcism rituals were then organized by the local clergy. It was during these ceremonies that the nuns accused Grandier of having signed a pact with Satan and initiated the nuns' possession. The demons, speaking through the sisters' mouths, supported these claims and even supplied the exorcists with a signed copy of the pact between Grandier and the devil, the original of which had been signed with Grandier's own blood and was kept in Hell. Grandier had had a longstanding quarrel with the local ecclesiastical hierarchy. Once accused, and aware that he was not to get any help from his fellow Loudunais, he tried to mobilize patronage and support in Paris, but he failed there, too. Following a series of trials, he was found guilty and executed on August 18, 1634. The possessing demons then began to depart from the nuns' bodies, and the town of Loudun could have expected to calm down and regain its pleasant obscurity.

But this was not to happen. Jeanne des Anges, the mother superior of the community, remained possessed by seven different demons. Repeated attempts to dispossess her failed. In fact, things went from bad to worse when the Jesuit priest Jean-Joseph Surin, who had arrived in Loudun in December 1634 to help with her

Earlier versions of this article have been presented at the 1998 Sixteenth Century Studies Conference, Tel Aviv University, and the University of California, Los Angeles. I thank the participants in these events for their comments. I am also indebted to the suggestions and corrections of many friends and colleagues, and especially Joe Boone, Peter Brown, Esther Cohen, Natalie Zemon Davis, Jesus Escobar, Kristin Gager, James Green, Tamar Herzig, and the anonymous readers for the *AHR*.

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exorcism, himself started experiencing visions and hallucinations, seizures, temporary paralysis, and slowly losing his verbal capabilities. It looked as if he and Jeanne des Anges were exchanging roles, and while she was slowly recovering, he was losing his mental capacity. "During my ministry, the devil passed from the body of the possessed person and entered into mine," lamented Surin to his friend, the Jesuit father Achille Doni d'Attichy.[1]

In October 1637, the mother superior regained her health. The last departing demons left clear signs of their exit from her body, when the names Joseph and Mary miraculously appeared inscribed on des Anges's left arm. Shortly afterward, the names Jesus and F. D. Salles also appeared. The last name commemorated François de Sales, the recently deceased French saint in whose shrine in the city of Annecy Jeanne des Anges was promised, in a vision, to make a full recovery. Jeanne des Anges spent the next few years of her life traveling around France and showing the divine marks on her hands to believers, among them the royal couple and Cardinal Richelieu. She then retired to Loudun, where she spent her remaining years as a famous mystic, communicating through her guardian angel with the divine, having visions, and sending messages back and forth between the worlds.[2]

The diabolic possessions and exorcisms in Loudun became an instant sensational drama. Detailed reports and letters were sent from the small town describing the mysterious events, and people came from all over France, and even as far as England and Italy, to witness the strange occurrences. Later on, the case played a major role in Enlightenment anticlericalism and in nineteenth-century positivist attacks on the alleged fanaticism and ignorance of the Catholic Church. The possession in Loudun is also a prominent feature in recent interpretations of both the witch craze that had swept Europe in the early modern period and of the transition from the alleged homogenous theological worldview of the medieval church toward the modern world, with its competing theological, medical, and scientific discourses. The dramatic episode has also served as the core of a number of novels (among them, Aldous Huxley's *The Devils of Loudun*, 1952), an opera (Krzysztof Penderecki, *The Devils of Loudun*, 1969), a Broadway play (John Whiting, *The Devils*, 1965), and a movie (Ken Russell, *The Devils*, 1971).

What is less well known is that the mass possession in Loudun was only one among numerous similar group possessions in religious female congregations, and that most cases had nothing to do with witchcraft and with witchcraft accusations. These events are the focus of this article. My argument is fourfold. Methodologically, I argue that by associating demonic possession in convents with *maleficium*, historians have at times been led astray. Out of more than forty-five European cases, only five French cases developed into witchcraft accusations. But it was these few, rather than the majority of cases, that proffered a dramatic narrative both to contemporaneous observers and recorders of these events and to historians, who

[1] Jean-Joseph Surin, *Correspondance*, Michel de Certeau, ed. (Paris, 1966), letter 52, May 3, 1635, p. 263.

[2] This short summary is based on *Soeur Jeanne des Anges, Autobiographie d'une hystérique possédée* [1644], Gabriel Legué and Gilles de la Tourette, eds. (Montbonnet-St. Martin, 1985); Michel de Certeau, *La possession de Loudun* (Paris, 1970; English edn., Chicago, 2000); Robert Mandrou, *Magistrats et sorciers en France au XVII^e siècle* (Paris, 1968); Michel Carmona, *Les diables de Loudun: Sorcellerie et politique sous Richelieu* (Paris, 1988).

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mistook the voluminous documentation of these exceptional cases for a standard dynamic. By so doing, they removed mass possession from its long-term historical context—namely, the history of forms of affective spiritual expressions and of possessions by both divine and demonic spirits.

Secondly, I argue that mass possessions in religious institutions were gendered. While both males and females, both lay and religious, could be individually possessed, and both male and female group possessions are known to have occurred among the laity, group possession within a religious setting was a strictly feminine occurrence.[3] These gendered events, therefore, shed light on a religious behavior that was uniquely feminine and should be explained in gender terms. Feminist scholarship of the last years and new interest in medieval and early modern female religiosity enable us to contextualize mass possessions in convents within a framework of late medieval and early modern female spirituality. The article will therefore present theological and socio-psychological plausible explanations for cases of conventual mass possessions, and place them within ongoing religious, spiritual, and social struggles that took place in female monasteries and that shaped the characteristics and tensions within these religious institutions.

Thirdly, the article argues that demonic possession is always a diagnosis of a behavior of a spiritual nature, of an interaction between a nun and the divine (or diabolic). The behavior preceded the definition, and the descriptions in our possession are ex post facto explanations by theologians and inquisitors, once they had determined that the behavior under investigation was religious rather than medical and demonic rather than divine. Mass diabolic possession, like all possessions, is therefore intrinsically related to the theology of discernment of spirits. The following discussion shifts back and forth between reading the texts straightforwardly as objective descriptions of events that took place as they are represented to us in the (mostly clerical) sources, and an analytical reading that attempts to explain not only the events but also the social, gendered, and spiritual assumptions and motivations that had led the nuns to exhibit the unnatural behaviors. Another set of these assumptions and motivations led the authors of the reports to discern (that is to say, to reconstruct, shape, and make sense of) the behaviors and events (and in some cases to erase and to refuse to shape them) as demonic possession.

Finally, the article attempts to explain the historical chronology of mass possessions in convents and to account for their growing popularity in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, as well as their demise in the following century. This chronology overlaps with the diffusion, popularity, and then decline of reports of demonic possession of individuals. Historian Stuart Clark has recently remarked that "a considerable hinterland of possession lies lost to historical view in the lives of those who, all over Western Europe, resorted to local exorcists or to healers and magicians." In their studies of possession of individuals in Germany, H. C. Erik Midelfort and David Lederer have uncovered some of these numerous cases.[4]

[3] But see below the discussion of two cases of communal "demonic obsession" of monks in monasteries.

[4] Stuart Clark, *Thinking with Demons: The Idea of Witchcraft in Early Modern Europe* (Oxford, 1997), 390. Compare H. C. Erik Midelfort, "The Devil and the German People: Reflections on the

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Unlike the immeasurable numbers of cases of diabolic possession of individuals, cases of group possessions in convents were both common enough to enable us to generalize on the dynamics of these possessions and rare enough to permit a systematic analysis of all the known cases. And while group possessions were unique events, they also shed light on the general characteristics of demonic possession among individuals, both lay and religious. In my discussion, I will therefore use all the available data from all the cases of mass possessions in convents, adding, when needed, examples from cases of possession of individual nuns. While each group possession was determined by very specific historical events, by unique geographical and theological circumstances, and by an infinite number of idiosyncratic personal, social, and psychological variables, it is nevertheless possible, and to my mind crucially important, to present a set of conditions and preconditions that were the sine qua non for the eruption of mass possessions in late medieval and early modern convents. Such a discussion, while general and generalizing, thereby risking the danger of overlooking the wide diversity of and numerous differences among cases of mass possession, offers an essential and coherent context for the understanding of the phenomenon, which often gets lost in detailed explanations of each specific outburst.

Lyndal Roper, among others, has pointed out that "we need . . . a history that can problematize the relation between the psychic and the physical." She also indicated the difficulties confronting such history, especially why specific "imaginings of the body" were more appealing than others at certain historical times. Examining the numerous cases of group demonic possession in their historical, theological, social, and spiritual contexts contributes to such historicization of the connections between bodily and psychological interactions.[5]

In 1320–1322, St. Nicola of Tolentino exorcized the Cistercian nuns of Santa Lucia in Pian di Pieca near San Ginesio, who were pursued by demons, incubi, and the spirits of two local tyrants and other deceased murderers. The case is recorded in the canonization record of St. Nicola, and it is important to note that the compiler of the dossier relates the mass possession as a series of separate possessions and exorcisms of individual nuns. There is no notion yet, in this early report, of a communal possessional invasion. A few years later, the Franciscan theologian Alverus Pelagius (c. 1275–c. 1349) recorded in *De planctu ecclesiae* that he had great difficulties expelling demons from the bodies of Tertiary Franciscan nuns in an Italian convent. The nuns, explained Pelagius, had gotten so accustomed to the demons' presence that they had stopped fearing them.[6] Johannes Nider, the

Popularity of Demon Possession in Sixteenth-Century Germany," in *Religion and Culture in the Renaissance and Reformation*, Steven Ozment, ed. (Kirksville, Mo., 1989), 106–07; Midelfort, *A History of Madness in Sixteenth-Century Germany* (Stanford, Calif., 1999), 281–319; David L. Lederer, "Reforming the Spirit: Society, Madness and Suicide in Central Europe, 1517–1809" (PhD dissertation, New York University, 1995), 287–327; and for Italy, see Franco Romano, *Guaritrici, veggenti, esorcisti: Aspetti magici e religiosi della cultura delle classi popolari nella diocesi de Brescia* (Rome, 1987), 138–42.

[5] Lyndal Roper, *Oedipus and the Devil: Witchcraft, Sexuality and Religion in Early Modern Europe* (London, 1994), 21–26.

[6] *Il processo per la canonizzazione di S. Nicola da Tolentino*, Nicola Occhioni, ed. (Rome, 1984),

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famous Dominican theologian (1380–1438), who contributed much to the development of the early modern concept of the maleficent witch, was also responsible for shaping the late medieval and early modern narrative of mass demonic possession. Nider reported in his *Formicarius* (1435–1437) a case of mass possession and exorcism that took place sometime around 1428, in the convent of St. Catherine in Nuremberg. Nider, the prior of the Dominican monastery in town, intervened and by successful exorcisms put an end to the nuns' torments.[7] Half a century later, in 1491, the nuns of the Augustinian convent at Quesnoy le Conte in Cambrai, in the Spanish Netherlands, were attacked. For four (and some historians say seven) years, demons caused the sisters to run amok in the fields like dogs, to fly in the air like birds, to scamper up trees like cats, to prophesy the future, and to reveal secrets. Rituals of exorcism, conducted by local priests and the bishop of Cambrai, delivered only some of the nuns, and even the celebration of a special Mass in Rome by Pope Alexander VI himself, who asked for the nuns' deliverance and read their names out loud, did not succeed in relieving all the sisters of their possessing demons.[8] During the 1490s, mass demonic possessions also took place in the Savonarolan convent of St. Lucia in Florence, where forty nuns were possessed. Fra Domenico da Pescia and other Savonarolans conducted exorcisms, which were only partially successful. Then in 1498, immediately following the execution of the Florentine prophet, a new outbreak of demonic possession afflicted nearly all the nuns. Exorcism rituals failed, and many of the nuns were sent back to their families or transferred to other nunneries.[9]

In the sixteenth century, other group possessions by evil spirits took place in Xanten (1516), Lyons (1526), Wertet (Ubertet) in the Spanish Netherlands in 1550, Rome (1555), and in at least fifteen additional monasteries and convents in Holland, Germany, France, Spain, and Italy.[10] In the seventeenth century, more

136–37, 320–30; Alvarus Pelagius, *De planctu ecclesiae* 1.2 (Venice, 1560), 87v. Throughout this article, I use the terms convent, nunnery, and female monastery as well as nuns and sisters broadly and interchangeably.

[7] Johannes Nider, *Formicarius* (Strasbourg, 1517), book 3: 3, pp. 90v–91; book 5: 2, p. 73. On Nider and early modern witchcraft, see Michael D. Bailey, "From Sorcery to Witchcraft: Clerical Conceptions of Magic in the Later Middle Ages," *Speculum* 76 (2000): 960–90.

[8] Jehan Molinet, "La tresdure et doloreuse oppression que firent aulcuns mauvais espritz aux religieuses du Quesnoy le Conte," and Christiaan Massaeus (Massée), *Chronicorum* (1540), book 20, fol. 268, both in *Corpus documentorum inquisitionis haereticae pravitatis neerlandicae*, Paul Frédéricq, ed., 5 vols. (Ghent, 1889–1906), 1: 483–86.

[9] *La vita del Beato Ieronimo Savonarola scritta da un anonimo de sec. XVI e già attribuita a Fra Pacifico Burlamacchi*, Piero Ginori Conti, ed. (Florence, 1937), 66–67; Giovanni Pico della Mirandola, *Vita di Hieronimo Savonarola*, Raffaella Castagnola, ed. (Florence, 1998), 86; Pasquale Villari, *La storia di Girolamo Savonarola e de suoi tempi*, 2 vols. (Florence, 1930), 2: appendix, 178, 190, 197; Domenico Di Agresti, *Sviluppi della riforma monastica savonaroliana* (Florence, 1980), 20–23. I thank my colleague Tamar Herzig for these references.

[10] On Rome, see Barthélémy de Faye [d'Espeisses], *Energumenicus* (Paris, 1571), 83–88; Anna Foa, "Il gioco del proselitismo: Politica della conversioni e controllo della violenza nella Roma del Cinquecento," *Ebrei e christiani nell'Italia medievale e moderna: Conversioni, scambi, contrasti; Atti del VI Congresso internazionale dell'AISG, S. Miniato, 4–6 novembre 1986*, Michele Luzzati, Michele Olivari, and Alessandra Veronese, eds. (Rome, 1988), 160–64. A case in Pisa in 1574 is mentioned by Andrea Cesalpino, *Daemonum investigatio peripatetica, in qua explicatur locus Hippocratis in Progn.: Si quid divinum in morbis habetur* (Florence, 1580); and in Francesco de Vieri, *Intorno a'Dimonii, volgarmente chiamati spiriti* (Florence, 1576). Both consulted the archbishop of Pisa concerning a possession of three nuns in the local convent of St. Anne. Antonio Ferri, "Memorie cronologiche

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than twenty outbursts of mass possessions took place in Western Europe. In France and the Netherlands, group possessions occurred in the convent of the Grey Sisters of Bethlehem in Leuven in 1606, at the Ursuline convent in Aix-en-Provence (1611–1613), among the Brigittines of Lille (1608–1613), at the Cistercian nunnery in Oisy-le-Verger (between Douai and Cambrai, diocese of Arras, 1613), among the Ursulines in Paris (1621–1622) and the early Visitandines in the 1620s and again in 1637, at the Hospitaler convent in Louviers, where fifteen nuns became possessed (1643–1647), in Auxonne (1658–1663), Lille (1661), Toulouse (1681), and Lyons (1687–1690), where fifty nuns were possessed. Other cases took place in the Holy Roman Empire in Strasbourg, Cologne, and Paderborn in Westphalia. Two events occurred in Madrid in 1628 and again in 1652, while another case took place in Trujillo (Peru). At least four cases of group possessions in convents took place in Italy during this century: in Reggio Emilia, Piacenza, and Cilenza (all in 1625–1626), and in Carpi (near Modena) ten years later.[11] Two cases occurred in the

de'conventi, e confraternite dell'ordine serafico . . . nella città di Imola," Biblioteca Communale di Imola, ms. 75, fols. 18–19, reproduced in Giuliana Zanelli, *Streghe e società nell'Emilia e Romagna del Cinque-Seicento* (Ravenna, 1992), 144–45. Other events are mentioned briefly in Johann Weyer, *De praestigiis daemonum* (1568); see the recent English translation in George Mora, *et al.*, *Witches, Devils, and Doctors in the Renaissance* (Binghamton, N.Y., 1991), 301–11; Martin Del Rio, *Disquisitionum magicae* (Louvain, 1608), esp. book 6; Pierre de Lancre, *L'incredulité et mescreance du sortilege plainement convaincue: Ou il est amplement et curieusement traicté de la verité ou illusion du sortilege . . .* (Paris, 1622). See also Traugott K. Oesterreich, *Possession, Demoniacal and Other: Among Primitive Races, in Antiquity, the Middle Ages, and Modern Times* (1921; New Hyde Park, N.Y., 1966), 188–90; Rossell Hope Robbins, *Encyclopedia of Witchcraft and Demonology* (New York, 1959); Midelfort, *History of Madness*, 69–70.

[11] See the primary sources below and summaries of these cases in the following secondary sources: on the possession in Leuven, see Craig Harline, *The Burdens of Sister Margaret* (New York, 1994), 38–39; on Aix, Louviers, Auxonne, Toulouse, and Lyons, see Mandrou, *Magistrats et sorciers*; on the Brigittines at Lille, see Alain Lottin, *Lille, citadelle de la Contre-Réforme? (1598–1668)* (Dunkirk, 1984), 177–81; on Verger, Lottin, "Sorcellerie, possessions diaboliques et crise conventuelle: La 'déplorable tragédie' de l'abbaye du Verger en Artois (1613–1619)," in *Histoire des faits de la sorcellerie: Actes de la huitième Rencontre d'histoire religieuse tenue à Fontevraud les 5 et 6 octobre 1984* (Angers, 1985), 111–32. On the Paris Ursulines, see M.P.D.V. [Marie-Augustine de Pomereu], "Annales du monastère du Faubourg Saint-Jacques à Paris (1612–1662)," in the Ursuline convent in Quebec; summarized in Marie de Chantal Gueudré, *Histoire de l'ordre des Ursulines en France*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1957–60), 1: 203–04. The group possession among the sisters of the Visitation is mentioned in a circular letter of St. Jeanne-Françoise Frémyot de Chantal, the founder of the order. See her *Correspondance*, Marie-Patricia Burns, ed., 6 vols. (Paris, 1986–96), 3: letter 1247, p. 571. For a demonic attack on the Visitandines of rue Saint-Antoine in Paris in 1637, see Archives du Monastère de la Visitation, Monastère de l'avenue Denfert-Rochereau, Paris: "Annales du monastère de la rue Saint-Antoine, 1619–1789," fols. 115–16, quoted in Marie-Ange Duvignacq-Glessgen, *L'ordre de la Visitation à Paris aux XVII^e^ et XVIII^e^ siècles* (Paris, 1994), 129–30. On a mass possession in a cloistered religious orphanage in Lille in 1661, see Antoinette Bourignon, *La parole de Dieu, ou La vie interieur*, in *La vie de Damlle Antoinette Bourignon, écrite partie par elle-méme, partie par une personne de sa connoissance* [Pierre Poiret] (Amsterdam, 1638), 83–87.

On Cologne, 1626, see *Nuntiaturberichte aus Deutschland nebst ergänzenden aktenstücken: Die kölner nuntiatue*, vol. 7: 1: *Nuntius Pier Luigi Carafa*, Joseph Wijnhoven, ed. (Paderborn, 1980), letter 812 of November 20, 1626, pp. 548–49. On Paderborn, see Rainer Decker, "Die Haltung der römischen Inquisition gegenüber Hexenglauben und Exorzismus: Am Beispiel der Teufelsaustreibungen in Paderborn 1657," in Sönke Lorenz and Dieter R. Bauer, eds., *Das Ende der Hexenverfolgung* (Stuttgart, 1995), 97–115; Decker, *Die Hexen und ihre Henker* (Freiburg, 1994), 13–60. On a case in Madrid in 1628, see Beatriz Moncó, *Mujer y demonio: Una paeja barroca* (Madrid, 1989); and Carlos Puyol Buil, *Inquisición y política en el reinado de Felipe IV: Los procesos de Jerónimo de Villanueva y las monjas de San Plácido, 1628–1660* (Madrid, 1993). Another case in Madrid in 1652 is mentioned in Francisco Blasco Languza, *Patrocinio de angeles y combata de demonious* (San Juan de la Peña, 1652). On Peru, see Lourdes Blanco, "Poder y passión: Espíritus entretejidos," in *El monacato femenino en el imperio*

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eighteenth century (in Tuscan Romagna in 1721 and in Lower Franconia in 1738–1749), before mass conventual possession disappeared by 1750.[12]

All the cases shared the same characteristics. During these episodes, numerous nuns behaved in manners that followed the traditional configuration of demonic possession: they exhibited supernatural physical strength, developed aversion to sacred objects such as the Eucharist, cursed their confessors, priests, or mother superiors, screamed and shouted but also fainted, vomited, suffered fits, paralysis, contortions and convulsions, lost consciousness, and even sank into coma. In all of these cases, theologians and exorcists, who were called upon to determine the causes of the affliction and to perform the appropriate rituals, concluded that the cause for the behavior was demonic possession. During some exorcism ceremonies, the nuns' situation first worsened, and a few even attempted to kill themselves. But after long struggles, the clerical interventions achieved their goals and all the nuns were cured. In some cases, the recovery was accompanied by the unveiling of the possessing agents' identities, who were all familiar demons, such as Beelzebub (Satan's second in command), Asmodeus, Behemoth, Leviathan, Balaam, and Legion.

While demonic possession was as old as the church itself, mass possessions in convents were recorded only from the fourteenth century, with all but four of the cases taking place between 1435 and 1690. It was only in this period, and especially after 1550, that such cases were integrated into the cultural imagination and became frequent enough to join the repertory of the commonly possible. It is crucially important to note that most of the reported cases remained hidden in monastic chronicles and Inquisitional records, and did not attract much attention at the time or since. Some, in fact, are known to us only from a list compiled by the Protestant physician Johann Weyer, in his 1568 discussion of witchcraft and demonology. In other words, contemporaries did not regard group possessions in convents as something so exceptional and so dramatic that it necessitated a new theological (or medical) explanation. This was due, I believe, to their understanding of group possession in convents as just another manifestation of the very common phenomenon of diabolic possession of individuals. As such, both the diagnostic tools (discernment of spirits by abbesses, bishops, and theologians) and the remedy (exorcism) were part and parcel of the traditional means that had been used by the church throughout its history. Of more than forty cases, only six—five of them in France and one in Madrid—became causes célèbres. All of these took place in the first half of the seventeenth century. The renown of these cases was due to the fact that the five French cases turned into witchcraft accusations, and the Spanish case

español: Monasterios, beaterios, recogimientos y colegios, Manuel Ramos Medina, ed. (Mexico City, 1995), 369–80. For a case in Carpi in 1636–1639, see Vincenzo Lavenia, "I diavoli di Carpi e il Sant'Uffizio (1636–1639)," in Mario Rosa, ed., *Eretici, esuli e indemoniati nell'età moderna* (Florence, 1998), 77–139, and see there nn. 13–14 for other cases in Reggio Emilia (1625), Piacenza (1625), and Cilenza (1626); compare Lavenia, "'Cauda tu seras pendu': Lotta politica ed esorcismo nel piemonte de Vittorio Amedeo I (1634)," *Studi storici* 37 (1996): 541, n. 2.

[12] Anne Jacobson Schutte, *Aspiring Saints: Pretense of Holiness, Inquisition, and Gender in the Republic of Venice, 1618–1750* (Baltimore, 2001), 106–10; Oswald Loschert, *Vorgängicher Versuch zu Erwürckung eines Vertrages zwischen den in dem bisherigen Hexerey-Kriege verwickelten Gelehrter . . .* ([Bamberg], 1767).

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evolved into a political affair that led to the arrest of the abbess on charges of heresy and was incorporated into a political vendetta against Don Jerónimo de Villanueva, Marquis of Villalba and Prothonotary-Secretary of the State of Aragon, the founder of the convent and a favorite of Count-Duke Olivares. Hundreds of pamphlets, theological learned treatises, medical speculations, eyewitness accounts, epistolary reports, and juridical briefs described and analyzed these six cases, while all other forty-something events remained "cloaked in silence" (to use Weyer's own term[13]) and confusion at the time and in oblivion ever since.

It is difficult to exaggerate the impact of the new French configuration of diabolic possession as witchcraft, which was both a result of and contributed to the conflation of two phenomena, which had been clearly distinguished from one another until the late sixteenth century. In demonic possession, evil spirits were assumed to inhabit a person against his or her will, while in witchcraft accusations, a human agent was accused of collaborating with the devil for the purpose of causing harm. This distinction became more and more blurred in cases of diabolic possession of individuals in the second half of the sixteenth century, first when exorcists—among them Girolamo Menghi, the best known and the most popular exorcist of the century—developed a theory of demonic possession that attributed it to witchcraft, and secondly when demons, consequently, started accusing human agents of collaborating with them.[14] Mass possession in French convents, and the executions of culprits that followed two of them, further impressed the connection between diabolic possession and witchcraft on contemporary minds. Equally important, the vast amount of written testimony on these few cases has led some modern historians to ignore the majority of cases, those that did not lead to witchcraft accusations but that terminated within the cloistered walls of the convent. Using easily available printed sources, most of them penned by religious propagandists, historians have conflated the history of mass demonic possession with the history of the witch craze and paid more attention to theologians' and polemicists' explanations of the few dramatic events than to the plausible internal dynamics that could have led to the outburst of the group possessions. They have ignored both the longevity of group possession and its "prehistory"—the more than twenty-five cases that had taken place before the connection between mass possession and witchcraft accusation was first articulated in Aix-en-Provence in 1610 and the more than one dozen additional cases that took place in the seventeenth century and did not lead to accusations of *maleficium*. It is worth discussing these historians' affiliation of demonic possession with witchcraft prior to our attempt to reconnect such cases with forms of late medieval and early modern female spirituality.

The three most important recent contributions to the ongoing enterprise of making historical, social, or psychological sense of these sensational events have been Michel de Certeau's *La possession de Loudun* (1970), Robert Mandrou's

[13] Weyer, in Mora, *Witches, Devils, and Doctors*, 306.

[14] Girolamo Menghi (1529–1609), a Franciscan theologian and exorcist, practiced in Bologna. The most important of his numerous guides for exorcists are *Flagellum daemonum* (Bologna, 1577); and *Compendio dell'arte essorcistica* (Bologna, 1576). On Menghi, see Giovanni Romeo, *Inquisitori, esorcisti e streghe nell'Italia della Controriforma* (Florence, 1990), esp. 109–43; Giancarlo Volpato, "Girolamo Menghi o dell'Arte Esorcistica," *Lares* 57, no. 3 (1991): 381–97.

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Magistrats et sorciers en France au XVII^e siècle (1980), and Stuart Clark's *Thinking with Demons* (1997). Mandrou, echoing many seventeenth-century physicians and even a few theologians, and following a French school of anti-Catholic medical positivism of the nineteenth century (Jean-Martin Charcot comes to mind), argued that mental disorders—hysteria first and foremost—triggered the bizarre behaviors that characterized these possessions. Like other scholars, he also suggested that rivalry among religious orders, combined with political tensions, transformed the events into major witch hunts. Michel de Certeau also suggested that mental disorder was the cause of the possession and that competition among orders contributed to the harsh treatment of the alleged male witches who supposedly caused the demons to possess the nuns. Both Mandrou and de Certeau further agreed that the events marked a Foucauldian discursive transition from one system of thought to another: from theological to rational, or from the Middle Ages to the Enlightenment. For de Certeau and Mandrou, the mass possessions marked the collapse of a religious orthodoxy and the rise of the political sphere as we know it, and a shift from a devotional cosmology to a scientific organization of the natural world. De Certeau augments this explanation by paying attention to the spiritual climate of life within the convent. He suggested that being possessed by demonic spirits enabled some nuns to participate in a discourse on topics from which they were normally excluded. By speaking as others rather than as themselves, the possessed nuns voiced their theological and mystical ideas concerning divine love, in an era when the entire scholastic theology of the Middle Ages was collapsing.[15] They expressed their despair, doubts, fantasies, and confusion during a transitional period, a period in which the traditional cosmology was falling apart and a new theological discourse and language of the self and of its relations with the divine was being configured and produced. By being possessed, the nuns could project their panic outside themselves, thus shedding their responsibility for the content of these fantasies and anxieties. De Certeau echoes here a major concern of early modern female mystics, as expressed, for example, by the sixteenth-century Spanish Carmelite María de San José:

> We are but women! So I ask:
> How then shall we be heard?[16]

As important as these contributions are, we should not ignore the fact that, as I said, most cases did not develop into witchcraft accusations, did not draw much attention, did not express an apocalyptic anxiety, and did not necessitate new theological explanations. Nor can we ignore the existence of mass possessions well

[15] Certeau further elaborated this point in *The Mystic Fable*, Vol. 1: *The Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Chicago, 1992). On Certeau's approach to early modern mysticism, see Luce Giard, ed., *Le voyage mystique: Michel de Certeau* (Paris, 1988); and Jeremy Ahearne, *Michel de Certeau: Interpretation and Its Other* (Stanford, Calif., 1995).

[16] "¡Somos mujeres! Pregunto: ¿Cómo seremos oídas?" in María de San José, "The Instruction of Novices" [1602]; quoted in *Untold Sisters: Hispanic Nuns in Their Own Works*, Electa Arenal and Stacey Schlau, eds. (Albuquerque, N. Mex., 1989), 45. There exists now a large body of literature on women's (especially nuns') access to speech in the early modern period. Recent additions have been for France: Marie-Florine Bruneau, *Women Mystics Confront the Modern World: Marie de l'Incarnation (1599–1672) and Madame Guyon (1648–1717)* (Albany, N.Y., 1998); for Spain: Alison Weber, *Teresa of Avila and the Rhetoric of Femininity* (Princeton, N.J., 1990); and for Italy: *Donne e fede: Santità e vita religiosa in Italia*, Lucetta Scaraffa and Gabriella Zarri, eds. (Rome, 1994).

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before the rise of scientific/rational thinking and the alleged crisis of medieval spirituality that accompanied it. *Pace* de Certeau and Mandrou, rather than resulting from a collapse of a spiritual framework, mass possessions in convents represented the flourishing of a specific form of female spirituality.

In his magisterial analysis of early modern ways of thinking about the demonic, Stuart Clark also addresses possessions and group possessions, arguing that demonic possession should be understood within the eschatological framework of binary thinking that characterized the early modern period and within a theory of signs. "Possession was interpreted as an eschatological sign and exorcism . . . , as an enactment of the promises of the Revelation." Possession and exorcism were textual/theatrical allegories of the conflict between the church and Satan, a conflict that, contemporaries believed, was reaching its climax in the early modern era.[17] This undoubtedly was the case, but this general framework erases everything unique and complex in the behavior that was labeled by contemporaries as "demonic possession." While possessed people showed signs of the ongoing battle between good and evil, they also and primarily showed signs of being possessed by evil spirits, and collapsing these two systems of symbolization into one obscures the wide variety of metaphors and signs that operated in late medieval and early modern Europe.[18]

Recent developments in the historiography of late medieval and early modern Catholic spirituality and in feminist criticism have opened new, and I would argue better, routes for understanding the demonic outbursts. Based on these developments, and without detracting from previous readings, the following section in my discussion connects the phenomenon to late medieval and early modern female ecstatic mysticism, and to the church's growing unease with this spiritual trend. Following Clark, my discussion rejects the common explanation of demonic possession as a clear sign of "abnormal" behavior and of its protagonists as "hysterical." There is no denying that the possessed nuns acted out non-normative behaviors and that it was more than likely that they suffered acutely. The question is whether late nineteenth-century terminology helps us to understand the meaning of the nuns' behavior. I suggest that the opposite is the case, and that these labels, in fact, disguise more than they reveal, and detract from understanding the persons so described. Furthermore, diagnosing the demonically possessed nuns as mentally disturbed or hysterical merely categorizes them in clinical terms that silence them and prevent further investigation. Why bother explaining a bizarre behavior that clearly derives from the uncontrollable and unexplainable idiosyncratic activities and pronouncements of deranged individuals? Instead of dismissing such behavior, then, let us remember that, for early modern people, demonic possession was not abnormal but normal, part of a comprehensive worldview, and that the specific behavior labeled "diabolic possession" was an extremely complex one, which necessitated coherence, cognition, and recognition on behalf of the protagonists. In addition, recent feminist scholarship has exposed the misogynist overtones of the term "hysteria," which has usually been ascribed to the possessed nuns, and which

[17] Clark, *Thinking with Demons*, 389–434, quote on 393.

[18] Compare Armando Maggi, *Satan's Rhetoric: A Study of Renaissance Demonology* (Chicago, 2001).

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has functioned, as it still does, to dismiss and prevent female access to speech, power, and equality.[19] Without denying the psychological distress and suffering of the possessed women, and, in fact, while offering a psychological context as one of a number of plausible explanatory settings, my discussion tries to historicize this unique form of non-normative behavior within a cultural and spiritual context that could have made sense to early modern people. The discussion also moves beyond the level of explanation that attributes the possession to the alleged sexual frustration and/or debauchery and constant intellectual ennui that supposedly characterized convent life.[20] Much recent work has unveiled the creative and fulfilling lives that nuns (or at least some nuns) enjoyed within their small worlds. They prayed, meditated, composed texts and music, painted, socialized, ran the business transactions and the daily life of their religious house, and even from within strictly cloistered communities found ways to participate in theological and ecclesiological debates.[21] Possession should also be understood as one of these many forms of female monastic spirituality.

THE STATE OF BEING POSSESSED was a theological definition of a particular behavior. Therefore, the most important context within which diabolic mass possession makes sense is, obviously, a spiritual and religious one. And the first observation to point out is that not all convents and nunneries were likely to serve as stages for the theater of the devil. Multiple demonic possessions in convents took place most often within the walls of new or recently reformed religious orders. When the German Dominican Johannes Nider was called upon to exorcize the nuns of Nuremberg in the late 1420s, the convent of St. Catherine was in the midst of a spiritual reform. Influenced by the reform of Raimond of Capua and other developments in Dominican spirituality, the convent became a center of Obser-

[19] Recent scholarship on this topic is immense and growing. See Ari Kiev, *Faith and Healing: Primitive Psychiatry Today* (New York, 1964); Kiev, *Transcultural Psychiatry* (New York, 1973); C. Smith Rosenberg, "The Hysterical Woman: Sex Roles and Role Conflict in 19th Century America," *Social Research* 39 (1972): 652–77; Alan Krohn, *Hysteria: The Elusive Neurosis* (New York, 1978); Gérard Wajcman, *Le maître et l'hystérique* (Paris, 1982); Elaine Showalter, *The Female Malady: Women, Madness, and English Culture, 1830–1980* (New York, 1985); *In Dora's Case: Freud—Hysteria—Feminism*, Charles K. Bernheimer and Claire Kahane, eds. (New York, 1985); Jan Ellen Goldstein, *Console and Classify: The French Psychiatric Profession in the Nineteenth Century* (Cambridge, 1988); Yannick Ripa, *Women and Madness: The Incarceration of Women in Nineteenth Century France* (Cambridge, 1990); Sander L. Gilman, *et al.*, *Hysteria beyond Freud* (Berkeley, Calif., 1993); Mark S. Micale, *Approaching Hysteria: Disease and Its Interpretations* (Princeton, N.J., 1995); Elisabeth Bronfen, *The Knotted Subject: Hysteria and Its Discontents* (Princeton, 1998); Ann Goldberg, *Sex, Religion, and the Making of Modern Madness: The Eberbach Asylum and German Society, 1815–1849* (New York, 1998); Juliet Mitchell, *Mad Men and Medusas: Reclaiming Hysteria* (New York, 2000).

[20] Denis Diderot's *La religieuse* (written 1780; first published 1796) and Jules Michelet's *La sorcière* (1862) are the two most (in)famous fictional invocations of this alleged conventual ennui.

[21] Jo Ann Kay McNamara, *Sisters in Arms: Catholic Nuns through Two Millennia* (Cambridge, Mass., 1996); Arenal and Schlau, *Untold Sisters*; Jeffrey F. Hamburger, *Nuns as Artists: The Visual Culture of a Medieval Convent* (Berkeley, Calif., 1997); Hamburger, *The Visual and the Visionary: Art and Female Spirituality in Late Medieval Germany* (New York, 1998); *Le jardin clos de l'âme: L'imaginaire des religieuses dans les Pays-Bas du Sud, depuis le 13e siècle*, Paul Vandenbroeck, *et al.* (Brussels, 1994); Elisa Sampson Vera Tudela, *Colonial Angels: Narratives of Gender and Spirituality in Mexico, 1580–1750* (Austin, Tex., 2000); Gabriella Zarri, "Le istituzioni dell'educazione femminile," in Zarri, *Recinti: Donne, clausura e matrimonio nella prima età moderna* (Bologna, 2000), 145–200.

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vance, as this movement of strict adherence to the original rule came to be called. Some nuns went on long fasts, while others had trances and ecstasies. In visions, they encountered the suffering Jesus, Mary, and the Apostles. Like most visionary nuns, those of St. Catherine doubted the source of their visions. The extreme hostility of Father Eberhard Mardach, their spiritual director, to ecstatic forms of female spirituality, increased their anxiety.[22] The convent fell into disorder, and the nuns split between reformed and unreformed sisters, with the latter resisting the intrusion by the Observant nuns who joined their community and the restrictive reforms that the new nuns brought with them. The devils' attacks on the nuns started shortly after the reform, and, tellingly, it was the unreformed nuns who were tormented. Nider's early attempts to convince them to commend themselves to God and to adopt the new lifestyle failed, and the nuns did not hesitate to confront him: "When will we regain our former unrestricted freedom?" It was only after the devil increased his attacks on the nuns and "tormented them day and night" that the recalcitrant nuns surrendered their arrogance, accepted the reform, and the Enemy disappeared.[23]

The mass possession of the Florentine nuns of Santa Lucia in the 1490s took place within the tension-ridden atmosphere of the Savonarolan reforms. Santa Lucia was transformed in 1496 from a Tertiary Dominican establishment to a cloistered nunnery, and its nuns took solemn vows. The charismatic preacher enforced strict observance on the nuns, which included a rigid schedule and a complete abstinence from meat. Shortly after the reform of 1496, some nuns started exhibiting clear marks of disobedience, which suggested diabolic intervention. Among other forms of behavior, they insulted Savonarola, and called him "Fra Giraffa"! The exorcist Fra Domenico was called in and calmed the demonically possessed nuns, but conflicts between supporters and opponents of the Savonarolan reforms increased after the preacher's execution in 1498 and led to another dramatic communal possession at Santa Lucia, when forty nuns became possessed. Even contemporaries realized the connection between the rigid regimen and the outbreak of possession, and the general of the Dominican Order authorized a reform of the reform: the sisters were permitted to eat meat, some nuns were dispersed, and only those who accepted the reforms remained under Savonarolan and Dominican influence.[24]

Similar divisions, tensions, and dynamics characterized the communal posses-

[22] On the reforms, see Theodore von Kern, ed., "Die Reformation des Katharinenklosters zu Nürnberg im Jahre 1428," *Jahresbericht des historischen Vereins in Mittelfranken* 31 (1863): 1–20; Johannes Kist, "Klosterreform im spätmittelalterlichen Nürnberg," *Zeitschrift für bayerische Kirchengeschichte* 32 (1963): 31–45; Werner Williams-Krapp, "'Dise ding sint dennoch nit ware zeichen der heiligkeit': Zur Bewertung mystischer Erfahrungen im 15. Jahrhundert," *Frömmigkeitsstile im Mittelalter*, Wolfgang Haubrichs, ed. (Göttingen, 1990), also published as *Zeitschrift für Literaturwissenschaft und Linguistik* 80 (1990): 61–71.

[23] Nider, *Formicarius*, 3: 3, pp. 90v–91. Nider was convinced that the devil has a special delight in attacking religious people, especially members of mendicant orders. *Formicarius*, 1: 10, p. 15. Later in life, he also wrote a short treatise on the difficulties of reforming religious orders and on Satan's resistance to such changes. See *Tractatus de Reformatione status coenobitici* (c. 1431).

[24] My description of the events is based on the *Cronaca di San Marco*, Biblioteca Mediceo-Laurenziana, ms. 370, as reproduced in Di Agresti, *Sviluppi della riforma monastica*, 199–200; and on *Stratto del libro intitolato cronaca del Monastero e Monache di S. Lucia*, quoted in Lorenzo Polizzotto, "When Saints Fall Out: Women and the Savonarolan Reform in Early Sixteenth-Century Florence," *Renaissance Quarterly* 46, no. 3 (1993): 509.

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sions in early modern French and Flemish convents, which were all recent or recently reformed establishments. The nuns of Quesnoy le Conte belonged to the recently reformed Augustinian order, and the convent of Ubertet (Wertet) in Brabant, where mass possession took place in 1550, was under a strict reform, led by a mystically inclined priest, whose Lenten regimen for his nuns forbade them to eat anything but turnips throughout the fast. His severe spiritual direction led to sudden outbursts of impiety and blasphemy among the nuns.[25] Anne du Bois, who in 1604 founded the Reformed Brigittine convent in Lille, was herself a mystic, and was very close to Nicolas de Mortmorency, Comte d'Estaires, a leading politician in the court in Brussels and an author of several ascetic treatises. Du Bois had been established by her patron in a convent in Loos, but hostility to her reforms there led to her transfer to Lille. Here, too, she established a rigorous spiritual regime, based on excessive mortification and multiple mystical exercises.[26] Her "odor of sanctity" and princely patronage inspired many elite Lillois families to send their daughters to the Brigittines. But the families' aspirations for their daughters did not always accord with the girls' own hopes, and the abbess's regimen confronted growing opposition. The eruption of a group possession in this convent in 1608, only four years after its establishment, took place while these tensions and conflicting expectations were being hotly debated within and without the convent's walls. Likewise, Mathurin Picard, the spiritual director of the nuns at Louviers, where a mass possession erupted in 1643, and his predecessor, Father Pierre David, established a strict spiritual regimen of discipline and mortification in the convent and instructed the sisters in "self-examination, self-reflections [and] discernment of their actions . . . and talked to them about nothing but contemplation, meditation [*inaction*], enlightenment [*lumière*], ecstasy, mystical union [*d'union*], transformation," and other forms of mystical exercises.[27] According to a report by a physician who visited the sisters, meditations on Hell and the devils were a major part of their spiritual regimen.[28]

Similar dynamics characterized Ursuline convents in which mass possessions broke out. The Ursuline order received papal approval in 1572 and was established in France in 1592. The Ursuline houses in Aix-en-Provence and Loudun, where the two most famous episodes of mass possession took place, were established in 1592 and 1626, respectively, nineteen and seven years prior to the possessions in these convents. The Ursulines were originally an active, uncloistered order but were forced into enclosure in the 1610s and 1620s. This was part of the movement toward

[25] Weyer, in Mora, *Witches, Devils, and Doctors*, 304–06.

[26] Alexis de Norguet, "Anne du Bois, fondatrice des Brigittines de Lille," *Bulletin de la Commission historique du Nord* 10 (1868): 193–292; J[ean] le Normand [de Chiremont], ed., *Histoire véritable et mémorable de ce qui s'est passé sous l'exorcismes de trois filles possedées es pays de Flandre, en la découverte et confession de Marie de Sains, soi-disant princesse de la magie, et Simone Dourlet, complice, et autres* (Paris, 1623), 5–7.

[27] Esprit du Bosroger, *La piété affligée ou discours historique et théologique de la possession des religieuses dittes de Sainte-Elisabeth de Louviers* (Rouen, 1652), 42–49, quote on 48. See also [Pierre Yvelin], *Examen de la possession des religieuses de Louviers* (Paris, 1643); *Récit véritable de ce qui s'est fait et passé à Louviers, touchant les religieuses possédées* (Paris, 1647).

[28] Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, Paris, ms. 2890, fols. 42–48: "Lettre d'un médecin anonyme à M. Philibert de la Marre" [1647], reproduced in *Possession et sorcellerie au XVII^e siècle*, Robert Mandrou, ed. (Paris, 1979), 209.

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enclosure that characterized monastic life after the Council of Trent.[29] Early Ursulines compared themselves to active Amazons, but, with enclosure, this image was abandoned, and the search for a new way of life at a time of transition was expressed in the Ursulines' new theology of "Mixed Life," the combined heritage of sisters Martha and Mary, the active and the mystic.[30] Attempts by the Ursuline directors in Paris to reform Ursuline convents and to install *clausura*, strict observance, and an austere lifestyle created tensions and fights among and within houses.[31] Jean-Baptiste Romillon, the Jesuit spiritual director of the convent at Aix, where a mass possession occurred in 1611, was a convert from Protestantism and responsible for bringing the Ursulines to Provence. A critic of Catholic laxity, he installed a strict regimen in the convent in Aix, a regimen that was opposed by some nuns and their parents.[32] Like the recently founded or recently reformed Ursulines and the Brigittines, the Hospitalers of Louviers were established in 1622, twenty years before the possession, and moved to their own building ten years prior to the drama. The Visitandines, among whom a group possession took place in the 1620s, were a very recent order, searching for the right balance between mysticism and activism and between claustration and service. Like the Ursulines and the Brigittines, they, too, were engaged in an effort in the early seventeenth century to balance active life with contemplation, and to find the right equilibrium between obedience, prayer, and work.

The demonic attack on the nuns of San Plácido in Madrid in 1628 took place shortly after the establishment of this reformed Benedictine convent, an institution that was created and endowed especially to restore rigid observance to an order that had suffered from growing relaxation. Fray Francisco García Calderón, the spiritual director of the convent, was himself a mystic, a promoter of female mystics, and led his followers, among them the abbess, in very rigorous spiritual exercises. The convent was the only female religious establishment in Madrid that followed the very strict Benedictine reform, which emphasized (following St. Teresa's reform of the Carmelites) *clausura*, discipline, and a literal compliance with the original rule of the order. According to the testimony of Sister Teresa Valle de la Cerda, the nuns were subjected to a rigorous regimen of discipline and mortification "that contributed to both the convent's reputation and to the nuns' own penance."[33] The

[29] On the process of enclosure in early modern Europe, see Raimondo Creytens, "La riforma dei monasteri femminili dopo i Decreti Tridentini," in *Il Concilio di Trento e la riforma tridentina: Atti des Convegno Internazionale, Trento 2–6 settembre 1963* (Rome, 1965), 1: 45–84.

[30] Linda Lierheimer, "Female Eloquence and Maternal Ministry: The Apostolate of Ursuline Nuns in Seventeenth-Century France" (PhD dissertation, Princeton University, 1994), 36–38, 70–84, 94–101. On the tradition of the two sisters, see Michel Lauwers, "Noli me tangere: Marie-Madeleine, Marie d'Oignies et les pénitentes du XIII^{e} siècle," *Mélanges de l'Ecole Française de Rome, Moyen Age* 104 (1992): 209–68; Giles Constable, "The Interpretation of Mary and Martha," in Constable, *Three Studies in Medieval Religious and Social Thought* (Cambridge, 1995), 1–141.

[31] For a recent discussion of the Ursulines' navigation between enclosure and activism, see Anne Conrad, *Zwischen Kloster und Welt: Ursulinen und Jesuitinnen in der katholischen Reformbewegung des 16./17./ Jahrhunderts* (Mainz, 1991). Del Rio, *Disquisitionum magicae*, 515–17, mentions a strange case of demonic possession in Milan, during which a nun reported seeing a demon disguised as St. Ursula. He was escorted by minor demons, all dressed up as Ursuline sisters.

[32] Jules Michelet, *Satanism and Witchcraft: A Study in Medieval Superstition* (New York, 1939), 171.

[33] Puyol Buil, *Inquisición y política*, 88, 145–50. Long excerpts from Sister Teresa's testimony were published in *Cárceles y mujeres en el siglo XVII*, Isabel Barbeito, ed. (Madrid, 1991). Sister Teresa discusses mortification and discipline on 169–70.

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group possession in the convent of Santa Chiara in Carpi, Italy, erupted in 1636, when a new spiritual director tried to put an end to the laxity that had prevailed in the convent under the abbacy of Eleonora d'Este (Sister Angela Caterina), daughter of Duke Cesare d'Este of Modena. The abbess had brought her own servants with her, and had organized cultural and musical events within the cloistered walls of the nunnery, until a reforming priest was appointed as archbishop of Carpi and decided to establish his authority over the convent, which had become almost the private property of the d'Este family.[34]

There are different ways to account for the devil's appearance at the sites of these tensions. The conflicting aspirations and confusions within the monastic community concerning the project of *Renovatio Ecclesiae*, one might argue, found expression in psychological and physical behaviors that, at times, were explained as diabolic possession (while, as we shall see, at other times similar tensions and aspiration could lead to a definition of divine intervention). By becoming possessed, some nuns could express their opposition to reform and to the introduction of a more rigorous regimen. Conversely, the fact that demons chose to attack the community could have served some sisters as a proof that Satan, for one, took their vocation seriously. The Dominican Joannes Nider had no doubts that demons targeted the Mendicant Orders more than they did other humans, and his contemporary, the Italian preacher Bernardino of Siena, expressed a similar opinion.[35] When asked why they possessed miserable nuns rather than warriors, the possessing demons in Quesnoy de Conte shared the theologians' view, and explained that "looters, ribald fellows and thieves already belong to us, and they are our prey, our property and our conquest." Possessing this riffraff, in other words, is a waste of the devil's time. Attacking nuns, who, in their prayers to the Virgin and in their invocations of saints, release people from the demons' control, was a more befitting challenge.[36] Verrine, one of the demons who possessed the sisters at Aix in 1611, when the debate about enclosure was at its peak, admitted that female activism was more than devils could tolerate. "It is true," he stated, that "I am angry with those who live in chastity in their monasteries; but the Ursulines make me more furious, because they save many souls [from the demons], be it by their Christian devotion or by their example, working as they do more than others to aid the needy . . . All the demons have tried with all their might to persuade them to desert their vocation; we explained to them that monastic walls were most suitable for women, and that they were wrong, that their vocation was not approved."[37] And in Louviers, "the devil could not tolerate the glare of as much virtue" as was demonstrated daily by the nuns of St. Elizabeth.[38]

A demonic visit might also indicate that reformed and cloistered nuns—rather than their uncloistered and unreformed sisters—challenged and threatened the

[34] Lavenia, "I diavoli di Carpi," 81–83.

[35] Nider, *Formicarius*, 1: 10, p. 15: "Daemon quomodo religiosos plus vexat quam alios. Opinor demonis malicia a principio Mendicantium ordines." Bernardino of Siena, *Le prediche volgari*, Ciro Cannarozzi, ed., 3 vols. (Florence, 1940), 1: 204.

[36] Frédéricq, *Corpus . . . inquisitionis . . . neerlandicae*, 484.

[37] Sébastien Michaëlis, *Histoire admirable de la possession et conversion d'une pénitente: Séduite par un magicien, la faisant sorcière et princesse des sorciers au pays de Provence, conduite à la Saincte Baume pour y estre exorcizée l'an 1610* (Paris, 1614), part 2, pp. 43, 61–62.

[38] Bosroger, *La piété affligée*, 43.

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powers of evil, and were therefore attacked. St. Teresa had no doubts about this matter. "The devil," she wrote, "cannot bear to see how much discalced [barefoot] friars and nuns are serving the Lord."[39] The Jesuit Father Jean-Joseph Surin agreed and wrote to a Carmelite nun that Behemoth hates Carmelites, and that a relic of St. Teresa that he had used in his exorcisms at Loudun worked miracles, expelling one of the demons.[40] After the enclosure of the Ursulines, Mother Marie-Augustine de Pomereu, the historian of the French Ursulines, corroborated their observations. The possession in Aix, she wrote, "served the devil's mischievous designs against the order of St. Ursula," and, in the convent in Loudun, she went on to explain, "God revealed his glory by the means that he chose to sanctify a large number of souls, allowing the possession and obsession of numerous young girls."[41] The Ursuline sisters at Auxonne, where a mass possession took place in 1658–1663, similarly argued that their possession was a sign of divine favor and added to the "glory of their establishment."[42] Upon departure, the demons who possessed the Brigittines of Lille explained that their action had resulted from their hostility to saints Francis and Brigit, their adversaries in Heaven. They then went on to admit that the founding of the convent, and the exemplary piety of the abbess and the sisters, infuriated them.[43] The devils who possessed the Benedictine nuns in San Plácido in Madrid likewise explained that their intention was "to demonstrate the might of God's *Misericordia* . . . and to represent the Passion of Christ," and to purify "nuns, so that their example would extend this work of reform throughout the entire world."[44] By terrorizing new orders, the devil legitimized them. He expressed the nuns' belief that their new vocation and regimen were feared by Satan and therefore must be approved by God.

Thus, whether he tormented nuns who resisted reform, as in Nuremberg and Florence in the fifteenth century, or attacked reformed convents, as was more common in the French and Flemish communities in the seventeenth century, by the end of the day and the exorcism the devil found himself acting as a divine agent of reform, serving an edifying goal.[45] This was the power of the nuns, whose behavior initiated the theological/exorcismal intervention, and of the exorcists themselves, who, concurrently with healing the demoniacs, discursively and theologically shaped the events and gave them meaning. What had started as a spiritual response to new religious aspirations and requirements was shaped during the exorcism into a struggle between God and the devil, a struggle that took place inside the nun's body.

[39] Quoted in Alison Weber, "Saint Teresa, Demonologist," in *Culture and Control in Counter-Reformation Spain*, Anne J. Cruz and Mary E. Perry, eds. (Minneapolis, 1991), 184.

[40] Surin, *Correspondance*, letter 48, March 14, 1635, pp. 253–56: "L'un des diables que j'éxorcise est ennemi particulier des Carmélites et travaille contre elles tant qu'il peut"; quote 255.

[41] M.P.D.V. [Mme. Marie-Augustine de Pomereu], *Les chroniques de l'ordre des Ursulines, recueillies pour l'usage des religieuses du même ordre*, 3 vols. (Paris, 1673), 1: 40, 247.

[42] Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris (hereafter, BNF), ms. fr. 18,696, fol. 130.

[43] J[ean] le Normand [de Chiremont], [ed.], *Histoire véritable*, 3.

[44] Puyol Buil, *Inquisición y política*, 145, and see also 149–51.

[45] See, for examples, Verrine's sermons, during the exorcisms in Aix, in praise of the Virgin Mary and Mary Magdalene in Michaëlis, *Histoire admirable*, part 2, pp. 5–9; and the demon's exaltation of the Virgin during the exorcisms in Louviers, Bosroger, *La piété affligée*, 116–19, 302.

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IT IS IMPOSSIBLE TO GENERALIZE about the social profile of possessed nuns. Our information is incomplete, and the following speculations concerning the social composition of convents where group possessions erupted are therefore tentative. Santa Lucia in Florence and the convents in Cilenza and Carpi near Modena, as well as San Plácido in Madrid and St. Clara in Cologne, all recruited daughters from the highest echelons of the local nobilities, including members of the ruling dynasties.[46] The convents of Lille and Verger and the Ursuline convents of Aix and Loudun recruited many sisters from among the local nobility and the higher bourgeoisie, sisters who were used to a comfortable monastic life prior to the reform. Such, for example, was the social background and lifestyle of Madeleine de Demandolx de la Palud, the first novice to become possessed in Aix in 1609. The daughter of wealthy provincial noble parents, she had first joined the Ursuline convent in 1605 when she was twelve. There were only six nuns at the convent at the time, all daughters of the provincial Provençal nobility. Due to depression, Madeleine de la Palud was sent back home, she then joined as a novice in another convent in Marseille, and only then was transferred to Aix again. Shortly after her forced return to Aix, she smashed a crucifix, and this was the first sign of her diabolic possession. Adjustment to monastic life was obviously difficult for the young woman.[47] The Loudunais Mother Jeanne des Anges was the daughter of a provincial baron, and she described in her memoirs the easy life she had led prior to her appointment at Loudun. The personal confusion that arose from the contradictory tensions of activism and enclosure was augmented by the confused aspirations of some nuns' families—whose financial support was necessary for the convent's survival—and among nuns of different social backgrounds. With enclosure, wealthier families were more willing to send their daughters to new orders, and this was the secret of the Ursulines' popularity. But these families also wanted to preserve the right to visit their daughters and let their daughters maintain the lifestyle to which they had been accustomed, as the examples of Angela Caterina (d'Este) in Modena and Doña Teresa in Madrid indicate. Thus both the nuns and their families had conflicting ideas about what life in the reformed convents should be like.[48] This class argument, however, can also be seen shaping possession from the opposite direction. For instance, all thirty Ursuline nuns in a convent in Milan, where a mass possession erupted in 1590, were poor.[49] The possession in the convent in Kentorp, near Strasbourg, in 1552, was initiated by Elsa von Kamen, the cook, whose jealousy of her noble and high-born sisters led her to invoke a demon to poison them.[50] Madeleine Bavent (Sister de la Résurrection), who was exposed during the exorcisms in Louviers to be the witch who had brought about the possession of her sisters, was an orphan, raised by her aunt and uncle and apprenticed to a dressmaker. She was of a much humbler social background than

[46] Lavenia, "I diavoli di Carpi," 80–83; Puyol Buil, *Inquisición y política*, 62–65.

[47] BNF, ms. fr. 23,852, testimony of Catherine de France, 69, and investigation of Madeleine de la Palud, 305.

[48] For additional French examples, see Geneviève Reynes, *Couvents de femmes: La vie des religieuses cloîtrées dans la France des XVII^e^ et XVIII^e^ siècles* (Paris, 1987), 183–84, 201–15; for Flemish examples, see A. Pasture, *La restauration religieuse aux Pays-Bas catholiques sous les archiducs Albert et Isabelle (1596–1633)* (Louvain, 1925), 277.

[49] Lancre, *L'incredulité et mescreance*, 422.

[50] Weyer, in Mora, *Witches, Devils, and Doctors*, 307–09.

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the other nuns, who were all "the best daughters of the place, carefully brought up by their parents and instructed from early age by nuns."[51] Similarly, the first women to become possessed at the elite convent of San Plácido in Madrid were the novices Jusepa, a slave or daughter of slaves, and Isabel de Frías, whose parents were Moriscos. Her father died in the Morisco uprising in Granada when she was two years old, and she and her mother were taken prisoners. She then married a practicing Morisco, who was condemned to the galleys. She herself was put back into prison and then released to serve in the household of a Christian noblewoman.[52]

We should also keep in mind the possibility that the diagnosis of specific cases of group possession (and of possession in general) was determined, among other variables, by the social position and network of the demoniac. It is likely that possessed upper-class nuns were more likely to be labeled "visionaries" than diabolically possessed. This was the case in numerous cases of individual possessions in Italy.[53] It was also the fate of Jeanne des Anges. Similarly, after fourteen years of trials, arrests, and political struggles, the Spanish Inquisition determined in 1642 that the upper-class possessed nuns at San Plácido were not actually possessed.[54]

WHILE WE CANNOT GENERALIZE about the social composition of afflicted convents, we are on safer ground when it comes to speculating about the psychological profile of the female protagonists of these dramas, all the while keeping in mind de Certeau's observation that there is no "locus that authorizes me, today, to suppose that I can speak the other better than [the exorcists]" or resurrect the true voices of the possessed.[55] Can we reach these possessed protagonists, their "real" experiences, their "original" motivations, and their (often-forgotten) suffering beyond the exorcists' exultation?

The sexual behavior of possessed nuns has supplied historians and other voyeurs with much ammunition in their equation of monastic life with sexual hysteria and insatiability or, alternatively, frustration. Jean-Martin Charcot ("C'est toujours la chose génitale, toujours, toujours, toujours") and Sigmund Freud, however, did not invent the association of nunneries with sexual hysteria or of spiritual experiences

[51] *Examen de la possession des religieuses de Louviers*, 13; see also the detailed prosopographical study of the nuns of Louviers in Daniel Vidal, *Critique de la raison mystique: Benoît de Canfield, possession et dépossession au XVII^e siècle* (Grenoble, 1990), 351–61.

[52] Puyol Buil, *Inquisición y política*, 63–64.

[53] Romeo de Maio, "L'ideale eroico nei processi di canonizzazione della Controriforma," in de Maio, *Riforma e miti nella Chiesa del'500* (Naples, 1973), 257–78; G. Dalla Torre, "Santità ed economia processuale: L'Esperienza guiridica da Urbano VIII a Benedetto XIV," in *Finzione e santità tra medioevo ed età moderna*, Gabriella Zarri, ed. (Turin, 1991), 231–63; Anne Jacobson Schutte, " 'Piccole Donne,' 'Grandi Eroine': Santità femminile 'simulata' e 'vera' nell'Italia della prima età moderna," in Scaraffa and Zarri, *Donne e fede*, 277–301; Giulio Sodano, "Il nuovo modello di santità nell'epoca post-tridentina," in *I tempi del concilio: Religione, cultura e società nell'Europa tridentina*, Cesare Mozzarelli and Danilo Zardin, eds. (Rome, 1997), 189–205.

[54] The political context of this demonic possession is the main subject of Puyol Buil's book.

[55] Michel de Certeau, "Discourse Disturbed: The Sorcerer's Speech," in Certeau, *The Writings of History* (New York, 1988), 255, 252.

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with frustrated sexual desire.[56] The French theologian Jean Gerson warned in the fifteenth century that "some naive women confuse divine love with carnal love," and many legal and Inquisitional records document disorderly sexual behavior among the Brides of Christ.[57] The French seventeenth-century physician Claude Quillet, who examined the possessed nuns in Loudun, agreed, and explained that the nuns suffered from *hystéromanie*. His friend, the Parisian erudite Gabriel Naudé, elaborated on Quillet's diagnosis, arguing that "these diabolic and miserable nuns find themselves locked within four walls. They fall in love, sink into melancholic hallucinations, and are driven by the desires of the flesh. And truth must be said: what they need is a carnal remedy."[58] A physician who examined the possessed sister in Louviers explained that "they were all young girls and it is likely that they had not yet experienced their natural purgation," while physician Guy Patin dismissed cases of group possessions, explaining that "in all the recent possessions only women or girls were involved: fools [*bigottes*] or nuns . . . This is not a devil from Hell but a devil of the flesh."[59] Theologians, too, were aware that concupiscence does not desert nuns once they take their vows but that their sexual drive is alive and well. The famous and popular French preacher Jean Benedicti named the nuns' *parties honteuses* as the devil's favorite entry point. Jean Bodin, one of the greatest minds of his generation, agreed, arguing that "evil spirits possess women from 'over there' [*là-bas*] and speak through their shameful body parts [*parties honteuses*]."[60] Nuns' behaviors and personal testimonies supported the theologians' fears. During a mass possession in a convent in Hessenberg (near Nijmegen, Spanish Netherlands), the demons "played so sweetly upon the lyre and the cithara that the maidens might easily have been induced to dance in chorus. Then, in the form of a dog, he would leap into the bed of one of the nuns and the suspicion would fall upon her of having committed the 'silent sin'" (masturbation). In another convent, near Cologne, another demon in the shape of a dog penetrated inside the nuns' inner garments, and the movements of their habits "gave indications of a

[56] Especially important is Charcot's *Les démoniaques dans l'art* (Paris, 1887), where the comparison between energumens and hysterical patients at the Saltpêtrière, Charcot's clinic, is developed. On the genital sensuality of early modern possession and exorcism, see now Giovanni Romeo, *Esorcisti, confessori e sessualità femminile nell'Italia della Controriforma* (Florence, 1998).

[57] Jean Gerson, "De distinctione verarum visionum a falsis," trans. in Paschal Boland, *The Concept of Discretio Spirituum in John Gerson's "De Probatione Spirituum" and "De Distinctione Verarum Visionum a Falsis"* (Washington, D.C., 1959), 81, 75.

[58] BNF, ms. fr. 12,801: "Relation de tout ce que j'ay vue à Loudun en neuf jours que j'ay visité les possédées"; and a letter from Naudé to Guy Patin, who quotes Quillet, quoted in René Pintard, *Le libertinage érudite dans la première moitié du XVII^e siècle* (Geneva, 1983), 222.

[59] [Pierre Yvelin], "Lettre d'un médecin," in Mandrou, *Possession and sorcellerie*, 210; Yvelin, *Apologie pour l'auteur de l'examen de la possession des religieuses de Louviers, à Messieurs l'Emperière et Magnart, médecins à Rouen* (Paris, 1643), 17. Yvelin, the queen mother's physician and specialist in female illnesses, explained that possession results from the accumulation of unused melancholic humor in the vagina, which vaporizes throughout the body. This condition is especially common among young, unmarried women. Guy Patin, *Lettres*, November 17, 1643; quoted in Mandrou, *Magistrats et sorciers*, 291.

[60] Jean Benedicti, *La triomphante victoire de la vierge Marie, sur sept malins esprits, finalement chassés du corps d'une femme, dans l'Eglise des Cordeliers de Lyon* (Lyons, 1611), 33; Jean Bodin, *De la démonomanie des sorciers* (1587; rpt. edn., 1979), fol. 82b, compare 15a, 24b. See also Domenico Gravina's warning against nuns' *fluxus genitorae* in his *Ad discrenendas versas a falsis visionibus et revelationibus*, 2 vols. (Naples, 1638), 2: part 2, book 1, chap. 2, p. 19. The entire second part of this long volume deals with discernment of spirits and the theological, sexual, and humoral causes that make women's revelations and vision unreliable and likely to be demonic.

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sordid sexual skirmish," while demons in the shape of cats did the same in yet another convent, this one at Hensberg in the duchy of Cleves. In 1564, during a mass possession in the convent of Nazareth, near Cologne, the nuns "were frequently thrown to the ground and their lower torso was made to thrust up and down in the way usually associated with sexual intercourse."[61] In Aix, Sister Madeleine de la Palud testified that she felt "great warmth and swelling in her *parties honteuses*," and during her exorcism exhibited lascivious movements that "represented the sexual act, with violent movements of the lower part of her belly."[62] During her exorcism, Sister Marie de Hénin, from the Cistercian convent in Verger (1613), admitted to having had sexual relations with demons eight times, and that she "polluted herself with a certain lay woman of the abbey."[63] Jeanne des Anges blamed the devil for making her and her spiritual sisters desire Grandier, and the latter paid with his life for the sexual accusations of these nuns. "When I did not see him, I burned with desire for him," admitted the mother superior. Once she became possessed, seven demons moved freely inside her body, filling her mind with dishonorable thoughts. "Shame," she said, "prevents me from describing them in detail."[64] Ten years later, in Louviers, one nun reported having seen Christ descending from the Cross, kissing her, and whispering sweet little things in her ear, and that a beautiful angel appeared to her and admitted his sexual attraction to her.[65] Madeleine Bavent recalled in her interrogations years of sexual debauchery with other nuns and with father confessors, and the frequent use of the Eucharist for sexual acts.[66] During exorcisms, possessed nuns exposed themselves, simulated acts of copulation, and called their possessing agencies names such as *Queue de chien* (Dog's Dick), *Souvillon* (Ash-Colored Pussy), Fornication, Impurity, Concupiscence, and Pollution.[67] In Auxonne, during the mass possession of 1658–1663, nuns accused Mother Buvée of having sexual contacts with them "comme un homme aurait faict," as well as with demons, of inserting Hosts into their *parties*, and of bewitching them to see Christ's *partie honteuse* in the Host![68]

Lest the latter hallucination seem too fantastical, we must remember that nuns routinely contemplated and gazed at the *Imagines nudae*, the naked body of Christ, which is also a near-naked body of a male. A few examples from cases of possessions of individual nuns add to the centrality of sexual imagery in nuns' lives. The seventeenth-century Benedictine nun Louise Boussard could not look at the Crucifix because staring at it agitated her to imagine carnal scenes that she was too ashamed to name. Her mother superior had to calm her down, arguing that visions of the Lord are always pure, even when carnal or sensual.[69] Mother Marie Bon de

[61] All of these cases are recorded by Weyer; see Mora, *Witches, Devils, and Doctors*, 306–11.

[62] BNF, ms. fr. 23,852, p. 118, compare 21–22, 53, 73; Michaëlis, *Histoire admirable*, 74–75.

[63] Quoted in Lottin, "Sorcellerie, possessions diaboliques et crise conventuelle," 115.

[64] *Soeur Jeanne des Anges, Autobiographie*, 68–69; compare BNF, ms. fr. 24,163, "Extrait des preuves qui sont au proces de Grandier."

[65] Bosroger, *La piété affligée*, 140–44.

[66] Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, mss. 2,833 and 5,416.

[67] BNF, ms. fr. 23,852, pp. 8–9 (Aix); ms. fr. n.a. 6,764, fols. 7–8, and 92–96v, deposition of Michel Soumain: ms. fr. 12,801; *La démonomanie de Loudun, qui montre la véritable possession des religieuses ursulines et autres séculières, avec la liste des religieuses et séculières possédées* (La Flèche, 1634).

[68] BNF, ms. fr. 18,696, fols. 150–52.

[69] Mère Jacqueline Bouëtte de Blémur, *Eloges de plusieurs personnes illustres en piété de l'Ordre de Saint Benoît* (Paris, 1679), 1: 355–56.

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l'Incarnation also realized one day, while meditating on a crucifix, that the man she was gazing at was attracting her to him, moving his body parts in ways that resembled a lover. This male object of desire was, clearly, the devil and not Christ, she concluded. Luckily, the Son of God then appeared, and "immediately covered the enemy's artifact." Alas, she could never thereafter contemplate the image of Christ without being overwhelmed by shameful ideas.[70] The Peruvian nun Luisa Benites, who was possessed by 6,666 demons, felt the male member inside her for entire days, and Sister Juana Asensi, a Franciscan nun, was executed in Valencia in 1649 after describing a vision in which she had mystical/sexual intercourse with Christ. "The whole of Our Lord Jesus Christ's body had confronted her and united with her, face to face, eye to eye, mouth to mouth and the other parts of the body also."[71]

This having been said, I want to suggest that, while it is obviously true that sometimes "a cigar is just a cigar," it is also important to contemplate the possibility that at other times even a penis can signify a cigar. In other words, we should think of a pre-Freudian world in which sex was not as central to self-identity as it is for us, and where sexual and erotic symbolizations were natural means of expressions for nuns, who were constantly warned of sexual temptation, who equated tensions with danger and therefore with the erotic, and who were all familiar to a certain degree with the mystical-erotic language of late medieval spirituality.[72] For over a thousand years, theologians created woman in the image of Eve, and nuns were even more exposed to these teachings than lay women. They were repeatedly warned that the female body was more vulnerable to seduction by the devil than the male body, and that the female mind was too weak to distinguish between fantasy and reality.[73] The possessed nuns' incitement to sexual lawlessness—the clearest demonstration of women's weakness and culpability—therefore only affirmed further the theologians' view. But, as Caroline Bynum has convincingly argued in her critique of Leo Steinberg's *The Sexuality of Christ and Modern Oblivion*, when nuns meditated on the naked Christ they might also have seen incarnation and redemption, and not—or not only—sex. Carnality and bodily images did not symbolize just sexuality or sex.[74] Theirs was *Luxuria spiritualis*, where visual desire was transformed into a mystical desire, and where the eyes of the body became the

[70] J. Maillard, *La vie de la Mère Marie Bon de l'Incarnation* (Paris, 1686), 152–54.

[71] Lourdes Blanco, "Poder y passión: Espíritus entretejidos," in Ramos Medina, *El monacato femenino en el imperio español*, 371–72; Francisco Pons Fuster, *Místicos, beatas y alumbrados: Ribera y la espiritualidad valenciana del s. XVII* (Valencia, 1991), 182–86. See also Richard Trexler, "Gendering Jesus Christ," in *Iconography at the Crossroads: Papers from the Colloquium sponsored by the Index of Christian Art, Princeton University, 23–24 March 1990*, Brendan Cassidy, ed. (Princeton, N.J., 1993), 1–13; and additional examples in Asunción Lavrin, "La vida feminina como experiencia religiosa: Biografía y hagiografía colonial," *Colonial Latin American Review* 2, nos. 1–2 (1993): 37–41.

[72] On alternative systems of dream analysis, see John J. Winkler's chapter on Artemidorus' dream book in *The Constraints of Desire: The Anthropology of Sex and Gender in Ancient Greece* (New York, 1990), 17–44.

[73] Nancy Caciola, "Discerning Spirits: Sanctity and Possession in the Later Middle Ages" (PhD dissertation, University of Michigan, 1994), 3–68.

[74] Caroline Walker Bynum, "The Body of Christ in the Later Middle Ages: A Reply to Leo Steinberg," in Bynum, *Fragmentation and Redemption: Essays on Gender and the Human Body in Medieval Religion* (New York, 1992), 79–117. Compare Bynum, "Why All the Fuss about the Body? A Medievalist's Perspective," *Critical Inquiry* 22 (1995): 1–33.

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means to activate the eyes of the soul.[75] Spirituality, sensuality, and sexuality coexisted in early modern mysticism and possession in ways that were more complex and more multidimensional than twentieth-century thinkers assumed, and we should not equate monastic carnality with the modern notion of sexuality (nor should we "purify" and desexualize carnality into pure spirituality).

In addition, one should also contemplate the possibility that the "obscene" gestures of the possessed nuns were labeled sexual, and that the nuns themselves started referring to themselves as "whores" and "licentious" and describing sexual fantasies, *only after* they had already been diagnosed as demonically possessed. In other words, once the possibility of divine possession was ruled out by the exorcists, and once the woman had been declared to be under Satan's control, the accused nun began to behave in the manner that was expected of a possessed woman, namely, without sexual restraint. Exorcism is an iatrogenic process, a process in which the interaction between the afflicted person and the exorcist creates the confabulation—the narrative that is constructed dialogically between them. During these negotiations, the possessed nun acquired meaningful explanation for her behavior but, in return, had to relinquish any spiritual aspiration and to accept the identity of a demoniac.[76] The sexualization of the ecstatic body was part of the process of exorcism, not necessarily part of the original cluster of symptoms that had first given rise to the suspicion of a possession by an undetermined entity.

We should therefore look for psychological context and explanation that regard the sexual imagery as a metaphorization of nonsexual tensions and anxieties within the monastic community. Again, rather than searching for idiosyncratic if plausible causes for the demonic possession of any specific nun, we should look for general characteristics of monastic female life that might have contributed to a climate of psychological and spiritual turmoil.

For too long, historians have tended to dismiss and sometimes even ridicule the seriousness and sincerity of nuns' struggles with issues of spirituality, chastity, and humility. The distance between aspiration and actuality was a major theological concern of all medieval theologians, and no less so of practicing nuns. Through the practices of confession and reading lives of saints, nuns were trained to unveil every imperfection within themselves. They constantly examined their consciences, always finding themselves short of the vows of humility, obedience, and chastity. Their lives were a battle between divine grace and human nature, and the demonic, therefore, was always present within the monastic community, always a threat, always willing and ready to attack a nun whose arrogance, pride, disobedience, or duplicity was

[75] Compare Teresa of Avila, "Life," in *The Collected Works of St. Teresa of Avila*, 3 vols., Kieran Kavanaugh and Otilio Rodriguez, trans. (Washington, D.C., 1976–85), vol. 1, 28: 4.

[76] Here, I am echoing Mary Jacobus's observation that "women's access to discourse involves submission to phallocentricity, to the masculine and the symbolic; refusal, on the other hand, risks re-inscribing the feminine as a yet more marginal madness or nonsense." *Reading Woman: Essays in Feminist Criticism* (New York, 1986), 29. Compare Julia Kristeva, "Oscillation between Power and Denial," in Elaine Marks and Isabelle de Courtivron, eds., *New French Feminism* (New York, 1981), 165–67. While I disagree with Jacobus's and Kristeva's generalizations, exorcism, when it was performed (as was usually the case) by a man of power on the body of a powerless woman, seems to be a setting in which the sexual and linguistic dynamics indeed overlap. I discuss further the sexualization of possessed nuns below.

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proof of her imperfection.[77] Nuns' autobiographical writings present lives of self-examination and self-doubt, lives in which nuns continually accused themselves of pride, duplicity, and arrogance. Admittedly, nuns' autobiographies are extremely problematic texts and should not be read at face value. They tell us what an exemplary life ought to be, rather than what it was, and they are characterized by lack of originality and by an adherence to established models of sanctity.[78] But reading against the grain, it is the human, rather than the superhuman, elements within these autobiographies that sheds light on convent life "as it really was." Fear and self-doubt as well as jealousies, competition, and degradation among nuns stand out because these feelings should not have been there, because these emotions present the nun's sanctity as a constant struggle and failure rather than a triumph.

Self-doubt, competition, and mutual suspicion were especially the lot of nuns who aspired to or enjoyed mystical experiences, and who accused themselves and were accused of disingenuousness and fraud, and of self-fashioning as saints to convey a false impression of holiness. It is not an exaggeration to say that battling the devil was part of what late medieval and early modern conventual spirituality was all about. Doubting her own worth, and aware of her imperfections, St. Teresa of Avila suffered throughout her career from doubts and anxiety concerning her mystical visions, which she herself, as well as the Inquisition, suspected of being of demonic origins. "Since at that time other women had fallen into serious illusions and deception caused by the devil, I began to be afraid. I began to fear and wonder whether the devil, making me think the experience was good, wanted to suspend the intellect so that he could draw me away," she recalled. Visions bespeak arrogance and should be resisted, she stated, and in her guide to her followers she warned against visions, while in her autobiography she recommended nuns to use "discipline"—the whip—to cure unregulated and proud spirits that disrupt the harmony of the monastic community.[79] "There is a demon who spies upon [nuns'] sleep to infect them with evil [or dirty] fancies [*mauvaises imaginations*]," warned the rule of the Order of the Visitations. Not surprisingly, demons appeared to some nuns in

[77] The duality Grace-Nature is mentioned by Jean Delumeau, *Un chemin d'histoire: Chrétienté et christianisation* (Paris, 1981), 220–24, and his use of these abstractions follows early modern usages.

[78] On the rhetorical devices and the character of spiritual autobiographies, see Kate Greenspan, "The Autohagiographical Tradition in Medieval Women's Devotional Literature," *Auto/biography* 6, no. 2 (1991): 157–68; and Jacques Le Brun, "Les biographies spirituelles françaises du XVII^{ème} siècle: Ecriture feminine? Ecriture mystique?" in *Esperienza religiosa e scritture femminili tra medioevo et età moderna*, Marilena Modica Vasta, ed. (Palermo, 1992), 135–51, who raises the possibility that such biographies were written by the nuns' confessors rather than by the nuns themselves; also see Anne Jacobson Schutte, "Introduction," to her edition of Cecilia Ferrazzi, *Autobiography of an Aspiring Nun* (Chicago, 1996), 12; Kristine Ibsen, *Spiritual Autobiography in Colonial Spanish America* (Gainesville, Fla., 1999), 10–32.

[79] Teresa of Avila, "Life," 23: 2 (Kavanaugh edn., p. 152), 28: 14 (p. 187); 29: 7 (p. 191), 30: 9 (p. 198), 31: 1 (p. 203), 32: 9 (p. 216). See also Carole Slade, *Santa Teresa of Avila: Author of a Heroic Life* (Berkeley, Calif., 1995). Such doubts were typical. Among numerous other examples, see Jeanne-Françoise de Chantal, *Correspondance*, Burns, ed., 4: 186, and 5: 568, 574–79, 634–35, 793–94; Richard L. Kagan, *Lucrecia's Dreams: Politics and Prophecy in Sixteenth-Century Spain* (Berkeley, 1990); Jodi Bilinkoff, "Charisma and Controversy: The Case of María de Santo Domingo," *Archivo Dominicano* 10 (1989): 55–66; Alison Weber, "Between Ecstasy and Exorcism: Religious Negotiation in Sixteenth-Century Spain," *Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies* 23 (1993): 221–34; Anne Scattigno, "Maria Maddalena de'Pazzi: Tra esperienza e modello," in *Donna, disciplina, creanza cristiana dal XV al XVII secolo: Studi e testi stampa*, Gabriella Zarri, ed. (Rome, 1996), 97–98

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Louviers as Angels of Light, and to one even as the Virgin Mary, which led exorcist Esprit du Bosroger to warn that revelations are arrogance and clear evidence of diabolic delusions.[80]

These tensions and doubts, however, extended far beyond the private psychological battle that took place within each nun. Convents were small worlds and, like every human community, were marked by intense friendships and support systems but also by daily conflicts and competition. As historian Craig Harline points out: "Factionalism versus common love, dissent versus obedience, the rights of the individual versus the demands of the community, the drawing of the line between temporal needs and extravagance ... have always been the central tensions of monasticism."[81] A very experienced mother superior even compared common life in convents to Purgatory and to the Crucifixion.[82] Jeanne des Anges described a world of petty quarrels in her autobiography, as did St. Teresa and her two followers, María de San José (1548–1603), the founder of the Discalced Carmelite convent in Seville, and Ana de San Bartolomé (1548–1603), the prioress of the Carmelites in Paris.[83] "The quarrels increased from day to day. And the devil did all he could in my soul," the latter wrote, casting him as the cause and instigator of the convent's tensions.[84] Sister Francisca Josefa de la Concepción, also known as Madre Castillo of New Granada (Colombia, 1671–1742), similarly described the cruelty of her companions to her in the convent of Santa Clara in Tunja, and accused the devil of inciting other nuns against her. Her spiritual sisters, on the other hand, blamed her arrogance and hypocrisy, and were convinced that she was possessed by evil spirits.[85] Tensions and competition were endemic in the Tertiary convent of Bethlehem in Leuven when sisters Margaret and Lesken became possessed there in 1606, inciting a disharmony that continued until the 1630s.[86] In Louviers, the devil appeared to some nuns disguised as other nuns, and ignited perpetual dissention among the nuns. Tensions and conflicts were so endemic that Simonne Gaugain (Mother Françoise de la Croix), the very strict mother superior, and some of the nuns left shortly before the possession and installed themselves in the Hospitaler convent in Paris, while other nuns accused each other of witchcraft and infanticide.

[80] *Coutumier et directoire pour les soeurs religieuses de la Visitation Sainte-Marie* (Paris, 1637), 84; Bosroger, *La piété affligée*, 776, 147 (Angel of Light), 149, 169–72, 126–211.

[81] Harline, *Burdens of Sister Margaret*, xiii.

[82] Marie de Chantal Gueudré, *Histoire de l'ordre des Ursulines de France*, 1: 184–87, 237–38.

[83] *Soeur Jeanne des Anges, Autobiographie*, 58–59, 86, 88; Teresa of Avila, "Life," 28: 12 (p. 243); "Spiritual Testimonies," no. 2, Kavanaugh edn., vol. 1 (pp. 381–82); María de San José, "Libro de recreaciones" [1585], discussed in Arenal and Schlau, *Untold Sisters*, 28–29. On the hostility to María de San José, see Gillian T. W. Ahlgren, *Teresa of Avila and the Politics of Sanctity* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1996), 53–58. See additional cases in Martha Elizabeth Zitter, "Basic Reasons Which Have Induced the Maiden Martha Elisabeth Zitter to Leave the French or White-Ladies Convent of the Ursuline Order in Erfurt and to Profess the True Evangelical Religion," in *Convents Confront the Reformation: Catholic and Protestant Nuns in Germany*, Merry Wiesner-Hanks, ed. (Milwaukee, 1996), 91; and in Isabelle Poutrin, *Le voile et la plume: Autobiographie et sainteté féminine dans l'Espagne moderne* (Madrid, 1995), 159–67.

[84] Ana de San Bartolomé, "Autobiography," in Arenal and Schlau, *Untold Sisters*, 63. Similar episodes are recorded in the plays and biographies authored by Abbess Marcela de San Félix (1605–1687), daughter of the great Spanish dramatist Lope de Vega and a Reformed Carmelite. *Untold Sisters*, 235–39, 277.

[85] Francisca Josefa Castillo y Guevara, *Obras completas*, Darío Achury Valenzuela, ed., 2 vols. (Bogota, 1968), vol. 1: *Su vida*, 30; quoted in Ibsen, *Spiritual Autobiography*, 72.

[86] Harline, *Burdens of Sister Margaret*, 21–23, 99–122, 221–32.

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These contestations and *ligues* among the sisters led to the accusation of witchcraft against Sister Madeleine Bavent.[87] Similarly, the mass possession at the Ursuline convent at Auxonne (1658–1663) erupted soon after a new mother superior, Barbe Buvée, arrived and attempted to reform the convent. During two long years of possession and exorcism, her spiritual daughters accused her of witchcraft, infanticide, and lesbianism, until the Parlement of Dijon dismissed the charges against her, and Buvée herself was transferred to another convent.[88]

If lack of devotion or humility was a mark of laxity, too much devotion and humility meant a retreat from the community into internal life of spiritual exercises and of obedience to divine orders, which could be construed as self-indulgence, thereby sidestepping the authority of the mother superior and the church hierarchy. Mysticism meant exclusion and individuality, and when a sister experienced private revelations—possession by either good or evil spirits—it inevitably exacerbated preexisting tensions within the monastic community. Humility and claims of divine inspiration were difficult to reconcile. It is therefore not surprising that the Spanish theologian Diego Pérez de Valdivia found it advisable to exhort and admonish the Brides of Christ "that they zealously call on Him that he not give them visions, nor revelations, nor ecstasies, nor transportations, nor any such things that singles out one from the other."[89] The visionary or possessed nun had to navigate between her extraordinary experiences and the bonds of sisterhood, between her outstanding behavior and her need to conform. A state of rapture might well result in a rupture between the mystic and her milieu. Ascetic behavior, claims of visions, physical manifestations of either divine grace or demonic possession, extraordinary behaviors such as a mysterious sickness that could not be diagnosed, the inability to digest food, convulsions, ecstasies, and stigmatization created a scandal in the convent, and hence such events were regarded by other nuns with suspicion, envy, competitiveness, and fear. Demonstrating their misogynistic mistrust of women, theologians who composed guides for exorcists warned explicitly that mass demonic possessions in convents are likely to be a result of "womanish wars and rivalry" among nuns.[90] But even St. Teresa remembered that her own disciples were hostile to her revelations: "The devil," she wrote in her autobiography, "began striving here through one person and another to make known that I had received some revelation . . . Some persons came to me with great fear to tell me we were in trouble and that it could happen that others might accuse me of something and report me to the Inquisition."[91] The internalization of such doubts was demonstrated in 1611, when Madeleine de la Palud of Aix first became possessed. Her devil expressed his

[87] Bosroger, *La piété affligée*, 80, 137, 144–45, 157–65; "Lettre d'un médecin," in Mandrou, *Possession et sorcellerie*, 210.

[88] BNF, ms. fr. 18,695, fols. 3–4, and the very detailed testimonies of the Ursuline sisters during their investigations, fols. 37–88; ms. fr. 18,696, fols. 135–36, 147–54.

[89] Diego Pérez de Valdivia, *Aviso de gente recogida* (1585; rpt. edn., Madrid, 1977), 334.

[90] Cardinal Desiderio Scaglia, "Prattica per le procedere nelle cause del S. Offizio" [c. 1635], quoted in Schutte, *Aspiring Saints*, 68. See also Giorgio Polacco, *Breve raccontamento di quanto gli è occorso nel corso di trenta sei anni continui mentre è stato confessor delle venerande monache di S. Lucia de Venezia* (Venice, 1643), 30–31.

[91] Teresa of Avila, "Life," 1: chap. 33: 5 (p. 286); compare chap. 31: 2 (p. 264).

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opinion that she was a disgrace, that she betrayed the Ursulines' vocations, and that her fellow Ursulines should not retain her in their company.[92]

One should also not ignore the financial aspect of the inter-monastic tensions and the risk involved in keeping an ecstatic sister in the convent. It was therefore important to keep demonic possessions in convents secret (even if this article is a proof that this attempt at secrecy failed). In 1574, during the demonic possession and exorcism of Sister Mansueta of the Order of the Poor Clares in Santa Croce in Venice, special attention was paid "to prevent, as much as possible, scandal and people's murmurings."[93] Describing the impact of the scandal in Loudun, Jeanne des Anges recalled that, during the period of the possession, the nuns were reduced to extreme poverty. "We lacked bread; we lived for days without eating. For lack of provisions we were reduced to survive on cabbage and vegetables from our garden."[94] Notions of fame due to collective honor of a religious community guaranteed spiritual and social conformity, and hence steady income from wealthy patrons. A nun who behaved in an inappropriate or suspected manner put the entire community at risk. Following the Council of Trent, external behavior became an indication of interior virtue. Abbesses and spiritual directors imposed decorum and regimen to discourage expressions of individuality, including visions and other mystical experiences. A typical regimen included prayers, penance, fasting, long periods of silence, and "discipline."[95] But this very same regimen could also play into the devil's hands, by encouraging private meditation, loneliness, and physical and bodily sensations that could have resulted in the very same behaviors that it tried to prevent.[96] St. Teresa, always doubting the fine line between divine and diabolic strenuous self-mortification, was overwhelmed by the strict self-imposed discipline of her followers in the Carmelite convent in Mancera, and asked them "not to practice such severity in matters of penance . . . afraid that the devil might be trying to bring their work to an end."[97] Visions that result from self-mortification, she warned, are *abobamiento* (silliness) rather than *arrobamiento* (ecstasy, rapture).[98]

Invisible, numerous, everywhere and always present, the devil and his disciples are repeatedly mentioned in nuns' writings as the major source of distractions in

[92] BNF, ms. fr. 23,852, testimony of Catherine de France, 66–69, 73. Compare Michaëlis, *Histoire admirable*, part 2, p. 9.

[93] Archivio di Stato di Venezia, Sant'Ufficio, b. 38: "Contra sororem Mansuetam"; rpt. in Giovanna Paolin, *Lo spazio del silenzio: Monacazioni forzate, clausura e proposte di vita religiosa femminile nell'età moderna* (Pordenone, 1996), 171. For another analysis of this case, see Marisa Milani, "L'ossessione secolare di suor Mansueta: Un esorcismo a Venezia nel 1574," *Quaderni veneti* 7 (1988): 133.

[94] *Soeur Jeanne des Anges, Autobiographie*, 228.

[95] Paolo Prodi, "Riforma interiore e disciplinamento sociale in San Carlo Borromeo," *Intersezioni* 5, no. 2 (1985): 273–95, 372–85.

[96] Interestingly, contemporaries were already aware of the danger of sexual arousal as a result of discipline. Revelations are especially common among nuns, explained the abbé Jacques Boileau, because they take their vows when they are still very young, "at a time when their passions are most disposed to be inflamed, and when an object of love may be looked upon as one of the necessaries of life, this, together with the circumstance of their close confinement, induces a number of them to contract a real and direct love for the person of Jesus Christ, whose picture they see placed almost in every corner, who is, besides, expressly called their Husband, whose Spouses they are said to be." Boileau, in *The History of the Flagellants: Otherwise of Religious Flagellations among Different Nations, and Especially among Christians*, ed. and trans. by Jean-Louis de Lolme (London, 1731), 107–08.

[97] Teresa of Avila, "The Foundations," chap. 14, Kavanaugh edn., vol. 3 (p. 168).

[98] Teresa of Avila, "The Interior Castle," book 4: 3, Kavanaugh edn., vol. 2 (pp. 328–29).

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monastic life. Following Jo Ann McNamara, we can read them as a metaphor for the ever-present suspicion and hostility of sister nuns.[99] But they were also a metaphor for the nun's self-doubts. Finally, the closed world of the convent encouraged imitative behavior, in which one nun's manifested anxieties were imitated and reenacted by her sisters. Again, listen to St. Teresa: "So miserable is our nature that when a person suffers in this way [melancholy] ... all her companions, having no idea of the seriousness of her inward malady, will think that they too are afflicted by melancholy, and that their little ways may be put up with too."[100]

OUR DISCUSSION SO FAR HAS ARGUED THAT group possessions in convents emanated from two layers of tensions within the monastic community: social tensions that resulted from attempts at reform and opposition to them, and from some nuns' restlessness vis-à-vis other nuns' spiritual quests and experiences; and from spiritual tensions, due to nuns' equation of their mundane disharmonies with the diabolic. Nuns in quest of spiritual perfection expressed physiological and psychological behaviors that were labeled (by members of their community and by theologians and exorcists but originally not necessarily by the nuns themselves) as diabolic possession. This raises two questions. First, we should account for the fact that male monasteries, which experienced reforms, tensions, and competitions just like female convents, nonetheless were immune to mass possession.[101] Secondly, we should get a better sense of why the spiritual quest was equated with the demonic. How could nuns, their abbesses, and their spiritual advisers confuse interactions with the divine with diabolic possession by the Enemy? And why were both this form of spirituality and this diagnosis of behavior popular in the later Middle Ages and the early modern period only to decline and disappear?

There are two cases of what appears to be group possession of monks. Analyzing these cases sheds additional light on the gendering of female mass possession. Sometime in the first half of the thirteenth century, the brothers in the recently established Dominican houses in Paris and Bologna were attacked by evil spirits. The brothers' attempts to cast out the evil spirits failed, until a procession of the *Salve Regina* was organized, and the Virgin's intervention put an end to the Dominicans' afflictions. This is the earliest example of a mass diabolic attack in a religious establishment I have found, and it seems likely that it was the earliest one to have taken place or to have been recorded, as it became a founding myth of the Dominican Order. It was incorporated into Geraldo (Gerardo) di Frachet's (1195–1271) collection of the 1250s *Vitae Fratrum*, and served, like numerous other

[99] McNamara, *Sisters in Arms*, 331

[100] Teresa of Avila, "The Foundations," chap. 7, Kavanaugh edn., vol. 3 (p. 136); I have used Edgar Allison Peers's translation in *The Complete Works of Saint Teresa of Jesus* (London, 1944–46), vol. 3: 38; and see José López Ibor, "Ideas de Santa Teresa sobre la melancholía," *Revista de espiritualidad* 22 (1963): 423–33.

[101] On violence in monasteries, see Jane Sayers, "Violence in the Medieval Cloister," *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 41 (1990): 533–42.

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miracle stories in this collection, to prove the order's divine election and sanctity.[102] But it is significant that the author never uses the term "possession" in his description of the events. The monks were horribly vexed and attacked; they suffered from diabolic delusions and from nightmares. But their bodies were not actually possessed by the Enemy.

A very detailed report of a case of diabolic possession of two Capuchin novices in 1671 in a monastery in Caltanissetta (Sicily) allows us to further pursue the erasure of group possession by monks. Here, too, the chroniclers who recorded the events never used the term "possession." Instead, the two novices (and the report emphasizes time and again that they were merely novices and not yet brothers) were "invested by internal spirits" and "obsessed."[103] While in the Middle Ages, and especially following St. Thomas, the terms *possessio* and *obsessio* appear interchangeably in records of exorcism, the two words describe different forms of diabolic attacks, and the differences between them were articulated in manuals for exorcists in the early modern period. In possession, the demons penetrate the body (but not the soul) of the possessed, and operate within it on the soul. The devil's actions on the soul, however, look as if the demon is residing there too, and the possessed person, while not without free will and intelligence, behaves as if she has lost these two capacities. In obsession, on the other hand, evil spirits torment the body from outside.[104] While the monks' behavior itself may resemble the behavior of possessed nuns, it is only in cases of demonic possessions of monks that the distinction is meticulously kept. Monks, unlike nuns, and unlike lay males, who do become possessed, were immune to such lack of control over their bodies (and souls) and to the risk of a penetrability of their bodies. A medieval exemplum puts it succinctly. When a male saint, exorcising a female demoniac, asked the possessing spirit to exit the woman's body and enter his own instead, the spirit tried to oblige but failed. "Your body is sealed and closed off in all its parts; I cannot enter into this vessel."[105]

The chroniclers' insistence that the Sicilian novices were merely obsessed and not possessed is only one of the many unique characteristics of this record. This is the only case I have encountered in which the possessing agents declare as soon as they appear that they were sent by orders of God and "the request of Our Saintly Father" (St. Francis) to convert three sinning religious. In fact, the demons go on to say, they possess the novices against their (the demons') own will. They fulfill a divine command usually carried out by angels rather than by demons, but in this case "the Almighty ordered infernal spirits rather than divine angels because the

[102] Geraldo di Frachet, *Vita Fratrum Ordinis Praedicatorum*, B. M. Reichert, ed., *Monumenta Ordinis Fratrum Praedicatorum Historica* 1 (1896), book 1, chap. 7, pp. 58–59.

[103] Biblioteca Communale di Polizzi Generosa, ms. 123: "Caso memorabile accaduto nel convento de' RR.PP. Cappuccini della Città di Caltanissetta," 143–64, in Salvatore Mazzarella, *Diavoli a Caltanissetta: Il "caso memorabile" del 1671* (Caltanissetta, 1990).

[104] See the summary of the theological discussion on this topic in Joseph de Tonquédec, *Maladies nerveuses et manifestations diaboliques* (Paris, 1938). The Jesuit Tonquédec (1868–1962) was the exorcist of the diocese of Paris from 1924 to 1962.

[105] Jean de Mailly, *Abrégé des gestes et miracles des saints*; quoted in Nancy Caciola, "Mystics, Demoniacs, and the Physiology of Spirit Possession in Medieval Europe," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 42, no. 2 (2000): 290. Caciola points out, though, that gender is only one context here, and that sanctity and sinfulness is an additional binary opposition that is expressed in this anecdote.

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latter cannot tolerate such offensive sins."[106] Once they make this clear, the rest of the interaction between the demons and the Capuchins is, in fact, a long sermon by the demons, who admonish the order, the city, and all of Sicily against sins, especially against lechery and charging financial interest. The demons remind their listeners that Cicco (St. Francis) taught poverty, humility and obedience, and that they need to reform their souls and the entire order. They then preach a long sermon on usury and concupiscence, the two sins that led the sinning Franciscans astray, and before their departure describe the punishments that sinners suffer in Hell, and even compose a poem that elaborates the punishments that await them in Purgatory.[107] Now, we have already encountered demonic entities that under pressure from the exorcist revealed a divine admonition, pointed out sins, and contributed to the fame of a specific religious order. But the Sicilians are the only possessing demons who were sent explicitly to convert and to preach. And while other demons possess bodies with God's permission, these are the only demons whose mission to possess is a godly command and whose actions take place against their own will.

Like all possessed people, the two novices exhibited unnatural bodily strength, shouted and screamed, and reacted with horror and involuntary seizures to relics. But nowhere in the encounter is there any mention of sexually explicit behaviors or fantasies, and the novices never showed any of the forms of lack of control or loss of consciousness that were so familiar from group possessions in female convents. The centrality of male bodily integrity and control, I argue, prevented diabolic possession from becoming a monastic option. Theologians and exorcists, themselves more often than not members of religious orders, refuse to admit the possibility of lack of sexual and mental self-possession among their brethren. Furthermore, as we have seen, the sexual metaphors that were a normative part of nuns' articulation of their tensions and anxieties were almost always heterosexual, with a male entity taking possession over the female body. The gendering of this sexual imagery for nuns was exactly what prevented it from becoming a possibility for monks' own metaphorical vocabulary and for the metaphorical vocabulary of their fellow theologians who recorded their "obsessions."

FINALLY, OUR DISCUSSION SHOULD EXPLAIN the dualistic ambiguity of divine/diabolic, which is the spiritual sine qua non of understanding the origins of mass possessions in female monastic communities. Demonic and divine possessions are two facets of the same mystical or spiritual experience. Morphologically and somatically speaking, the similarities between manifestations of "positive" and "negative" possessions are such that it is impossible to determine the origins and identity of the possessing entity merely by observing the external behaviors of the possessed person. Disjointed utterances, subconscious mumbling, faints, levitations, and uncontrolled bodily gestures were typical of both divine and diabolic possessions. Theologically, too, there is no clear demarcation line between the two phenomena.

[106] "Caso memorabile," 143–45.
[107] "Caso memorabile," 144, 151–53, 156–62.

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The devil's trickery and cunning, his joy in disguising himself and in leading people astray, along with the possessed individuals' own frailty make the diagnosis of possessing agents extremely difficult, sometimes impossible. To argue for the proximity of the demonic and the divine is not revolutionary in any way—to the contrary, it is to recapitulate traditional Catholic doctrine, whose explicators spent thousands of hours compiling a large body of writings on the discernment of spirits, that is, the ability to distinguish between divine and demonic possessing agencies. The fifteenth-century French theologian Jean Gerson wrote the most important treatises on the topic, but discernment of spirits had troubled the church for hundreds of years prior to the publication of the Sorbonnist's treatises, and continued to trouble the church well into the nineteenth century. Hundreds of works on the topic have been written in the last 1,000 years, many of them in the early modern period.[108] The theological anxiety concerning the identities of possessing agencies led the seventeenth-century Spanish theologian Diego Pérez de Valdivia to declare in his 700-page-long guide to female lay mystics (*beatas*): "no vision can be absolutely certain."[109]

But not only theologians were concerned with the discernment of spirits. Female mystics themselves also addressed the issue, using their own visionary experiences, rather than learned theology, as a guide to the perplexed.[110] From Hildegard of Bingen in the twelfth century to Teresa of Avila in the early modern period, they doubted their own visions, resisted them, and warned their followers against them.[111] Starting in the late Middle Ages, due first to lay prophets who escaped the

[108] Jean Gerson, "De distinctione verarum visionum a falsis," and "De probatione spirituum," in Boland, *Concept of Discretio Spirituum*. Among the many early modern attempts to define the boundaries between the holy and the unholy, see Sanson Birette, *Refutation de l'erreur du vulgaire, touchant les responses des diables exorcizez* (Rouen, 1618); Remy Pichard, *Admirable vertu des saincts exorcismes sur les princes d'enfer Possedants reëllement Vertueue Dameselle Elizabeth de Ranfaing* (Nancy, 1622); Giorgio Polacco, *Pratiche per discerner lo spirito buono dal maluagio e per conoscer gl'indemoniate e maleficiate* (Bologna, 1638); Cardinal Giovanni Bona, *Traité du discernement des esprits* (Paris, 1675); and, most important, Ignatius of Loyola, *Spiritual Exercises*, Annotations 8–10 and Rules for the Discernment of Spirits, W. H. Longridge, ed. (London, 1955), 13–14, 184–93. See also Armando Guidetti, *Il discernimento degli spiriti in S. Bernardino da Siena e in S. Ignazio di Loyola* (Rome, 1982); and Jules J. Toner, *A Commentary on Saint Ignatius' Rules for the Discernment of Spirits* (St. Louis, Mo., 1982).

[109] Pérez de Valdivia, *Aviso de gente recogida*, 334.

[110] Teresa of Avila, "Life," vol. 1: 11: 16 (p. 118); 39: 9–10 (p. 346); "The Foundations," 3: chap. 4: 1–2 (pp. 113–14). See now Alison Weber, "Spiritual Administration: Gender and Discernment in the Carmelite Reform," *Sixteenth Century Journal* 31, no. 1 (2000): 123–46. For excerpts from other female visionaries, see Poutrin, *Le voile et la plume*, 108–14.

[111] See the recent overviews by Peter Dinzelbacher, "Heilige oder Hexen?" *Religiöse Devianz*, Dieter Simon, ed. (Frankfurt am Main, 1990), 41–60; Dinzelbacher, *Heilige oder Hexen? Schicksale auffälliger Frauen in Mittelalter und Frühneuzeit* (Munich, 1995); David Gentilcore, "The Church, the Devil and the Healing Activities of Living Saints in the Kingdom of Naples after the Council of Trent," in *Medicine and the Reformation*, Ole Peter Grell and Andrew Cunningham, eds. (London, 1993), 134–55; Schutte, " 'Piccole Donne,' 'Grandi Eroine,' " 277–301; Richard Kieckhefer, "The Holy and the Unholy: Sainthood, Witchcraft and Magic in Late Medieval Europe," in *Christendom and Its Discontents: Exclusion, Persecution, and Rebellion, 1000–1500*, Scott L. Waugh and Peter D. Diehl, eds. (Cambridge, 1996), 310–37; Gábor Klaniczay, "Miraculum y maleficium: Algunas reflexiones sobre las mujeres santas de la edad media en Europa central," *Medievalia* 11 (1994): 41–64; Caciola, "Discerning Spirits"; Caciola, "Mystics, Demoniacs, and the Physiology of Spirit Possession"; Dyan Elliott, "The Physiology of Rapture and Female Spirituality," in *Medieval Theology and the Natural Body*, Peter Biller and A. J. Minnis, eds. (Bury St. Edmunds, Suffolk, 1997), 141–73; Barbara Newman, "Possessed by the Spirit: Devout Women, Demoniacs, and the Apostolic Life in the Thirteenth Century," *Speculum* 73 (1998): 733–70; Rosalynn Voaden, *God's Words, Women's Voices: The Discernment of Spirits in the Writings of*

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authority of the church, and then to a fear of the Protestant idea of the priesthood of all believers, the Catholic Church severely restricted female spirituality, and female mystical experiences were more likely to be attributed to the devil than to God. While male mystics were also questioned, it was female ecstatic spirituality that was the focus of theologians' anxiety. Gerson warned in 1423 that "women are too easily seduced [by the devil] . . . it is not suitable for them to be privy to divine wisdom."[112] And the Spanish theologian Gaspar Navarro argued, two hundred years later, that "more credit should be given to the revelations of men than those of women . . . Because the feminine sex is weaker in the head, and they mistake natural things or diabolic illusions for those of heaven and God; they dream more than men and think their dreams are complex truths . . . [T]hey are more imaginative than men, and thus less judicious and reasonable and still less prudent, and so the Devil is more likely to deceive women."[113] "Because of my frailness and the devil's cunning I am always afraid, thinking that I may be deceived," lamented St. Catherine of Siena.[114] St. Teresa of Avila agreed: "It would be especially bad for women to try to raise up the spirit because the devil would be able to cause some illusion."[115] In fact, her entire "Book of Foundations" of 1573 could be read as a warning against excessive female spirituality in religious communities. She was aware of the dangers that confronted spiritually inclined nuns, whose spiritual exercises and a regimen of self-denial contributed to their vulnerability to possessions by spirits. As the identity of the possessing spirit is always in doubt, such nuns could have fallen prey to Satan's cunning just as likely as they were to enjoy divine blessing.

It is therefore of utmost importance to realize that once a possession took place, it was not immediately clear to the nuns, their mothers superior, their confessors, or other theologians who were witnessing the events what the nature of the possessing agency was, and whether it was divine or demonic. It is equally important to realize that the discernment of spirits was not an intellectual or abstract, scholastic exercise but rather a social practice, one that involved the possessed nuns themselves, their friends and their enemies, their sisters, abbesses, spiritual directors, confessors, and outside experts who were called into the convent to examine the afflicted nuns. In this process of examination and self-examination, of negotiations and ambiguity, some participants had more power than others. It was the exorcists, the theologians, and the compilers of monastic chronicles who determined definitively the identity of the possessing entity, and they also wrote down the records of the possession and the exorcism in a manner that guaranteed its adherence to established forms of demonic possession. But their

Late-Medieval Women Visionaries (Bury St. Edmunds, 1999); and Moshe Sluhovsky, "Spirit Possession as a Self-Transformative Experience," in *Self and Self-Transformation in the History of Religions*, David Dean Shulman and Guy G. Stroumsa, eds. (Oxford, 2002), 150–70.

[112] Jean Gerson, "De examinatione doctrinarum," in Gerson, *Oeuvres complètes*, 10 vols., Palémon Glorieux, ed. (Paris, 1960–73), 9: 468; see also "De probatione spirituum," 36–37.

[113] Gaspar Navarro, *Tribunal de la superstición ladina* (Huesca, 1631), fol. 32; quoted in José Sánchez Lora, *Mujeres, conventos y formas de la religiosidad barroca* (Madrid, 1988), 31.

[114] *Epistolario di Santa Caterina*, Eugenio Dupré Theseider, vol. 1 (Rome, 1940), letter no. 92; quoted in Rudolph M. Bell, *Holy Anorexia* (Chicago, 1985), 22, and a discussion on 22–25. See also Brigitta of Sweden, *Life and Selected Revelations*, Marguerite T. Harris, ed. (New York, 1990), 77–87.

[115] Teresa of Avila, "Life," 12: 7 (p. 122).

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definition did not necessarily corroborate the possessed nuns' original diagnosis of the nature of their own possession. What could have been felt by the nuns to be a spiritual and mystical experience often ended up being called a diabolic deception or even a bewitchment.

Most of the reports in my research were written by exorcists once they were called into the convent to intervene and to put an end to what had already been discerned as a plausible diabolic possession, and thus it is not an easy task to read these cases as outbursts of undetermined spiritual quest instead of their manifested documentary values as obvious cases of demonic possession. Nonetheless, let us recall that, prior to Nider's intervention, the nuns of St. Catherine in Nuremberg during the 1420s experienced ecstasies and had visions of Jesus, the Virgin, and the Apostles, not of demons. Mystical experiences and the "odor of sanctity" also characterized the Lillois Brigittines, the Hospitalers of Louviers, and the Benedictines of Madrid. Similarly, in Milan in the 1590s, St. Ursula appeared in visions to the nuns, only to be unveiled, once exorcism started, as the devil. Admittedly, in all of these cases, the possessing agencies were determined to be demonic; but each case demanded, prior to the beginning of exorcism, a discernment of the possessing spirits as diabolic, and in all of these cases the demoniacs had first experienced spiritual and bodily symptoms that could have been diagnosed as divine.[116] Of all the cases of communal interactions with the divine I have been able to find, only the nuns of the Dominican convent in Arezzo escaped the discernment of their possessing spirits as diabolic. On the eve of Savonarola's execution, these sisters had a group vision in which they saw Florentine Dominicans carried by angels to the sky. The following morning, Arezzo learned of the burning at the stake of Savonarola and other leading Piagnoni.[117] In this case, the hagiographical imperative of preserving Savonarola's legacy determined the prophetic, rather than diabolic, nature of these collective visions.

Understanding possession within the context of the ambivalence of all spiritual experiences (and especially female mystical experiences) and the theology of the discernment of spirits also explains the growing popularity and then the disappearance of records of such forms of ecstatic behavior in the period under discussion. The increase in cases of diabolic possession in convents during the second half of the fifteenth century followed the growth of female spiritual experimentation in the later Middle Ages. But, as we have seen, such female spiritual quest could just as likely be suspect, and as such be labeled demonic possession. The initial success of the Protestant challenge to Catholic hegemony and, more important, the growing distrust (and later suppression) of Illuminism—the doctrine that sought to empty the soul in order to create a void, which God could then visit and fill with His light—increased the church's suspicion of spirituality, especially forms of spirituality that appealed to and were popular among people with little education. Therefore, in the late sixteenth century, cases of religious frenzy in convents were discerned as demonic. Following the

[116] See also the important article by Adriano Prosperi, "Diari femminili e discernimento degli spiriti: Le mistiche della prima età moderna in Italia," in *America e apocalisse e altri saggi*, Prosperi, ed. (Pisa, 1999), 343–65.

[117] "El tratado de Milagros en el códice de Valencia," in Júlia Adela Benavent, "El Códice de Valencia y la tradición manuscrita," *Memorie domenicane* 27 (1997): 117–18. I thank Tamar Herzig for this reference.

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Council of Trent and the diffusion of its decisions, female obedience and humility were reaffirmed as "heroic virtues" par excellence, while a personal quest for spiritual self-fulfillment, especially in its bodily manifestations, was discouraged. Resistance to excessive spiritual-somatic behavior rather than its pursuit was now offered as a new model of conventual female sanctity. Once the Tridentine reform was completed and implemented, and many of the devotional books that had inspired nuns in their mystical search were put on the Index of restricted reading, "excessive" spirituality decreased, and the spiritual frenzy that characterized mass demonic possession in convents disappeared.[118]

WHILE WE CAN NEVER RECREATE the diabolically or divinely possessed nun's own experience, I have attempted to present the multiple contexts within which this experience was likely to have taken place. Living in a small world where meditation and resistance to temptation were primary occupations, wishing for God but most likely encountering the devil, nuns were regularly examining their inner lives, and finding them falling short of their aspirations. Being in a spiritual system that argued that the supernatural was more likely to come from the devil than from God, doubting their own worth, and listening to theologians and exorcists, they tended to identify their own encounters with the incomprehensible as demonic. After all, had not St. Paul already warned, and all spiritual directors and guides for spiritual experiences repeated ad nauseam, that "Satan disguises himself as an Angel of Light" (2 Corinthians 11: 14)? By suspecting the demonic origins of their visions, and by consequently collaborating with their sisters, confessors, and the exorcists in naming their possessions diabolic rather than divine, nuns verbalized and made sense of their experiences. In so doing, they conformed to preconceived assumptions about the mystical experience in general and female spirituality in particular. Only by cooperating in this manner with the authorities, only by publicly affirming the exorcist's diagnosis, could the possessed nun open the way for a successful exorcism and reintegration into her community. But, at the same time, by understanding themselves as Satan's victims, they legitimized their vocation, their order's role in combating the devil, and their personal position at the vanguard of the never-ending cosmic struggle between good and evil.

[118] In addition to the bibliography in note 53 above, see Zarri, *Donna, disciplina, creanza cristiana* and the bibliography there. But see also the important corrections to Zarri's interpretation and chronology in William V. Hudon, "Religion and Society in Early Modern Italy—Old Questions, New Insights," *AHR* 101 (June 1996): 783–804; and Jodi Bilinkoff, "Navigating the Waves (of Devotion): Toward a Gendered Analysis of Early Modern Catholicism," in *Crossing Boundaries: Attending to Early Modern Women*, Jane Donawerth and Adele Seeff, eds. (Newark, N.J., 2000), 161–72.

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From Majesty to Mystery: Change in the Meanings of Black Madonnas from the Sixteenth to Nineteenth Centuries

MONIQUE SCHEER

MARY'S APPEARANCE, like that of her son, is the stuff of popular imagination, a product of consensus, formed by the templates provided by popular religious art.[1] Just as the contemporary conception of her beauty bears the indelible stamp of the apparitions at Lourdes (1858), the early modern imagination was shaped by medieval polychrome statues and icons of the Mother of God—not "high art" but rather the kind of personal image to which candles, incense, and other votive gifts were offered in thanks for miracles worked. These sacred objects were dressed in sumptuous garb and bejeweled, carried about in processions, enshrined in pilgrimage centers small and large, and visually reproduced on countless souvenir replicas, prayer cards, and other secondary images.

Many of the most highly visible images of Mary at this time depict a Mother and Child with black faces and hands. They often have names that highlight this feature: "La Noire," "La Morenita," or "die Schwarze Muttergottes." For decades, these black madonnas have presented scholars with a conundrum for which no completely satisfactory answer has been found. Debate centers on the question of whether the color was intentional and what it meant, based on the assumption that explaining the color's origin would explain what worshipers saw in these images. As a result, because these images were not originally intended to be depictions of Mary as an African (thus setting them apart analytically from other prominent black images in sacred art), scholars have hardly touched on the question of their perception as such. In my view, however, black madonnas must be examined as part of the history of the perception of black skin in Europe.[2] At the same time, it is important to avoid

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[1] On a constructivist definition of popular religious art, see David Morgan, *Visual Piety: A History and Theory of Popular Religious Images* (Berkeley, Calif., 1998).

[2] The series edited by Ladislas Bugner, *The Image of the Black in Western Art*, clearly demonstrates how the portrayal of human beings with black skin must be correlated with the portrayal and perception

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a projection backward in time of modern concepts of skin color and identity. Black madonnas present us with an extraordinarily complex and yet cogent example of how perception and aesthetic experience are determined by culture.[3]

A positivistic approach toward ascertaining the ontological status of their blackness is most likely futile and in any case tells us nothing of how the color was perceived and interpreted among believers. That is why, in this essay, I will approach the question of when and why the madonnas became black in terms of a history of perception. What patterns of interpretation would have been available and relevant to viewers to make sense of the skin color? How do these change over time? And can the explanation for the existence of this coloring be sought in these meanings? Although the prototypical images date from the Middle Ages, there is no evidence that indicates they were widely perceived as black at that time. I will argue that this perception becomes integrated into the Counter-Reformation program of legitimizing and promoting the veneration of miraculous images of Mary. The development of race as a construct of scientific discourse at the end of the eighteenth century undermines dramatically the plausibility of pious interpretations and thus contributes to the rise of the modern notion that the madonnas must have become black by accident. My goal is to understand why black madonnas were among the highest ranked images of Mary for so many years, and then to trace the perceptive changes that turned them into inexplicable curiosities, focusing on those in the German-speaking areas, which have received less attention up to now. The approach is highly context-bound, and I would not suggest that my findings from these regions are valid per se for France, Italy, or Spain, but I would hope that a similar approach for madonnas of these regions could open new perspectives on a discussion of these objects that has more or less run aground.

BLACK MADONNAS (also known as "black virgins") are found in all Roman Catholic regions. They are mostly mid to late medieval images of Mary with Child, and are known as black due to their complexions, which can range in hue from light brown to black. They belong, almost exclusively, to three types. One is the imported Byzantine icon, or in the majority of cases, the Byzantine-*style* icon, which was produced in great quantities in thirteenth and fourteenth-century Italy. The second and third types are statues, generally around thirty inches in height, almost always wooden and painted (polychrome), rarely of stone or metal. The oldest are the enthroned madonnas of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, the highest concentration of which is found in south-central France. So many of the *Majestas*-type images in this region are black that these *vierges noires* are often treated as the epitome of the black madonna, overshadowing the other types, probably due to the more

of Africans. See, for this time period, Vol. 2 by Jean Devisse, *From the Early Christian Era to the "Age of Discovery": Part 1—From the Demonic Threat to the Incarnation of Sainthood, Part 2—Africans in the Christian Ordinance of the World* (Cambridge, Mass., 1979).

[3] This theoretical position is also succinctly described in Michael Baxandall, *Painting and Experience in Fifteenth Century Italy: A Primer in the Social History of Pictorial Style* (Oxford, 1972), 29–30. See also Thomas Luckmann, *The Invisible Religion: The Problem of Religion in Modern Society* (New York, 1967), esp. chap. 3; and Morgan, *Visual Piety*, 1–17.

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extensive French scholarship on the phenomenon. In southern Germany and the Alpine region, the third type is more common: the statue of Mary standing, holding her Child on one arm, which dates from the late thirteenth to the mid-fifteenth century.[4] Prior to the nineteenth century, local madonnas were important as identification figures for individual communities, but each Catholic country had its generally recognized national center of Marian devotion, and, more times than not, this most highly regarded of all Marian images was black[5]: for the French, she was Notre Dame du Puy; in Spain, the Virgins of Guadalupe (Estremadura) and Montserrat (Catalonia); for Catholic Swiss, Unsere Liebe Frau von Einsiedeln near Zurich (Figure 1); in northern Italy, the madonna in the Santa Casa of Loreto on the Adriatic coast near Ancona, whose influence and popularity extended beyond the Alps into Bavaria, where the most venerated image was the Schwarze Muttergottes of Altötting (Figure 2).

A clear definition is difficult: not only is the judgment of what is "dark enough" to be termed "black" subjective, but the application of the name "black madonna" to a particular image does not appear to follow any consistent set of rules.[6] Because of differing opinion among scholars on what makes a madonna black—a dark complexion in the eyes of a given viewer or the consensus of the local population and/or church officials—estimates of their number vary.[7] Suffice it to say that there is probably a core group of a few hundred European images generally accepted as

[4] Mary and the baby Jesus are always both shown as black. I am aware of only a few examples where Mary is black and the Child is white (seventeenth and eighteenth-century copies of Loreto madonnas) and of no examples of the reverse. Debate has centered on the depiction of Mary as black since Jesus' color is assumed for various reasons to be derived from hers.

[5] In the quantitative study of contemporary pilgrimage shrines by Mary Lee Nolan and Sidney Nolan, *Christian Pilgrimage in Modern Western Europe* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1989), they find "Forty percent of the dark images are venerated at shrines classified as major pilgrimage centers, in contrast with fifteen percent of the light images. Thus, a cult image characterized by darkness of skin tone is well over twice as likely as a light image to be venerated at a shrine with substantial visitation from an extensive area, and even more likely than usual to be found as a primary cult image at an extremely important shrine" (p. 207). However, the caveats below regarding statistics on these images due to the difficulties in defining them also apply here.

[6] Some images have a light complexion and yet are referred to by local tradition as black because they were darker prior to a recent restoration. For "whitened" images in Italy (in Lucera, Montenero, Avellino, and Chiaramonte Gulfi), see Lucia Chiavola Birnbaum, *Black Madonnas: Feminism, Religion and Politics in Italy* (Boston, 1993), 3. In France, the images in Tournus and Orcival were "restored" to a lighter color in 1860 and 1959, respectively, although they are still referred to by the local population as *vierges noires*; see Sophie Cassagnes-Brouquet, *Vierges noires: Regard et fascination* (Rodez, 1990), 89–91 and 102–03 (incl. photos). Copies of black madonnas in which the dark skin was not reproduced, as well as madonnas that appear to the average viewer to be quite dark and yet are not referred to as such, present authors such as Ean Begg with problems when attempting to catalog these images; see his gazeteer of over 500 black madonnas in Europe and the Americas: *The Cult of the Black Virgin*, 2d edn. (London, 1996), 153–293.

[7] French scholars estimate that there are some 180 black madonnas in France alone. See Marie Durand-Lefebvre, *Etude sur l'origine des Vierges Noires* (Paris, 1937); Emile Saillens, *Nos vierges noires leurs origines* (Paris, 1945); Cassagnes-Brouquet, *Vierges noires*. Jacques Huynen, *L'énigme des Vierges Noires* (Paris, 1972), distinguishes between "authentic" black madonnas and those "artificially" blackened (p. 185), and thus counts fewer. These authors count some sixty to seventy black madonnas outside France, although they do not clearly distinguish between main shrines and secondary images that have developed their own pilgrimages. In the German literature, Franz A. Schmitt, "Vom Geheimnis der Schwarzen Madonnen," *Königsteiner Jahrbüchlein* (1957): 85–87, is often cited; he counts 272 black madonnas in all of Europe, 188 of which are in France. Leonard Moss, who produced the first study in English, reports having collected 100 examples of black madonnas in the course of his research. See Leonard W. Moss and Stephen C. Cappannari, "In Quest of the Black Virgin: She Is Black Because She Is Black," in *Mother Worship: Theme and Variations*, James J. Preston, ed. (Chapel

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FIGURE 1: The black madonna of Einsiedeln, Switzerland, without its traditional dress. Reprinted with permission of the photographer, P. Damian Rutishauser of Einsiedeln.

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black madonnas as well as many hundreds of secondary images, that is, copies placed in votive shrines. The vast majority of these date from the mid-sixteenth to mid-eighteenth centuries.[8]

With regard to dating, it is important to note that the point in time at which an image was created does not necessarily correspond to the point at which it became black, or known as black, nor does it correspond to the point at which the pilgrimage itself was established. Especially in the case of the primary shrines, the pilgrimage can have begun much earlier, focused on a different object, and later shifted to a Marian image, which is not necessarily (already) black. Even though many of the pilgrimage sites in question originated before the Reformation, I would not argue that they were necessarily devoted to madonnas known as black from the beginning. Subsidiary shrines present a bit of a different case. As copies of primary pilgrimage sites, they reproduce and represent a particular historical moment in the status of that cult and its visual scheme. Most of these subsidiary shrines, especially widespread in the southern German-speaking regions, were established in the post-Reformation period,[9] as part of the rise in devotion to miraculous Marian images in the course of the Counter-Reformation and, in Germany, after the Thirty Years' War. Although we cannot be sure the secondary images were black from their creation, either, I will present evidence that supports the thesis that the common perception of the primary images as dark began no earlier than the proliferation of their copies.

The blackness of these madonnas is sometimes mentioned in general works on Marian art, but neither theologians nor art historians have devoted much attention to them.[10] This may be because, for a century or more, the dominant view among

Hill, N.C., 1982), 53–74. The Nolans counted 167 in their Europe-wide statistic. *Christian Pilgrimage*, 202.

[8] No comprehensive study of these secondary images has been done, so their number can only be pieced together and estimated. Stephan Beissel, *Wallfahrten zu Unserer Lieben Frau in Legende und Geschichte* (Freiburg im Breisgau, 1913), mentions 142 Loreto chapels in Europe. Gerhard P. Woeckel, *Pietas Bavarica: Höfische Kunst und Bayerische Frömmigkeit 1550–1848* (Weissenhorn, 1992), cites a 1972 study counting 272 copies of the Altötting image worldwide (p. 349). Odilo Ringholz, *Wallfahrtsgeschichte Unserer Lieben Frau von Einsiedeln: Ein Beitrag zur Culturgeschichte* (Freiburg im Breisgau, 1896), lists 49 copies of the madonna of Einsiedeln in Europe, although most are in the Swiss and the Alpine regions (pp. 175–76). See also Cassagnes-Brouquet, *Vierges noires*, 126–33, on copies of the Le Puy madonna. Nolan and Nolan, *Christian Pilgrimage*, 107–08, also note a seventeenth-century peak in secondary shrine formation in the South German region, specifically those to Loreto, Einsiedeln, and Altötting.

[9] See Nolan and Nolan, *Christian Pilgrimage*: "Subsidiary shrines, where copies of black images are venerated, are . . . much more recent on the average than other dark image shrines. The oldest date from the fifteenth century, and 89 percent of the 43 that could be assigned to time periods were established after 1530" (pp. 207–08). They find it "tempting to speculate that a generalized association of dark skin tones with miraculous qualities was yet another Renaissance innovation," since there was a "proliferation of shrines subsidiary to dark images during and after that period" (pp. 208–09). However, it must be pointed out that only 11 percent of their own sample originates from before 1530, which would place the emphasis squarely on the post-Renaissance period. Furthermore, as they themselves are aware (p. 208), the presence of a dark image in a shrine at the time their data were gathered does not mean it was dark at the time of shrine establishment.

[10] Except in France, where art historians Durand-Lefebvre (*Etude sur l'origine*) and Cassagnes-Brouquet (*Vierges noires*) have devoted monographs to the topic. In Germany, theologians specializing in Marian art have made article-length contributions: Martin Lechner, "'Schön schwarz bin ich'—zur Ikonographie der schwarzen Madonnen der Barockzeit," *Heimat an Rott und Inn* (1971): 44–61; Schmitt, "Vom Geheimnis." The articles on pilgrimage and Marian art in the *Handbuch der*

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FIGURE 2: The black madonna of Altötting, Bavaria, in the dress in which it is presented on the altar of the pilgrimage chapel today. From Gerhard P. Woeckel, *Pietas Bavarica* (Weissenhorn, 1992), reprinted with permission of the publisher, Anton H. Konrad Verlag.

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these scholars has been that the color of these images is not intentional but rather the result of discoloration due to the soot and smoke of candles and incense as well as chemical reactions in the paint. The Parisian architect and religious archaeologist Charles Rohault de Fleury is generally accepted as the first influential source of this hypothesis. In 1878, he suggested that silver plating on the images that had blackened with age had been misunderstood by copyists as intentional and therefore copied in black. All black madonnas stemmed, in his view, from this original misunderstanding.[11] In Germany, the Jesuit scholar of Marian art, Stephan Beissel, became the authority on this issue. He wrote in 1909 that the blackness of most images was not intentional: "Many types of paint, especially the vermilion and red lead used to make skin tones as well as the silver used here and there as the base, turn black with age . . . Other images of this kind stood for decades, even centuries, in the midst of innumerable candles, whose smoke blackened them."[12] Although the novelty of a black madonna seems to be a source of pride for local pilgrimage centers today, among most scholars the phenomenon has been deemed rather uninteresting, as it is customarily considered to be nothing but darkening by candles and age and thus not warranting greater investigation or elaboration.

Considerable interest in these images has been shown of late in the field of depth psychology, in which black images of Mary are interpreted as Jungian archetypes[13] and, as in one particularly popular book, as representatives of heretical Christian and occult traditions.[14] These publications can draw not only on a long tradition of viewing Mary as the "feminine face of God" or even the "secret goddess of Christianity" but also on academic research. Scholars working from the perspective of comparative religion have maintained that the devotion to black madonnas is the continuation of cults of pre-Christian earth and mother goddesses who were also sometimes portrayed with black skin. This theory, which in Germany has its roots in Romantic *Volkskunde* beginning with Jakob Grimm, was developed further around the middle of the twentieth century in the works of the French art historian Marie Durand-Lefebvre (1937) and folklorist Emile Saillens (1945).[15] Leonard Moss, an American anthropologist who became interested in black

Marienkunde, vol. 2 (1997), say nothing to the topic. Although a section is devoted to the Loreto madonna (pp. 467–68), for example, it mentions nowhere that it is widely known as a black madonna.

[11] See Ilene H. Forsyth, *Throne of Wisdom: Wood Sculptures of the Madonna in Romanesque France* (Princeton, N.J., 1972), 21; as well as Saillens, *Nos vierges noires*, 30; and Cassagnes-Brouquet, *Vierges noires*, 169–70. This explanation is curious, however, since the silver plating applied to most images did not cover the skin parts.

[12] Stephan Beissel, *Geschichte der Verehrung Marias in Deutschland während des Mittelalters: Ein Beitrag zur Religionswissenschaft und Kunstgeschichte* (Freiburg im Breisgau, 1909), 345. (My translation here and in all subsequent quotations from foreign-language publications.)

[13] See, for example, Fred Gustafson, *The Black Madonna* (Boston, 1990); Ursula Kröll, *Das Geheimnis der schwarzen Madonnen: Entdeckungsreisen zu Orten der Kraft* (Stuttgart, 1998); China Galland, *Longing for Darkness: Tara and the Black Madonna, a Ten-Year Journey* (New York, 1990).

[14] Begg, *Cult of the Black Virgin*.

[15] Jakob Grimm, *Deutsche Mythologie* (Göttingen, 1835), 195, n. 1: "the ancients also depicted the wrathful earth goddess Demeter as *black* . . . , indeed, from time to time even her daughter, Persephone, the fair maiden . . . Pausanius mentions the *black* Aphrodite (Melanis) . . . [T]he Ephesian *black* Diana is well known, as is the fact that in the Middle Ages *black* images of Mary were carved and painted; the Holy Virgin appears then as a mourning goddess of the earth or the night: images such as this at Loretto, Naples, Einsiedeln, Würzburg . . . , Öttingen . . . , Puy . . . , Marseilles and elsewhere" (emphasis in the original).

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madonnas after having come across one as a soldier in Italy in the 1940s, arrives at the same explanation, a viewpoint he first expressed in the United States at a conference in 1952, to very mixed reactions.[16] Most recently, the comparative religionist Stephen Benko has summarized this school of thought, which points to the erection of churches housing black madonnas on the sites of former temples to Cybele (as in Tindari, Sicily) and to the Ephesian Diana (for example, in Marseilles).[17] In another recent monograph, the feminist historian Lucia Chiavola Birnbaum bases her conception of black madonnas as "a metaphor for a memory" of earth-centered spirituality on the hypothesis that pre-Christian beliefs are preserved in folk culture.[18]

Where the discussion of black madonnas is concerned, the primary focus of interest has been on clarifying the origins of the fleshtones, then going from there. Thus it has not progressed much beyond the debate over whether the color came about intentionally or not, oscillating between extremes of exoticization and denial.[19] Those who argue that the color was intentional tend to place so much emphasis on the color alone, on its "mystery" and "power," that one begins to wonder why anyone ever venerated a white image of Mary at all. Many attributes characterized by this school as unique to black madonnas are, in fact, equally represented among images of Mary never considered black—but since these scholars hardly look for meanings of these images from within the cult of Mary, they do not notice this.[20] Their standpoint is further weakened by the lack of empirical evidence supporting the view that not only morphology and function of pre-Christian images were adopted by Christian art but also their cultic meanings—that is, the "continuity theory" favored by this camp. On the other hand, the argument that the color is accidental has generally been used to imply that the blackness is secondary, if not utterly devoid of meaning. While this standpoint has the advantage that it views black images within the context of the cult of Mary as a whole, it tends to gloss over the color issue and thus fails to explain why so many pilgrimage shrines of the greatest renown housed *black* madonnas. Furthermore, the contention that they were not originally black leads many scholars to discount the significance of

[16] Moss and Cappannari, "In Quest of the Black Virgin," 55: "Apparently our discussion touched the raw nerves of some rather religious members of the audience, for every priest and nun walked out. Other reactions were less hostile, and we were urged to submit a somewhat lengthier version of our thesis for publication . . . [I]mmediately [afterwards] the chaplain of the Newman Club at Wayne State University gave a sermon in which he fulminated against the campus atheists who would defile the name of the Blessed Virgin." My thanks to Uli Linke for providing me with an offprint of their original paper, titled "The Black Madonna: An Example of Cultural Borrowing," published in *The Scientific Monthly* 76, no. 6 (June 1953): 319–24.

[17] Stephen Benko, *The Virgin Goddess: Studies in the Pagan and Christian Roots of Mariology* (Leiden, 1993), 213–16. It must be pointed out that many sites of Christian worship, to Mary and other saints, black and not black, were formerly non-Christian. This school of thought is also connected to an argument that sees black madonnas as African imports: see Danita Redd, "Black Madonnas of Europe: Diffusion of the African Isis," in *African Presence in Early Europe*, Ivan Van Sertima, ed. (New Brunswick, N.J., 1985), 108–33.

[18] Birnbaum, *Black Madonnas*, 3–15.

[19] See David Freedberg, *The Power of Images: Studies in the History and Theory of Response* (Chicago, 1989), 13–17, for a description of how scholars can "resolutely fail to notice" unpleasant or somehow embarrassing elements of images and take great pains to explain away or simply deny "pictorial facts."

[20] Cassagnes-Brouquet, *Vierges noires*, 39–74, does look at Christian legends for meanings, identifying certain motifs as "typical" for black madonnas, which, however, they are not.

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them eventually becoming (known as) black, and thus they are hard pressed to explain why as late as the nineteenth century, rather than being cleaned, madonnas were *repainted* black.[21] Both sides have largely missed engaging issues regarding the meanings of blackness on images of Mary for worshipers and the transformation of those meanings over time.[22] An 1890 collection of legends surrounding madonnas notes, "the blackness of these antique images was supposed to enhance their sanctity," a remark that bears closer examination.[23]

Although the works of art historians Hans Belting, Michael Baxandall, and David Freedberg have provided interesting insights, my approach to this question is not as a member of their discipline.[24] Rather, it is informed by principles of symbolic anthropology, according to which religious symbols are to be understood from within the context in which they are used, using the internal logic of the local system.[25] The study is therefore grounded in a historical-anthropological method focused on describing those contexts from roughly the sixteenth through the nineteenth centuries. Not only the images themselves but also the discourse on them, as well as representations of them (votive art, illustrations, etc.) form the material basis of this inquiry. Both image and text will be viewed in relation to the tides of popular devotion as they were influenced by the Catholic Church. Historical contextualization of these cults can lead to a clearer understanding of the symbolic meanings communicated by the dark skin of the madonna, if and when it was perceived as such. In this regard, my method relies on Baxandall's notion of "cognitive style," which firmly links perception to experience and thus to culture. I believe this approach avoids the pitfalls of previous scholarship on black madonnas outlined above by decentering the question of the color's origin, making it instead

[21] Some examples: The Einsiedeln madonna was repainted black in 1799 (see artist's report in Ringholz, *Wallfahrtsgeschichte*, 36, and below). The Altötting image was restored in 1911, remaining faithful to the original colors, according to Robert Bauer, *Bayrische Wallfahrt Altötting*, 2d edn. (Munich, 1980), 28. The Czestochowa icon was darkened in the nineteenth century according to Moss and Cappannari, "In Quest of the Black Virgin," 57. The madonna of Marsat was painted black in 1830 (Cassagnes-Brouquet, *Vierges noires*, 86–87) and the madonna of Chastreix in 1892 (Cassagnes-Brouquet, *Vierges noires*, 258–59, and below). Ilene Forsyth, an expert on the seated Romanesque madonnas of France, had only this to say about the issue of their frequent blackening: "The reasons for these alterations have to do with religious customs of the communities in which the Majesties are honored"; *Throne of Wisdom*, 21.

[22] The discussion of black madonnas in Klaus Schreiner, *Maria: Jungfrau, Mutter, Herrscherin* (Munich, 1994), 213–48, is the only scholarly treatment of the subject known to me that engages the question of believers' perceptions and the interpretive schemes they had available. Although his assumption of the fundamental "foreignness" of black madonnas is somewhat problematic, his approach is infinitely more useful than most of the literature on these images.

[23] Mrs. Jameson, *Legends of the Madonna* (New York, 1890), quoted in Moss and Cappannari, "In Quest of the Black Virgin," 53–54.

[24] Hans Belting, *Bild und Kult: Eine Geschichte des Bildes vor dem Zeitalter der Kunst* (Munich, 1990); Baxandall, *Painting and Experience*; as well as Michael Baxandall, *The Limewood Sculptors of Renaissance Germany* (New Haven, Conn., 1980); and Freedberg, *Power of Images*.

[25] As Clifford Geertz put it in *The Interpretation of Cultures* (New York, 1973), "It is explication I am after, construing social expressions on their surface enigmatical" (p. 5). In Victor and Edith Turner, *Image and Pilgrimage in Christian Culture: Anthropological Perspectives* (Oxford, 1978), the authors are more focused on ritual action, but their approach can also be made useful for the analysis of images, as it "refers to the interpretation of symbols operating as dynamic systems of signifiers (the outward forms), their meanings, and changing modes of signification, in the context of temporal sociocultural processes" (p. 243).

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part of an analysis of cult traditions and the complex interactions of elite and popular worship.

HOW CAN WE KNOW WHEN the general characterization of these madonnas as black began? The intentionalist literature would have us believe that the images were black from their creation and were venerated as such. But no records of the commissioning of these works exist in which the color was specified, no reports from the artists' workshops detailing the choices of paint for the flesh tones. Neither is reference made to the color of the cult images in fifteenth and early sixteenth-century records from the observer's perspective, such as the *Mirakelbücher*[26] or pilgrim's travelogues.[27] In late medieval illustrations, Marian images seem to be treated with a considerable lack of attention to detail,[28] and texts simply speak of the "image of Our Lady" but do not describe it. If any information is given in these texts at all, it comes from the legends telling of the image's miraculous origins. These oral narratives were collected and published in the seventeenth century as part of a primarily Jesuit program to revitalize the cult of the miraculous Marian image. Particularly well received was the *Atlas Marianus*, a collection of cult legends surrounding 1,200 Marian pilgrimage centers worldwide, published by Wilhelm Gumppenberg in Munich in 1672.[29] In these narratives, whose primary function is to legitimate the pilgrimage, that is, provide information on the venerability of the object and the aura of the site, very little mention is made of the color of the madonnas now known as black. A comparison of the legend traditions from about sixty pilgrimage sites also does not reveal any consistent differences between legends surrounding black madonnas and those surrounding images not known as black. All share a common set of recurring motifs, such as the miraculous finding of the image in a tree, bush, well, spring, or underground place; the refusal of an image to leave a certain spot; the resistance to or revenge taken for damage or

[26] These were small booklets distributed throughout the countryside reporting the miracles that had taken place at a particular pilgrimage site—for Altötting, a particularly well-documented pilgrimage site, copies have been preserved from as far back as 1492. They continued to be produced well into the seventeenth century. Woeckel, *Pietas Bavarica*, 349–54.

[27] German travelers to Santiago or Rome often took the route through Einsiedeln. Theodor Hampe, "Deutsche Pilgerfahrten nach Santiago de Compostella und das Reisetagebuch des Sebald Örtel (1521–22)," *Mitteilungen aus dem Germanischen Nationalmuseum* (1895): 61–82; Hermann Künig von Vach, *Die Walfarth und Strass zu Sankt Jakob* (Strasbourg, 1495); *Reisebuch der Familie Rieter*, R. Röhricht and H. Meisner, eds. (Tübingen, 1884); *Des böhmischen Herrn Leo's von Rožmital Ritter-, Hof- und Pilger-reise durch die Abendlande 1465–1467: Beschrieben von zweien seiner Begleiter*, J. A. Schmeller, ed. (Stuttgart, 1844).

[28] Copperplate engravings made in 1466 by the master E.S. as souvenirs from Einsiedeln, for example, do not represent the image there at that time accurately; see Belting, *Bild und Kult*, 477. Late fifteenth-century *Mirakelbücher* from Altötting are often illustrated with images of Mary that have little resemblance to the actual statue in the chapel at that time. See Gabriela Signori, "Das spätmittelalterliche Gnadenbild: Eine nachtridentinische 'Invention of Tradition'?" David Ganz and Georg Henkel, eds., *Rahmen-Diskurse: Kultbilder im konfessionellen Zeitalter* (forthcoming).

[29] Guilielmo [Wilhelm] Gumppenberg, *Atlas Marianus: Quo sanctae Dei genitricis Mariae imaginum miraculosarum origines duodecim historiarum centuriis explicantur* (Munich, 1672). The images are ordered according to location and rank. The first is Loreto; the second is the icon of Santa Maria Maggiore, later widely known as a black madonna, whose cult had had the particular support of the Jesuit order since 1569, when it sent copies to all the monarchs of Europe to have them organize shrines and general devotion to it (Belting, *Bild und Kult*, 539).

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"wounding," and so on.[30] Only one motif can be said to come up relatively often in connection with black madonnas: that of the prestigious artist—in most cases, St. Luke the Evangelist. Evidence for this legend in connection with Byzantine icons in the West goes as far back as the iconoclastic debates of eighth-century Constantinople,[31] but many madonnas that are said to be "true portraits" of Mary, painted from the life by St. Luke, acquired this status only in the fourteenth or fifteenth century. Though far fewer in number than the icons, some statues are also said to have been created by St. Luke. As far as I have been able to ascertain, they are all black madonnas of the oldest, enthroned style, such as the madonna of Montserrat, with one prominent exception: the black madonna of Loreto, which is in the standing style.[32] But not all portraits by St. Luke are considered black, so not even this legend motif can be deciphered as a sure indication of a madonna's status as black from the time of the legend's genesis, much less its installment as a cult object.

This apparent lack of interest in the color of the images continues well into the seventeenth century. In an earlier, smaller compendium of Marian pilgrimage sites,[33] Gumppenberg included copperplate engravings illustrating the miraculous images. Even though attention to the accuracy of reproduction is greater than in the representations from the late fifteenth century, the facial features were left to the artist's interpretation—if he had even viewed the original to begin with. And still, most of the madonnas known as black today are not shown with dark skin (Figures 3, 4). If the descriptions of the images the artists were going on were anything like the descriptions offered in the accompanying text in the book, they did not include instructions on darkening the image's complexion.

The Le Puy madonna is an exception here: it is depicted and described in the text as dark (*fuscus*),[34] suggesting perhaps an earlier perception of this madonna as black than the others in the compendium.[35] However, the madonna of Loreto—the very cult with particularly high status for the German Jesuits, and the one spreading all over the southern German-speaking regions in the seventeenth century—is

[30] Beissel, *Wallfahrten zu Unserer*, gives a systematic overview of legend motifs, albeit with an eye to exposing the "natural" causes of what were described as "supernatural" events.

[31] The oldest source of the legend of St. Luke as portraitist of the Virgin is widely considered to be a passage from the *Historia Tripartita* by Theodorus Lector, written around 530 AD. However, since the original text is lost and all that has been preserved are sections copied into church histories of the thirteenth century, it has been suspected that this passage was added later. Belting, *Bild und Kult*, 70–72; and Gerhard Wolf, *Salus populi romani: Die Geschichte römischer Kultbilder im Mittelalter* (Weinheim, 1990), 141–45.

[32] Devotion to the image takes place within the context of the pilgrimage to the Santa Casa, according to legend the Nazarene house in which Mary lived, transported to Loreto by angels in 1294. The madonna, which was said to have been of cedar, was destroyed in a fire in 1920 and replaced by a replica. For an overview of the cult and its dissemination in southern Germany, see Walter Pötzl, "Santa-Casa-Kult in Loreto und in Bayern," in *Wallfahrt kennt keine Grenzen*, Lenz Kriss-Rettenbeck and Gerda Mohler, eds. (Munich, 1984), 368–82.

[33] Guilielmo [Wilhelm] Gumppenberg, *Atlas Marianus sive de imaginibus Deiparae per orbem Christianum miraculosis*, 2 vols. (Ingolstadt, 1657).

[34] Gumppenberg, *Atlas Marianus*, 1657, 88. See Paul H. D. Kaplan, *The Rise of the Black Magus in Western Art* (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1985), 26–28, for a discussion of the ambiguous nature of the Latin word *fuscus*, which has been translated as "swarthy" and "dark-haired."

[35] This madonna is also explicitly referred to as black in a poem from 1518; see Schreiner, *Maria*, 240–41. A pious history of the Le Puy madonna by the Jesuit Odo de Gissey published in 1627 also includes an illustration of the madonna with black skin; Cassagnes-Brouquet, *Vierges noires*, 167.

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FIGURE 3: Illustration of the madonna of Altötting in Wilhelm Gumppenberg's *Atlas Marianus sive de imaginibus Deiparae per orbem Christianum miraculosis*, Vol. 1 (Ingolstadt, 1657). Courtesy of the University Library, Tübingen.

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FIGURE 4: Illustration of the madonna of Einsiedeln in Wilhelm Gumppenberg's *Atlas Marianus sive de imaginibus Deiparae per orbem Christianum miraculosis*, Vol. 1 (Ingolstadt, 1657). Courtesy of the University Library, Tübingen.

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shown as white. This is particularly odd, since it and other Italian images attributed to St. Luke appear to have been known as dark at least in some circles in the sixteenth century or even earlier. In 1571, the Dominican Gabriel de Barletta cites not only a thirteenth-century authority on the question of the Virgin's complexion but also images renowned as true portraits, which he describes as dark:

> You ask: Was the Virgin dark or fair? Albertus Magnus says that she was not simply dark, nor simply red-haired, nor just fair-haired . . . Mary was a blend of complexions, partaking of all of them, because a face partaking of all of them is a beautiful one . . . And yet this, says Albertus, we must admit: she was a little on the dark side. There are three reasons for thinking this—firstly by reason of complexion, since Jews tend to be dark and she was a Jewess; secondly by reason of witness, since St. Luke made the three pictures of her now at Rome, Loreto and Bologna, and these are brown-complexioned; thirdly, by reason of affinity. A son commonly takes after his mother, and vice versa; Christ was dark, therefore . . .[36]

Leonard Moss cites the Scots Catechism of 1552 as a direct reference to black madonnas: "[these statues] darkened into something not far from idolatry . . . when . . . one image of the Virgin [generally a black or ugly one] was regarded as more powerful for the help of suppliants."[37] A *Mirakelbuch* from Altötting of 1674, about the same time as Gumppenberg's work, mentions nothing of the madonna's blackness in the text, but the copperplate frontispiece is highly suggestive of a dark complexion.[38]

So there is indeed evidence that, between the mid-sixteenth and mid-seventeenth centuries, some of these images were known to be particularly dark. But the fact that the popular narrative tradition surrounding them does not refer to it at all makes one wonder how common a perception this was. An interesting source in this regard are the ex voto images dedicated to black madonnas by pilgrims, in most of which a representation of the miraculous image was integrated into a picture documenting the crisis in which the Virgin had successfully interceded on behalf of the donor.[39] At two sites in Bavaria, there are a large number of such votive plaques ranging from the sixteenth to the twentieth centuries. One is the large pilgrimage site at Altötting, where an impressive collection of thousands of votive images spanning five centuries are mounted on the walls of the chapel (Figures 5–7). The other is a small, rural chapel some twenty miles away from Altötting, in Teising bei Neumarkt-St. Veit, in which some sixty votive plaques are on display, the majority of the collection having been destroyed in a fire in the late nineteenth century. The chapel in Teising is a subsidiary Einsiedeln shrine established in 1627 by a local nobleman in gratitude for his wife's recovery from a serious illness. Soon, the copy

[36] Gabriel de Barletta, *Sermones celeberrimi*, I (Venice, 1571), 173, quoted in Baxandall, *Painting and Experience*, 57. The proof that Jesus was dark-skinned is usually also taken from a "true portrait," the Veil of Veronica, see note 70 below.

[37] Archbishop Hamilton, quote (with ellipses) in Moss and Cappannari, "In Quest of the Black Virgin," 65.

[38] Gabriel Küpferle, *Histori von der weitberühmbten unser lieben Frawen Capell zu Alten-Oetting in Nidern Bayern*, 4th edn. (Munich, 1674), 118.

[39] For a survey of votive art, see Lenz Kriss-Rettenbeck, *Ex Voto: Zeichen, Bild und Abbild im christlichen Votivbrauchtum* (Zurich, 1972).

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FIGURE 5: Votive plaques from the mid-seventeenth century mounted on the wall of the pilgrimage shrine in Altötting. Reprinted with permission of the photographer, Heiner Heine of Kastl, Germany.

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of the famous Swiss image began working wonders itself and developed a considerable local pilgrimage.[40]

The representations of these black madonnas in the votive art share a surprising pattern: they are "white," that is, depicted with light skin, until about 1700. In Altötting, the earliest representations of a black madonna are from the last decade of the seventeenth century, alongside many still in the old style. In Teising, the earliest plaque with a depiction of the madonna as black is from 1739. Not until around 1750 are the representations of the cult object in both chapels *always* black. Does this prove that the madonnas of Altötting and Teising/Einsiedeln were not originally black? Did they indeed turn black from candle smoke beginning in the late seventeenth century? The comparison of the two chapels makes this conclusion less easy to draw: the cult in Teising was 150 years younger and the image exposed to far fewer candles than the Altötting madonna, and yet both suddenly appear black on votive tablets at the same time. Were both images painted black around this time? There has been speculation on whether the Altötting image might have been purposely darkened to make it more similar to the madonna of Loreto, but this is generally assumed to have been in the late sixteenth century.[41] One could contemplate how black the Einsiedeln original might have been around 1627 and to what extent this blackness was transferred in the creation of the Teising copy.[42] In either case, it was not represented in the early votive tablets, just as it was not part of the legends or learned illustrations of the seventeenth century. In fact, it was a century before the color appeared in the votive tablets.

I would argue that the votive tablets say far less about exactly when the madonnas turned black than about when they began to be *perceived* as black madonnas, a fact that is more closely connected with discourse on the images and the availability of interpretive schemes than with "actual" blackness. Therefore, although it is possible that some black madonnas were indeed not yet black at the time of Gumppenberg's collection, the fact that he does not mention their blackness in his otherwise painstakingly thorough compendium is more likely an indication of the fact that, regardless of the actual color of the image, the *concept* of a black madonna had not yet been fully developed as an accolade heightening an image's prestige. This would also explain why, although Gumppenberg provides an encyclopedic list of designations for the various images, the names referring to the

[40] Helmut Sperber, *Unsere Liebe Frau: 800 Jahre Madonnenbild und Marienverehrung zwischen Lech und Salzach* (Regensburg, 1980), 99–100.

[41] See Thorsten Gebhard, "Die marianischen Gnadenbilder in Bayern: Beobachtungen zur Chronologie und Typologie," in Leopold Schmidt, ed., *Kultur und Volk: Beiträge zur Volkskunde aus Österreich, Bayern und der Schweiz; Festschrift für Gustav Gugitz zum 80. Geburtstag* (Vienna, 1954), 98. See also Sperber, *Unsere Liebe Frau*, 94. There were other borrowings in Altötting from the customs in Loreto, for example the veiling of the madonna on Good Friday in black cloth, which was then cut into tiny squares, glued to holy cards of the madonna and distributed among the visitors. In 1623, a Jesuit observer remarked on the popularity of the shrine, "one can rightly claim that Altötting does not take second place to Loreto, Montserrat and Einsiedeln in Switzerland" (quoted in Woeckel, *Pietas Bavarica*, 354), which itself betrays the rivalry among them. See also Oliva Wiebel-Fanderl, *Die Wallfahrt Altötting* (Passau, 1982), 64–65.

[42] The madonna of Teising is now no longer black. Records of when and why the restoration took place could not be found in the city's archives. One possibility would, of course, be the same fire that destroyed the votive tablets in 1861. But the remaining votive tablets suggest that the madonna changed her color right around 1900, when suddenly the madonna is no longer portrayed as the dark virgin of Einsiedeln.

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FIGURE 6: Votive image to the madonna of Altötting from the year 1782. From Robert Bauer, *Bayerische Wallfahrt Altötting*, 4th edn. (Regensburg, 1998), reprinted with permission of the author/episcopal administration in Altötting.

blackness of some images are not mentioned.[43] If, therefore, the perception of an image as a black madonna was more dependent on it being talked about as black than on any actual gradation of skin color that could be measured on the image itself, what kind of discourse would have supported such a perception and when did it come about?

[43] Gumppenberg, *Atlas Marianus*, 1672, Index 7.

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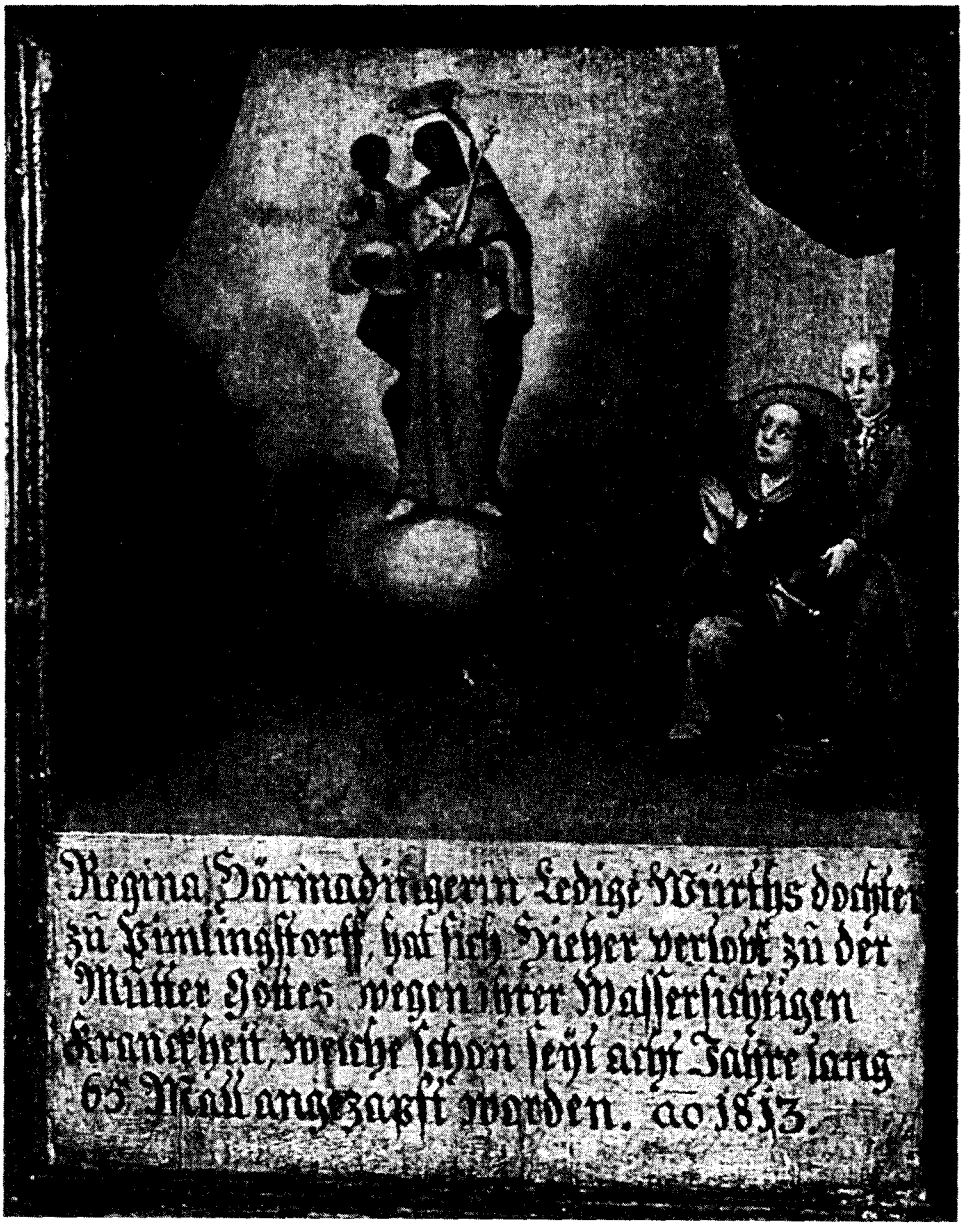


FIGURE 7: Votive image to the madonna of Altötting from the year 1813. From Robert Bauer, *Bayerische Wallfahrt Altötting*, 4th edn. (Regensburg, 1998), reprinted with permission of the author/episcopal administration in Altötting.

It is no accident that the Jesuits promoting the cult of the miraculous Marian image used the legends to support their cause. Legends are a highly important discourse framing these images, for they represent the primary semantic context in which miraculous images, regardless of color, were embedded. The reiteration of themes among holy sites familiar to the faithful heightens the plausibility of each one's claim; the fact that the same types of events are connected with images generates a sense of recognition that reaffirms for believers the truth of all the

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legends. It is impossible to know just what kind of aesthetic effect a black madonna had on an average early modern worshiper. However, for the faithful, the recurring motifs of oral tradition provide a relevant fabric of meanings into which cult images were woven. They provide a key to understanding where blackness of the image would have fit in for the common worshiper, that is, what sense would have been made of it. Three narrative motifs are particularly significant.

First, many legends emphasize the age of the image. This can probably be seen as the background of the most frequent motif: *inventio*, the miraculous finding of the image, sometimes after it had been lost or hidden away from infidels for centuries.[44] Antiquity as an attribute of prestige not only follows the aristocratic model of heritage, whose value increases the farther back in time the family line can be traced, but also the notion that the older an image of Mary is, the greater the proximity to the time in which she lived and indeed to her. In a sense, this theme reaches its logical extreme in the second important motif, the story of St. Luke and the true portrait. This story is also related to a third theme frequently encountered in legends: that of the image's origin in or near the Holy Land. It is then often said to have been found by an early Christian pilgrim, such as St. Helena, or brought back by Crusaders.[45] Visualization of this motif was achieved in the Byzantine style used for paintings and in the type of wood claimed for statues. The dark color of a statue could have suggested not only aged wood but also precious types such as ebony or cedar thought to grow only in the Eastern Mediterranean. In sum, the legends indicate that blackness is part of a triad of mutually reinforcing attributes: Eastern provenance, antiquity, and the legend of the true portrait. The color could serve as a visual metaphor for authenticity, augmenting the message of the legend motifs and supporting them in their legitimizing function, and ultimately, proving useful in cult promotion.

Two aspects of this popular, or folk, understanding of the color within the context of the legends are important to note: it was tacit, and it applied primarily to the object, not the person depicted. This is not the case in theologically informed interpretations. Blackness becomes explicit in the discourse on these madonnas when the biblical phrase "nigra sum sed formosa" (Song of Solomon 1: 5) is used to understand them.[46] On one level, placing these images in the interpretive context of the Song of Songs connects them with a longstanding exegetical tradition of identifying Mary with the church, the bride of Christ.[47] On another, "I am black but

[44] In Spain, the common enemy from which images were hidden were the Moors—a classic example is the legend of the Virgin of Montserrat; see Wilhelm Herchenbach, *Die heiligen katholischen Gnaden- und Wallfahrtsorte mit den Heiligthümern und Reliquien: Nach geschichtlichen Quellen und Legenden* (Stuttgart, 1884), 658–63; and Beissel, *Wallfahrten zu Unserer*, 463. In Germany and Bohemia, they were Hussites and, later, Protestants; see Beissel, *Wallfahrten zu Unserer*, 8–13, 27–31. The theme of the hidden image has, of course, the advantage of explaining why there are no historical records of it and allows its date of origin to be placed as far back as deemed necessary.

[45] See Beissel, *Wallfahrten zu Unserer*, 86.

[46] "I am very dark but comely." The application of this verse is quite unanimously found to be a later interpretation of an already black(ened) image, not the original reason for painting Mary with dark skin. Beissel, *Geschichte der Verehrung Marias*, 345. Use of the phrase seems to have begun earlier in France (in particular for the Le Puy madonna) than in Germany. Schreiner, *Maria*, 239–42. See also Cassagnes-Brouquet, *Vierges noires*, 167, on Jesuits as primary disseminators of this interpretation in France.

[47] This passage from the Song of Songs has, as Sander Gilman put it, "even more than the discussion

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beautiful" was useful as an interpretive aid to bridge over the grave dissonance felt between blackness/sinfulness and beauty/virtue, as in the iconography of black skin in religious art, as well as to counteract negative connotations of the color in folk traditions.[48] In Teising, there is evidence of this kind of interpretation being offered the faithful: at the centennial celebration of the chapel in 1726, a sermon was preached that uses the Song of Songs to make sense of the image's blackness.[49] Father Benedikt Frumb begins with the blackness of the bride in the Song of Solomon, who is black and yet beautiful, and asks: "Who can believe that? . . . Who does not know that the color black has always been considered a metaphor and sign of sadness, grief and hideousness?"[50] In the rest of the sermon, Frumb explains how, through the love between the bride (Mary/the church) and the groom (Jesus/God), this opposition is transformed. The blackness comes, for example, from the grief Mary feels at the Crucifixion.[51] The power of her love is likened to the sun, which darkens the skin of the bride. Finally, Frumb interprets blackness as a symbol of the humble attitude of the bride of the Song of Solomon, which parallels Mary's at the Annunciation. He then presents this humility as the great advantage of the madonna of Teising, who would turn no supplicant away.[52]

The earliest votive tablet on display in Teising that includes the blackness of the madonna was donated by a nobleman in 1739, thirteen years after this sermon.[53] Could the sermon's explicit interpretation of the blackness have generated an awareness of it as an essential and meaningful part of the image, only then making it part of the representation on votive plaques? In Einsiedeln itself, the earliest explicit reference to the image's blackness comes from a sermon in 1698, in which Mary is characterized as a blacksmith: "This black color of the holy image, these blackened walls, this steam and smoke in the holy chapel persuade me . . . that this must be a wondrous forge in which, by way of the holiest Mother of God, through her fiery, motherly love, the arrows and rays of God's wrath are forged and changed into so many arrows of grace and mercy."[54] Considering that the chapel inside the

of the origin of the races from among the sons of Noah, provided commentators with a text upon which to discuss the nature of blackness." Gilman, *On Blackness without Blacks: Essays on the Image of the Black in Germany* (Boston, 1982), 14.

[48] The damned, sinners, demons, and those possessed by them, and, above all, Satan were traditionally portrayed with black skin in Christian art throughout the Middle Ages. See Devisse, *Image of the Black*, vol. 2–1. Folk traditions in Germany overwhelmingly associate the color black with negativity; see the article on "Farbe" in Hans Bächtold-Stäubli, ed., *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens* (1927–42; rpt. edn., Berlin, 1987), 20: 1189–1215.

[49] Lechner, "'Schön schwarz bin ich,'" quotes extensive excerpts from this sermon, which was titled "Schön Schwartz bin Ich / Das ist: Deß göttlichen Gesponß / seiner schönen schwartzen Braut Schwärtze / an dem Marianischen Gnaden-Bild von Einsidl zu Teising," and published along with other centennial sermons in 1727 in Landshut under the title of *Teisingerisches Erstes Marianisches Jubel-Jahr* . . . The Teising pilgrimage was at its apogee at this time—and no other anniversary celebration drew as large a crowd as the first one. Sperber, *Unsere Liebe Frau*, 100.

[50] Lechner, "'Schön schwarz bin ich,'" 48.

[51] Lechner, "'Schön schwarz bin ich,'" 49.

[52] Lechner, "'Schön schwarz bin ich,'" 52.

[53] In Einsiedeln, the sermon offering an interpretation of the blackness was also held around the turn of the eighteenth century. But as no votive tablets from this time survived fires and plundering by French troops at the turn of the nineteenth century, it cannot be confirmed when the representation of a black madonna on them began there.

[54] Lechner, "'Schön schwarz bin ich,'" 50–51.

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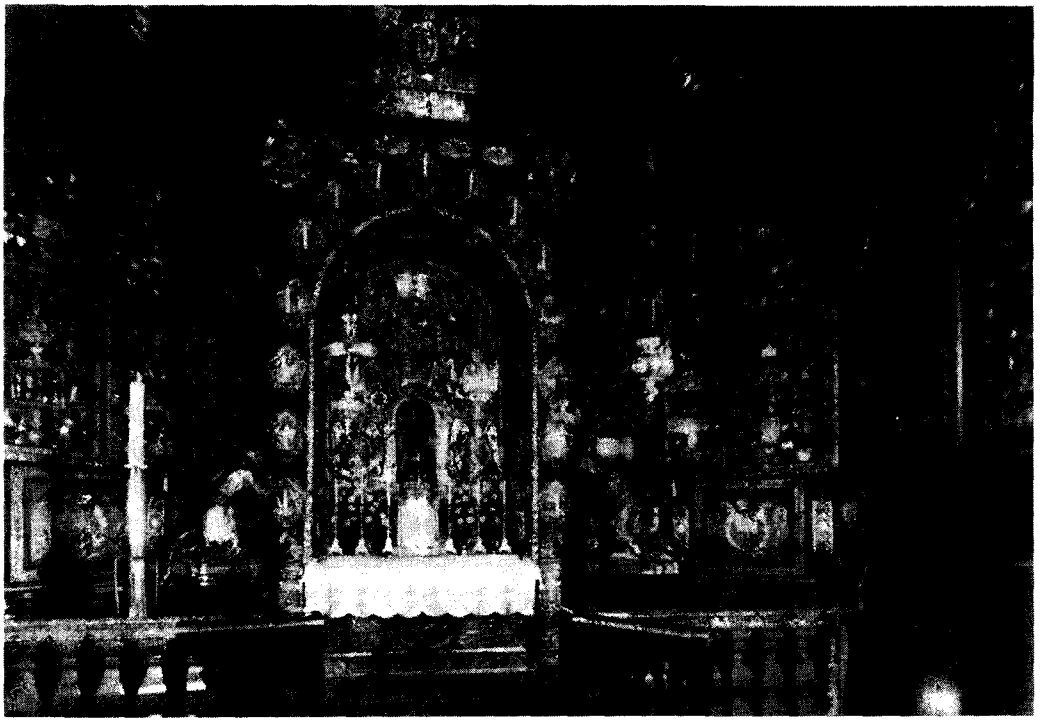


FIGURE 8: Interior of the Altötting chapel. From Gerhard P. Woeckel, *Pietas Bavarica* (Weissenhorn, 1992), reprinted with permission of the publisher, Anton H. Konrad Verlag.

great Benedictine church had been recently renovated—beginning in 1617 and again in 1683, until the entire structure was covered in black marble, making the inside dark but for the light of the candles and lamps burning there,[55] black had become an interpretive element of the architectural framing of the image as well.[56] The impression of the chapel in Altötting would have been similar: the immense silver altar framing the madonna as well as the rest of the dark chapel interior was created in the years following the Thirty Years' War (Figure 8).[57] It would seem that, by the turn of the eighteenth century, the color black was becoming an integral part of the dramatic presentation of these cult images.[58]

The larger context here is a pilgrimage revival initiated in part by reform measures, which, instead of simply suppressing "superstitious" popular belief, began harnessing its energy while controlling its forms of expression in an explosion of organized rituals, prayers, processions, and the like. The wars of the seventeenth

[55] Georg Holzherr, *Einsiedeln: Kloster und Kirche Unserer lieben Frau; Von der Karolingerzeit bis zur Gegenwart* (Munich, 1987), 30.

[56] With this renovation, the Einsiedeln madonna was positioned above the altar surrounded by the Trinity: the Son she is holding, the Father crowning her, and the dove (Holy Spirit) floating above them. The current presentation was introduced in 1704: the madonna standing alone before a golden backdrop of clouds and lightning bolts (see cover illustration).

[57] Bauer, *Bayrische Wallfahrt*, 26–27. The chapel's inner walls were painted black until they were finally covered in black marble in 1886; Wiebel-Fanderl, *Wallfahrt Altötting*, 40.

[58] See Beissel, *Wallfahrten zu Unserer*, 157–72, on the dressing and crowning of images. See also Walter Hartinger, *Religion und Brauch* (Darmstadt, 1992), 108–12, for a concise overview of the dramaturgy of image presentation during this time, which often included covering the image most of the year and ceremoniously revealing it to the sound of trumpet fanfares on special occasions.

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century, causing great suffering and destitution of the population, also created a greater need among believers for heavenly aid. The majority of local pilgrimage centers in southern Germany were founded during or immediately following the Thirty Years' War.[59] These included many copies of the chapels in Loreto, Einsiedeln, and Altötting, but it also meant that other, older chapels that had fallen into disuse during the Reformation were reactivated. In most Catholic (or re-Catholicized) territories, Jesuits were assigned the task of (re)establishing pilgrimage sites, processional activities, congregations, and sodalities dedicated to specific Marian cults. Concrete measures emerging from the decisions of the Council of Trent took time to arrive at the local level and in many areas of Germany were delayed by the war, so they were not fully implemented in many areas until about 1660.[60] As one of the elements of Catholic devotion that clearly distinguished it from Protestantism, image veneration was strongly promoted. Medieval shrines and centuries-old images were given special emphasis. Focus on the miraculous image was not an innovation of the Counter-Reformation, but it took on new significance in opposition to Reformation iconoclasm. Whether the reinstated images had been regarded as miraculous before was not necessarily provable in every case. As one scholar of German popular piety, Hans Dünninger, has pointed out,

> Due to the lack of written documentation and as a result of undependable oral traditions, revitalized pilgrimages acquired the reputation for having been centers of an image cult as early as the Middle Ages. Under the changed circumstances [of the Counter-Reformation], one could not imagine there might have been such a thing as a pilgrimage without a cult image. Thus, pre-Baroque paintings or statues came to be seen as having been miraculous images of medieval pilgrimages. Not infrequently, they are even claimed to have triggered the pilgrimage.[61]

Be that as it may, the point that Gumppenberg's collection is part and parcel of revival activity as an "invention of tradition"—in the sense of discovering certain forms and interpreting their historical significance in terms of current motivations and needs—is well taken. Gumppenberg must be read as a discourse on idealized pre-Reformation, unified Catholicism, epitomized in an imagined form of image-focused Marian devotion at illustrious pilgrimage sites. The continual use of the attribute *uralt* (ancient) in the ancient legends refers to an idealized Middle Ages, or even to the first Christians, in refutation of the Protestant notion of an image-less original church.[62]

[59] This is pointed out, for example, in Nolan and Nolan, *Christian Pilgrimage*, 107, 112. No other war prior to the twentieth century was as devastating in its impact on the German population. See Benigna von Krusenstjern and Hans Medick, eds., *Zwischen Alltag und Katastrophe: Der Dreißigjährige Krieg aus der Nähe* (Göttingen, 1999).

[60] Wolfgang Brückner, "Zum Wandel der religiösen Kultur im 18. Jahrhundert," in Ernst Hinrichs and Günther Wiegelmann, eds., *Sozialer und kultureller Wandel in der ländlichen Welt des 18. Jahrhunderts* (Wolfenbüttel, 1982), 65–83.

[61] Hans Dünninger, "Zur Geschichte der barocken Wallfahrt im deutschen Südwesten," in *Barock in Baden-Württemberg: Vom Ende des Dreißigjährigen Krieges bis zur Französischen Revolution* (exhibition catalog) (Bruchsal, 1981), 415. The medieval historian Gabriela Signori has also questioned whether the seventeenth-century concept of the miracle-working madonna existed in late medieval Europe. Signori, "Das spätmittelalterliche Gnadenbild."

[62] See Belting, *Bild und Kult*, 26. Influential post-Tridentine tractati on image theology published by

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This perspective sheds an important light on the history of black madonnas. It suggests that in the course of the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, black madonnas may have reached the apogee of their popularity because they came to embody this imagined medieval tradition. The visual metaphor of blackness and the legends surrounding them were essential parts of this performance: in mutual reinforcement, they supported the image's claim to authenticity, which is why both might have been more or less consciously implemented by cult promoters. Even though he does not single out black madonnas, Belting notes in this regard: "The myth of origin also guaranteed the rank of a particular image, which was derived from its age (or supernatural creation). Age was a quality that should be perceptible in its form. Therefore, the form also had a (real or fabricated) evocative value. Archaism as a fiction of age is among the characteristics of a new cult image."[63] Clearly, not all images favored by the Jesuits were black, and I am not suggesting that all black madonnas were blackened for this purpose. Indeed, in sixteenth to eighteenth-century Jesuit writings on image theology, hardly any explicit mention of black madonnas is made.[64] But the framing of the images in traditional narratives and visual presentation drew attention to and gave meaning to the blackness of an image. Whether it was already visible or in fact "helped along" to its blackness at this time is not as important as the point that the color eventually became an indispensible visual marker for these particular images.[65] In this sense, black madonnas are more a product of Counter-Reformation image theology than of medieval popular religion. Indeed, the popular reception of the concept of a black madonna seems not to have taken hold, at least in Germany, until the early eighteenth century, as the votive tablets show.

A rare document of artistic work on a black madonna, from the turn of the nineteenth century, shows how the color had become an identifying element of the Einsiedeln madonna, guaranteeing its authenticity. Miraculous images had begun to come under attack by the anticlerical forces of the French Revolution. In France, many black madonnas were destroyed at this time—including the illustrious madonna of Le Puy, on June 8, 1794.[66] In the face of such events, the madonna of Einsiedeln was hidden away in Austria when republican troops approached the area. By the year 1799, the statue had suffered considerable damage and had to be restored. In his report, the restorer, Johann Adam Fuetscher, writes:

The face was thoroughly black; yet this color is not attributable to the paintbrush, but rather the smoke of the candles and lamps that have been burning constantly in the holy chapel of Einsiedeln for so many centuries; for I found and saw it obviously that the paint on the face

Italian authors at the end of the sixteenth century also placed emphasis on long tradition as a legitimizing factor in the proper use of images. For an overview, see Christian Hecht, *Katholische Bildertheologie im Zeitalter von Gegenreformation und Barock: Studien zu Traktaten von Johannes Molanus, Gabriele Paleotti und anderen Autoren* (Berlin, 1997), on this point esp. 145.

[63] Belting, *Bild und Kult*, 24.

[64] Hecht, *Katholische Bildertheologie*.

[65] Detailed archival research of each of the primary black madonnas, beyond the scope of this study, might also reveal whether the popular names (Schwarze Muttergottes, etc.) were established in the mid to late seventeenth century.

[66] The image on display there today is a recreation based on drawings and descriptions of the original done by Faujas de Saint-Fond in 1778; Saillens, *Nos vierges noirs*, 86–92.

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had been flesh-colored in the beginning, which can be well recognized on the flakes that had fallen off and have been saved.

I found the face and the hair of the Child sitting on the left arm, with regard to the color, like the Mother. The body of the same, as anyone can clearly see, is painted in flesh tones, which is clear proof that the face of the Child as well as the Mother were painted according to nature [*nach der Natur*] . . .

After I had removed everything loose and easily detached from the face, and smoothed out as much as possible the firmly affixed bits of paint, I proceeded to paint the entire face of the mother as well as the child with black paint, similar to the previous color, also on those parts where the previous black color held on; that is where the elevations that one can see here and there come from.[67]

Fuetscher goes on to note that, because the image was carved with open eyes, "but because of the black color seemed to be eyeless," he was advised to paint rosier cheeks and lips onto the image as well as blue irises onto the eyes. But when the image was put on display in Bludenz, where the work was being done, several individuals who had seen the image before expressed their doubt that this madonna was in fact the original. At the request of an Einsiedeln monastery official, Fuetscher repainted the face, eyes and all, in black "as it was before."[68]

A document like this is not simply proof that this madonna was never intended to be black, allowing us to dismiss the issue altogether. Rather, it illustrates the multivocality of the blackness. The madonna, according to the custom of the time, was always "dressed," so that only the face and hands of Mary and Jesus were exposed to the candle smoke, which apparently blackened them. And yet it did not occur to the artist to restore the original color. The slightest deviance from the image's familiar appearance aroused protest among believers. This document vividly illustrates how sacred meaning can exist in tandem with profane interpretation. In Altötting, too, the candle-smoke theme has, since the nineteenth century, become integrated into the legends told of the madonna[69]—for what more eloquent proof of the veneration of centuries of believers can one ask than the complexion of a madonna darkened by ritual devotion in the form of millions of candles? In a sense, it is a positivistic twist on the theme of the *uralt* image, as well as visible proof of long tradition—the central category of Counter-Reformation image theology and a criterion more important than artistic virtuosity or accuracy of representation.

I HAVE ARGUED THAT blackness connoted age and Eastern provenance, which guaranteed authenticity[70]—itself closely linked to miraculous power[71]—and that

[67] Quoted in Ringholz, *Wallfahrtsgeschichte*, 36–38.

[68] Quoted in Ringholz, *Wallfahrtsgeschichte*, 36–38.

[69] It is not mentioned in Gumppenberg, but in Herchenbach, *Die heiligen katholischen Gnaden- und Wallfahrtsorte*, a late nineteenth-century collection of legends, the Altötting madonna is explicitly referred to as the "Schwarze Muttergottes." Herchenbach explains the color with the smoke of candles and incense "that have surrounded her for 1200 years" (pp. 583–84). This remarkably long period corresponds with Gumppenberg's version, which tells that the image was brought to Altötting around 700, at the time of the conversion of the first Bavarian leader to Christianity (see *Atlas Marianus*, 1672, 56–57). Art historians estimate the Altötting image to be no older than late fourteenth century.

[70] What the Luke portraits were for Mary, the Veil of Veronica was for the adult Jesus. Since the

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this symbolic potential could have been tacitly integrated into the narrative and visual framing of *uralt* images, beginning in earnest in the later seventeenth century. The first explicit explanation of the color was the biblical reference offered by clerics. The use of the phrase "nigra sum sed formosa," however, makes an important shift in emphasis: it is no longer a black image of Mary that is spoken of but an image of a black Mary.

If black madonnas were read as depictions of Mary as the bride of the Song of Songs, was she then understood to be depicted as an African woman? We have seen in the eighteenth-century sermon in Teising that the blackness of the bride/Mary is interpreted symbolically. Most commentaries on the "nigra sum" passage also interpreted the bride's blackness allegorically, as the soul fallen from grace, or as the Gentile Church. This latter interpretation comes from an influential third-century commentary by the theologian Origen, who saw in the bride the queen of Sheba, generally known to be African.[72] But she is not often portrayed with black skin prior to the mid-fifteenth century. When she is, such as in the late twelfth-century altar by Nicolas Verdun in Klosterneuburg near Vienna, the color is not complemented by secondary characteristics typical for depictions of Africans, even at that time—in fact, she has long, golden hair, as does the Einsiedeln madonna. It appears that the blackness of the bride only connotes Africanness if she is connected with the queen of Sheba, and even then, the allegorical meanings appear to be primary. The queen of Sheba, though conceived of as African, is primarily seen as representing the Gentiles, like the bride, whom Paul Kaplan describes as "a character largely divorced from ethnic considerations, who represents a facet of religious belief rather than a material segment of the universe of the faithful."[73]

The medieval and early modern terminology for blacks also stems from a dominance of religious categories over racial considerations: like the English term "moor," in Germany, Africans were subsumed under the term "Mohr" until the end of the eighteenth century. This term was religiously unambiguous, since it almost always referred to a Muslim, but ethnically quite ambiguous, as it encompassed Turks, Arabs, even Indians, as well as Ethiopians.[74] The material amassed for the second volume of the comprehensive study *The Image of the Black in Western Art* led

early thirteenth century, legend has it that, on the path to Golgotha, a woman named Veronica (*vero ikon* = true image) wiped the blood and sweat from Jesus' brow as he labored past, bearing the cross, and his image appeared spontaneously on the cloth she used. On display in St. Peter's Cathedral in Rome, this cloth (and its many copies around the Catholic world) is venerated as a true portrait of Jesus. The image is also recognized as being unusually dark complected. Here again is a convergence of darkness of skin and the notion of a *vera effigies*, or authenticity of representation. On the tradition of Veronica, see Ewa Kuryluk, *Veronica and Her Cloth: History, Symbolism and Structure of a "True" Image* (New York, 1991); as well as the classic Ernst von Dobschütz, *Christusbilder: Untersuchungen zur christlichen Legende* (Leipzig, 1899).

[71] See Freedberg, *Power of Images*, 205–12, for a discussion of the power of the belief in an authentic representation being particularly effective in working miracles and worthy of veneration.

[72] Origen saw the role of the Gentile Church in a positive light, which is why he advocated a translation of the verse as "I am black *and* beautiful." Ernst Benz, "'Ich bin schwarz und schön' (Hohes Lied 1,5): Ein Beitrag des Origenes zur Theologie der negritudo," in Hans-Jürgen Greschat and Herrmann Jungraithmayr, eds., *Wort und Religion: Kalima na dini: Studien zur Afrikanistik, Missionswissenschaft, Religionswissenschaft* (Stuttgart, 1969), 225–42.

[73] Kaplan, *Rise of the Black Magus*, 42.

[74] For a more detailed discussion of this point, see the comprehensive study of the perception of blacks in German society by Peter Martin, *Schwarze Teufel, edle Mohren* (Hamburg, 1993), 83; the term

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the authors to conclude: "Until the end of the fifteenth century the representation of the black was based on symbolic rather than ethnological considerations."[75] Although the statement is perhaps too broad, the evidence points to a perception of the black in which anthropological precision took a back seat to symbolic, primarily religious, categories. Given this more tenuous link between skin color and ethnicity, the question as to whether a black-complected image of the Virgin properly represented Mary's racial heritage would have been secondary, if it would have been asked at all. There is occasional mention in early texts such as Gabriel de Barletta's (above) that the dark skin color has to do with Mary's Jewishness, thus making even stronger the claim of the image's authenticity. But I maintain that black skin on Marian images was multiply encoded and that its symbolic value as a marker of ethnic or racial origin was not primary until the turn of the nineteenth century.

The range of meanings narrowed when the concept of distinct, color-coded human races was developed in scientific discourse. At first, when in 1735 the Swedish scientist Carl Linnaeus divided humanity into four distinct groups, black, white, red, and yellow, this was no more than an idea in the heads of a few scholars. By the 1770s, when Johann Friedrich Blumenbach developed a system of five groups that were associated with the colors white, black, red, yellow, and brown, and a lively debate over the definition of race had developed, the convergence of aesthetic and political considerations—blackness of skin and the justification of slavery—was fully under way.[76]

As we have seen, the negative connotations of black as a color could be allegorically reversed in reference to the Song of Songs. Beginning around 1800, this interpretive aid would have increasingly lost its effectiveness, as a more deeply essentialist notion of race-as-color became commonplace. In Germany, the ambiguous term "Mohr," though still in use, was recognized as less precise than the various anthropological terms—in the case of black Africans it was "Neger," a borrowing from the Romance languages which implies the color designation—and it becomes common to refer to "black" and "white" people.[77]

But before the notion that skin color is first and foremost a racial sign becomes apparent in secular commentary on black madonnas, aesthetic considerations are at the fore. Leonard Moss and Stephen Cappannari cite the following remark by Henry Swinburne, from *Travel in the Two Sicilies* on the Madonna di Constantinopoli in a Benedictine abbey in Monte Vergine near Naples: "This image is of gigantic or heroic proportion, and passes for the work of St. Luke the Evangelist, though the very size is an argument against its being a portrait from the life, had we even the slightest reason to believe he ever handled the pencil. There are in Italy

even engendered a certain respect: the "Mohr" embodied a high (even superior) culture and, as a militarily aggressive non-Christian, was to be feared. See also Kaplan, *Rise of the Black Magus*, 4.

[75] Devisse, *Image of the Black*, 2-1: 136.

[76] Gilman, *On Blackness without Blacks*, 49–56, and see p. 93: "From the middle of the 18th century to the mid 19th century, the concept of the slave was conterminous with the image of the Black."

[77] Martin, *Schwarze Teufel*, 85, 101. "Neger" remained the common term for blacks in colloquial German until the mid-twentieth century. In recent years, the term "Schwarzer" has generally taken its place; however, it is a somewhat ambiguous term, since white people with black hair have traditionally been referred to as "Schwarze," just as redheads are referred to as "Rote."

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and elsewhere some dozens of black, ugly Madonnas, which all pass for the work of his hands, and as such are revered."[78] Although the Council of Trent had instituted an evaluation process for all cult images, eliminating those that did not conform to the newly established criteria, which emphasized the "beauty and piety" of the images, the black madonnas were not affected. The portraits attributed to St. Luke were, in fact, often referred to as particularly beautiful, their aesthetic being based on their cultic value.[79] But outside the religious context, in the age of Johann Winckelmann and the idealization of classical Greek art, blackness represented the antithesis of everything beautiful.[80] Even Karl Marx, in 1856, knew of the notorious ugliness of black madonnas, as he wrote in a letter to his wife: "Bad as your portrait is, it serves me to the best purposes, and now I understand how even the 'black Madonnas,' the most offensive of the portraits of the divine mother, could find indestructible veneration, and even more venerators than did the good portraits."[81]

Johann Wolfgang von Goethe also expressed a sense of aesthetic disappointment in black madonnas in a comment from 1816: "How the most unhappy of all appearances could have crept in—that, probably for Egyptian or Abessinian reasons, the Mother of God is portrayed as brown, and the face of Our Savior printed on Veronica's veil was also given a moorish color—may be clarified when that part of art history is more closely examined."[82] His is the earliest example of an *explicit* linkage of the images to a portrayal of African ethnicity known to me. Never before the nineteenth century does a black virgin evoke African race—only implicitly, *if* one follows the exegesis of the "nigra sum" verse that views the bride as an Ethiopian. But biblical interpretations of images and pious legends are thoroughly rejected by intellectuals committed to the German *Aufklärung*, like Theodor Mundt. He writes in his recollections of a visit to Czestochowa, published in 1840, with the unconcealed disdain for the rites of pilgrimage and their participants typical of late eighteenth and early nineteenth-century rationalist discourse. The "schwarze Maria" he mocks evokes for him nothing but ethnic associations. Even though he ridicules the belief that the icon was painted by St. Luke, he finds the legend plausible where it connects the image to Byzantium, "where all kinds of Egyptian and Ethiopian elements could have played into giving the Virgin Mary this skin color."[83]

The ascendancy of African origin as that which is necessarily signified by black skin meant that the earlier perceptions and meanings of black madonnas were more or less submerged. The blackness's former multivocality was narrowed to one meaning: race—in particular, one into which Mary could not be fit. In contrast to those black images meant to depict Africans, such as the Black Magus or St.

[78] Henry Swinburne, *Travel in the Two Sicilies*, Vol. 1 (London, 1783), 123, quoted in Moss and Cappannari, "In Quest of the Black Virgin," 64–65.

[79] Belting, *Bild und Kult*, 483–96.

[80] On blackness in the aesthetic theory of seventeenth and eighteenth-century German thought, see Gilman, *On Blackness without Blacks*, 19–34, 57–60.

[81] From a biographical profile of Karl Marx by Arnold Künzli, communicated personally to Leonard Moss by Alfred Vagts: Moss and Cappannari, "In Quest of the Black Virgin," 72.

[82] Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, *Ästhetische Schriften 1816–1820: Über Kunst und Altertum I–II*, Hendrik Birus, ed. (Frankfurt am Main, 1999), 75–76.

[83] Theodor Mundt, *Völkerschau auf Reisen* (Stuttgart, 1840), 234. Indeed, his comments are strongly reminiscent of Goethe's and suggest he may have been familiar with his assessment.

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Maurice, it would have become increasingly difficult as the nineteenth century progressed for people to explain why Mary, whom they knew to be a Jewish woman from Palestine, was portrayed as an African. Even for the very pious, this would have undermined dramatically the value of black madonnas as actual portraits of Mary and made the legends that associated these images with St. Luke highly implausible. The color, once a sign of authenticity and venerability, was no longer understood in this way, as reported in the case of the madonna of Chastreix: When it was painted black in 1892,[84] parishioners complained "that their Virgin had been made a negress."[85] The allegorical meaning of the skin provided by the "nigra sum" verse could partially be integrated into the modern encoding of black skin as a primary signifier of race,[86] but the more subtle authenticating effect of the dark color connected with the pious legends was lost and, with it, any other plausible basis for the intentionality of the color. Black madonnas then became the enigmas they are made out to be today.

Not surprising, then, that the accidentalist theory took hold in the mid-nineteenth century, not only within the Catholic Church because of its opposition to the comparative religionist stance, but also because this theory resolved the cognitive dissonance created by the racial encoding of black skin. This development corresponded with a new conception of Mary's appearance that began with the highly popularized French apparition cults of the mid-nineteenth century. The images of the Miraculous Medal (based on the visions of Catherine Labouré in Paris in 1830) and of Lourdes (based on the visions of Bernadette Soubirous in 1858), like their medieval predecessors, claimed authenticity, but, unlike earlier cult images, they were closely associated with the new dogma of the Immaculate Conception, and their visual scheme was dominated by the color white. The cults, promoted by the church with an intensity not seen in a century and with modern instruments of industrialized production and railway transportation, dominated devotion to Mary during the nineteenth century and into the twentieth.[87] Visions and apparitions patterned after these cults continued on up to Fatima in 1917 and later. Each reappearance of Mary as a European woman reaffirmed her whiteness, adding another layer of sediment to the social construction of her appearance. After the scientific assertion that black madonnas are "actually" white,[88] the most sympathetic interpretation left for the blackness was as a patina resulting from intense devotion or simply age (a modernization of the theme from the legends?), all the while corroborating the "truth" of Mary's whiteness.

The history of the changing perception of black madonnas is, of course, also a

[84] Cassagnes-Brouquet, *Vierges noires*, 258–59.

[85] B. Craplet, "Vierges romanes," *Richesses de la France, Le Puy-de-Dôme* 44 (1960): 66–68, quoted in Forsyth, *Throne of Wisdom*, 21.

[86] As the author of the article "Pélérinage" in the *Encyclopédie théologique*, vol. 43 (Paris, 1850), illustrates on page 715 when he writes that the face of a madonna is black "like an Ethiopian woman" but nevertheless "lovely."

[87] On the French apparitions and their significance in popular religion, see Thomas A. Kselman, *Miracles and Prophecies: Popular Religion and the Church in Nineteenth-Century France* (New Brunswick, N.J., 1983).

[88] See recent media reports on the madonna of Montserrat. *El Mundo* headlines: "'La Moreneta' es blanca" (April 15, 2001); the German news agency *Deutsche Presseagentur* reports: "The dark brown Madonna of Montserrat is actually white [*Die schwarzbraune Madonna von Montserrat ist in Wirklichkeit weiß*]" (April 26, 2001).

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story about its transition from sacred object to work of art. The accidentalist theory explaining their blackness makes sense only if these images are seen as material objects with a history, rather than miraculously appearing emissaries from heaven. And the question "why are they black?" can only be asked when they are seen as products of an artist, however anonymous. This general development among religious images is also part of what makes black madonnas open for racial associations and other desacralizing interpretations.[89] It is not that these madonnas lost their sanctity because they were perceived as African but that the loss of their aura helped bring non-religious strata of meaning to the fore, most forcibly a secularized notion of accurate representation and the question of race. The idea of a black madonna as possibly African was not disturbing enough to cause any reference to it until the early nineteenth century, and then it was primarily among those for whom sacred meanings were invalid—rationalist, even anti-Catholic, intellectuals. Although the old and new style of perception surely existed side by side, the characterization of black madonnas as "mysteries" so often encountered today has to do with the modern inability to see past skin-color-as-race, or, to paraphrase Zygmunt Bauman, with the modern mind's intolerance of ambiguity. The (re-)sacralization of these objects today takes place primarily among followers of a New Age–style spirituality, picking up on the continuity theory and its literature but taking the (ethnically coded) blackness of the madonna as the necessary starting point.

Historicizing our perception of black madonnas may be the necessary first step to reapproaching these figures with new questions. This has been a primary aim of this article, namely, to show how a closer look at the contexts in which black madonnas were venerated can, to a certain extent, demystify their color. A further objective was to add a small tile to the developing mosaic of knowledge about the European perception of black skin through history. At the same time, it has been a study in how meanings can be lost and thus render an image (or an aspect of it) illegible. In response to much of the literature on black virgins in particular, it should have become clear that most of these images are probably far less archaic than their presentation would have us believe, and that it is always wise to keep a careful eye on the Baroque predilection for appropriating medieval forms in a highly selective fashion. It is my hope that the implications regarding the origins of black madonnas may have opened up a new perspective on these objects.

[89] The theme of Belting's *Bild und Kult*.

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A Small Way of Saying "No": Moscow Working Men, Spartak Soccer, and the Communist Party, 1900–1945

ROBERT EDELMAN

WEST OF RED SQUARE, just to the north of Moscow's famed White House, there is a tiny, tree-lined stadium, tucked into a corner of the city's historic Krasnaia Presnia district. It was on this hallowed ground, opened in 1922, that the celebrated Starostin brothers joined with their childhood pals to introduce the modern spectacle of soccer to their friends and neighbors.[1] The favorite sport of laboring men in Britain and elsewhere, soccer caught on in the district before 1917 and was avidly adopted by male Russian workers during the first postrevolutionary decade. In 1935, the Starostins founded the most popular of all Soviet sports teams, Spartak, named for the rebel slave of ancient Rome, Spartacus. At the same time, the state sport structure congealed into its familiar bureaucratized form. Yet, well before then, the men and boys of the region had made soccer a game of their own, and Spartak's predecessor, Krasnaia Presnia, a team of their own.[2]

From the outset, the club and its supporters used sport to manifest attitudes toward a variety of institutions and groups, including the party-state. These sentiments were developed in the course of competition with other sports organizations, the most important of which was the Dinamo (Dynamo) Society. Founded in 1923 by the secret police, it was the first Soviet sport club. Responsible for the physical training of Bolshevism's guardians of order, Dinamo received greater state support than any other sports group.[3] Yet such largesse never translated into popularity among the working men who comprised the early football public. Spartak, on the other hand, was always the beloved favorite of Muscovite, and later

A note on usage—in order to prevent repetition, I will shift between American and English usage of sport terminology. Thus "soccer" will be used synonymously with "football," "game" with "match," "shoes" with "boots," "sports" with "sport," etc.

[1] The brothers' names were Nikolai, Aleksandr, Andrei, and Petr. There were two sisters, Vera and Klavdia. This "stadium" was one of several such fields in the neighborhood during the 1920s. The present venue, called Krasnaia Presnia, is the only remaining facility to survive various waves of Soviet and post-Soviet urban renewal.

[2] Nikolai Petrovich Starostin, *Futbol skvoz' gody* (Moscow, 1989), 67, 86; Konstantin Esenin, *Moskovskii futbol* (Moscow, 1974); Eduard Nisenboim and Vladimir Rasinskii, *Ot MKS do Spartaka* (Moscow, 2000), 4–5.

[3] James Riordan, *Sport in Soviet Society: Development of Sport and Physical Education in Russia and the USSR* (Cambridge, 1977), 93. Sport clubs were actually called "sport societies." These were national organizations with branches in the USSR's major cities. They supported teams in a wide variety of sports. Thus all three bits of information were usually included in identifying a team, as in Dinamo Moscow (hockey), Dinamo Kiev (football), and Spartak Leningrad (basketball).

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Soviet, fans, a status it maintained despite dramatic ups and downs on the playing field. This station was unusual, even unique, in the annals of world sport.

Manchester United, Barcelona, Boca Juniors, and others have all enjoyed great runs at the top of their respective leagues, but when their success waned, so did support outside their home cities. In the United States, the New York Yankees dominated baseball for interminable stretches, but it would be hard to call them beloved throughout the nation, much less their own city. Spartak, on the other hand, was always number one in the hearts of the USSR's "lovers of football." Independent of the state's structures of force (police and army), sponsored by civilian organizations, Spartak afforded those ordinary people who supported it what one Soviet scholar later called "a small way of saying 'no.'"[4]

During the 1930s, forced draft industrialization and collectivization were accompanied by an intensification of repression, limiting resistance to such "small" gestures for all but the few and the brave. At the same time, a larger, more socially heterogeneous working class swiftly emerged in response to the demands of the new Stalinist command economy. Half a century later, Western scholars of Soviet labor came to argue about the character and attitudes of this group. Some even questioned if it was a coherent "group" at all, capable of defining its shared characteristics and acting politically on its own behalf. There were also sharp disagreements about method between historians who favored a largely materialist social history and others who placed greater emphasis on the role of language and culture. In their introduction to the 1994 essay collection, *Making Workers Soviet*, Lewis Siegelbaum and Ronald Grigor Suny noted, "Workers have been portrayed in one of three ways: as genuine supporters of the system, as sullen victims or as opportunists employing strategies to maximize their chances of survival and advancement."[5] At the time, it seemed a new agenda had been set, but, despite a

[4] Yuri Oleshchuk, "Mistika Spartaka," *Sportekspress zhurnal*, no. 11 (1999): 10–14; Tony Mason, *Association Football and English Society, 1863–1915* (Sussex, 1980), 138–74; Bill Murray, *The World's Game: A History of Soccer* (Urbana, Ill., 1996), 1–41. Quote is from Simon Kuper, *Football against the Enemy* (London, 1994), 40.

[5] Lewis Siegelbaum and Ronald Grigor Suny, eds., *Making Workers Soviet* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1994), 8. During the 1980s, guided by the various social history methodologies of the 1960s and skeptical of the rigid class analysis of Soviet scholars, Western researchers sought new ways of making sense out of a formation that confounded many of the received notions of labor history. Among the major contributions were William Chase, *Workers, Society and the Soviet State: Labor and Life in Moscow, 1918–1929* (Urbana, Ill., 1987); Hiroaki Kuromiya, *Stalin's Industrial Revolution: Politics and Workers, 1928–1932* (Cambridge, 1988); Siegelbaum, *Stakhanovism and the Politics of Productivity in the USSR, 1935–1941* (Cambridge, 1988); Donald Filtzer, *Soviet Workers and Stalinist Industrialization: The Formation of Modern Soviet Production Relations, 1928–1941* (London, 1986); Gabor Rittersporn, *Stalinist Simplifications and Soviet Complications: Social Tensions and Political Conflicts in the USSR, 1933–1953* (Chur, 1991); Vladimir Andrle, *Workers in Stalinist Russia: Industrialization and Social Change in a Planned Economy* (New York, 1988). The 1994 publication of the essay collection edited by Siegelbaum and Suny, in which many of these authors, along with Moshe Lewin, Diane Koenker, Sheila Fitzpatrick, Victoria Bonnell, Chris Ward, and Daniel Orlovsky, took part, raised difficult questions about the methods and certainties of a materially based labor history. Others, following the methodological leads of Gareth Steadman-Jones and William H. Sewell, stressed the importance of language and suggested that the events of the twentieth century had diminished, if not erased, the historical importance of the working class. It seemed a new agenda had been set, but, by and large, the torch was not picked up, as scholarly interest in labor history waned throughout the profession. Since then, several works have, nevertheless, appeared that deal with workers both directly and indirectly. Kenneth M. Strauss, *Factory and Community in Stalin's Russia: The Making of an Industrial Working Class* (Pittsburgh, 1997), is most closely focused on industrial workers and argues for their cohesion and

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FIGURE 1: Krasnaia Presnia Stadium in 1924. From *Krasnyi sport* (Moscow, 1924).

large body of excellent scholarship, these controversies remain unsettled, as historians have turned their attention away from labor history in light of the collapse of communism and the profession's "cultural turn."

My aim here is to revisit this debate, using new sources and a different analytical domain, specifically sport, to examine the attitudes of Soviet workers toward the regime. Those sentiments derived, in part, from the swiftly changing processes of identify formation experienced by Soviet citizens during the 1930s. Yet, for many American readers, the historical links between sport and identity may not be immediately clear. Team support as a social-cultural marker has been a phenomenon of large European, Australasian, and Latin American cities with numerous teams. In the United States, sport became a profit-making enterprise earlier than it did in Europe. Major league baseball clubs were granted territorial franchises. A single city had one, sometimes two, teams that were the property of owners, who were free to move them. Outside North America, the territorial franchise was not guaranteed, and teams were required to fight continually for local preeminence.[6] Soccer clubs did not move. They emerged from various settings, including churches, pubs, factories, social clubs, and block associations. Teams were deeply imbedded in their communities, and decisions to root for a particular club said much about the way supporters saw themselves. These were matters of identity, and the choices were freely made by individuals and groups—even in the USSR.[7]

relative contentment. Stephen Kotkin, *Magnetic Mountain: Stalinism as a Civilization* (Berkeley, Calif., 1995), is a broad examination of a newly created factory town. Kotkin deals extensively but not entirely with workers, whom he sees developing elaborate, linguistically sophisticated coping strategies to get ahead and get along. Robert Thurston, *Life and Terror in Stalin's Russia, 1934–1941* (New Haven, Conn., 1996), also looks at other groups than workers, but posits a high degree of worker power, especially on the factory floor. David Hoffmann looks at peasants who came to Moscow in the 1930s, became workers, but retained many peasant ways. Of these more recent books, Hoffmann describes the lowest level of happiness with the regime: *Peasant Metropolis: Social Identities in Moscow, 1929–1941* (Ithaca, 1994).

[6] In Europe and most of Latin America, soccer leagues are divided into various divisions. Teams that finish at or near the bottom of the elite division are relegated to the next lower division, and teams at or near the top of the next lower division are promoted. This system is followed at the lower divisions as well. Thus a permanently terrible team that always finishes last is not possible in most leagues. The price of poor play is extremely high. On early baseball, see Elliot Gorn and Warren Goldstein, *A Brief History of American Sports* (New York, 1993), 114–28.

[7] On soccer and identity, see Anthony King, "New Directors, Customers and Fans: The

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Before World War II, the working people of Moscow were not only establishing political identities as friends or foes of the state, they were also elaborating cultural identities as modern urbanites and gendered identities at a time of changing definitions of manhood and womanhood. It has, however, proved difficult for historians to establish the specifics of those self-characterizations. The factory floor and trade union gave only partial answers. Similarly, the high politics of the party were an important but not sufficient piece of the puzzle. There were no election results, opinion surveys, or a free press to expose worker attitudes. It is, therefore, necessary to look beyond formal structures and adopt an understanding of politics that, to use the phrase of Geoff Eley and others, is "radically deinstitutionalized." To look at play, the neighborhood and the criminal world opens "the question of . . . popular culture—in which people strive to define their identities, their boundaries, their self-respect, their 'space' against the established order."[8]

While students of the working class have given considerable attention to leisure in recent years, the recreational domain has been relatively untouched by students of the Soviet experience. Yet sport was one of the few relatively free places in Soviet life, and the public's choices expressed their feelings toward the party-state. Shortly after the breakup of the Soviet Union, the Armenian anthropologist Levon Abramian told a British journalist, "In a Communist country . . . the football club you supported was a community to which you yourself chose to belong. The regime did not send you to support a club . . . It might be your only chance to choose a community, and, also, in that community you could express yourself as you wished. To be a fan . . . is to be gathered among others and to be free."[9] Choosing a community was especially important in Moscow, continued Abramian: "Only there were there several teams, each representing a different social class . . . Most Spartak fans belonged to a low social class . . . [and] were a bit violent." While the specific category of class proved to be controversial among historians of Soviet labor, there

Transformation of English Football in the 1990's," *Sociology of Sport Journal*, no. 14 (1997): 236. "[F]ootball fandom is centrally bound up with issues of identity formation. Because fans express their identities and self-understandings through the club, and, therefore, simultaneously define themselves in terms of football, the attachment to the football club is particularly strong." On the close connections between teams and communities during the origins of soccer, see Bill Murray, *Football: A History of the World Game* (Aldershot, 1994), 1–50; Christiane Eisenberg, "Football in Germany: Beginnings, 1900–1914," *International Journal of the History of Sport* 8, no. 2 (1991): 205–20; Heiner Gillmeister, "The Fate of Little Franz and Big Franz: The Foundation of Bayern Munich FC," *Soccer and Society* 1, no. 2 (Summer 2000): 80–106; Rogan Taylor, *Football and Its Fans: Supporters and Their Relations with the Game, 1885–1985* (Leicester, 1992), 3–13; Richard Holt, *Sport and the British: A Modern History* (Oxford, 1989); James Walvin, *Football and the Decline of Britain* (London, 1986), 44–56; Dave Russell, *Football and the English: A Social History of Association Football in England, 1863–1995* (Preston, 1997), 55–67; Charles Korr, *West Ham United: The Making of a Football Club* (Urbana, Ill., 1986), 1–17; Chris Bethell and David Sullivan, *Millwall Football Club, 1885–1939* (Stroud, 1999), 5–8; Pierre Lanfranchi, "Bologna: The Team That Shook the World," *International Journal of the History of Sport* 8, no. 3 (December 1991): 336–46; John Allan, *The Story of Rangers: Fifty Years of Football, 1873–1923*, 2d edn. (Westcliff-on-Sea, 1996), 9–19; Tom Campbell and Pat Woods, *Dreams and Songs to Sing: A New History of Celtic* (Edinburgh, 1996), 7–15.

[8] Nicholas B. Dirks, Geoff Eley, and Sherry B. Ortner, eds., "Introduction," *Culture/Power/History: A Reader in Contemporary Social Theory* (Princeton, N.J., 1994), 4–5. See also John Hargreaves, *Sport, Culture and Power: A Social and Historical Analysis of Sports in Britain* (Cambridge, 1986), 220.

[9] Kuper, *Football against the Enemy*, 46. Abramian's scholarship is on primitive and ancient festival; see Levon Abramian, *Pervobytnyi prazdnik i mifologiia* (Yerevan, 1983), 11–14, 31–38.

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can be no question that the "chosen communities" of fans both constituted and expressed the complex relations between subordinate and dominant groups in Soviet society. Spartak fans saw themselves as ordinary folk and called Spartak "the people's team." Dinamo also drew some support from workers, as well as thousands of white-collar employees of the Ministry of Interior, but it was primarily the team of the police—one of the most privileged sectors of society under Joseph Stalin.

In the last decade, scholars of sport have devoted considerable attention to studying the relationships between teams and their surrounding communities. Where those communities have been composed largely of laboring people, sport, the favorite entertainment of male factory hands, can reveal a great deal about working-class life. These men, subject to the controls of the assembly line, were more likely to reveal themselves at play than at work, but the description of the audience is only one part of this puzzle. It is equally important to examine the organizers or owners of teams. What were their class, ethnic, and religious ties? How did they present and market themselves to the public? Given the hierarchical nature of spectator sport, there was not a pure identity between a team's followers and its leaders. Fans could choose to attend or not attend games, but they were not involved in day-to-day management. Spartak therefore, cannot be understood without examining the role of the Starostins, particularly the eldest, Nikolai, and Andrei. They rose from the dangerous streets of prerevolutionary Moscow to manage Spartak's predecessors during the 1920s, when making money was both permissible and necessary.

In creating a highly successful team through what some felt were suspect business methods, they became extremely popular, while enjoying a measure of independence from the regime. They operated at the highest levels of the party, employing their own patronage network to do battle with Dinamo, not only on the playing field but in the corridors of political power. Elite connections were necessary for the Starostins to achieve their fundamental aim—the running of a sports-entertainment enterprise. Eventually, their approach angered powerful enemies in the secret police, and they were swept into the purges. Yet the Starostins' tactical cultivation of friends in high places did not diminish their support among the capital's laboring men.

The social differences between Spartak and Dinamo were amplified by a variety of competing ways of viewing, training, disciplining, and organizing the fundamental unit of athletic activity—the human body. As Pierre Bourdieu has noted, "sport is with dance one of the areas in which the problem of relationships between . . . language and the body, arises in a most acute form . . . There are a great many things we understand only with our bodies."[10] Such documentary silence complicates the work of the historian, particularly the student of Russia and the USSR who must contend with Russian intellectuals' disinterest in the body. Their reluctance to write on this subject was born of two sets of attitudes: the historic anti-somatic bias of the intelligentsia and the related prudery of official Soviet

[10] Pierre Bourdieu, "Program for a Sociology of Sport," *Sociology of Sport Journal*, no. 5 (1988): 160; see also Bourdieu, *The Logic of Practice* (Stanford, Calif., 1990), 160; and *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgment of Taste* (Cambridge, Mass., 1984), 214. On Bourdieu, see Susan Brownell, *Training the Body for China: Sports in the Moral Order of the People's Republic* (Chicago, 1995), 11.

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FIGURE 2: The four Starostin brothers in 1934, clockwise from top left, Aleksandr, Nikolai, Petr, and Andrei. From *A Pageant of Youth* (Moscow, 1939).

social-science discourse, which largely ignored matters of sex and desire.[11] Yet, throughout the Soviet era, intense and revealing battles raged around what the

[11] On the anti-somatic bias of the Russian and Soviet intelligentsias, see Irina Bykhovskaia, *Homo somatikos: Aksologiia chelovecheskogo tela* (Moscow, 2000), 17. On the ignoring of the body in sociology, see Bryan Turner, *The Body and Society: Explorations in Social Theory*, 2d edn. (London, 1996), 67. In recent times, much of the credit for placing the body at the center of scholarly concerns belongs to Michel Foucault. On Foucault in the context of the body, sport and politics, see Richard Gruneau, "The Critique of Sport in Modernity: Theorising, Power, Culture and the Politics of the Body," in *The Sports Process: A Comparative and Developmental Approach*, Eric Dunning, Joseph Maguire, and Robert Pearson, eds. (Urbana, Ill., 1993), 85–105. On taking cues from fellow intellectuals in Russia, see Sheila Fitzpatrick, *Everyday Stalinism: Ordinary Life in Extraordinary Times; Soviet Russia in the 1930s* (Oxford, 1999), 1–13. See also Riordan, *Sport in Soviet Society*, 44–45. He attempts to find a few intellectuals who evinced a belief in the unity of mind and body, and he names

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anthropologist Susan Brownell and others have called body culture—"a broad term that includes daily practices of health, fitness, dress and decoration, as well as gestures and postures . . . It also includes the ways those practices are trained into the body, the way the body is publically displayed and the lifestyle expressed in that display." Spartak and Dinamo practiced very different body cultures, which reinforced the social tension so fundamental to their rivalry.[12]

These contradictions were deepened by the differing versions of manhood practiced by the teams' fans. To paraphrase Richard Holt, the history of Soviet soccer is a history of men. During the 1930s, they were offered various versions of manhood, and, since "the body," as R. W. Connell suggests, "is inescapable in the construction of masculinity," those views were closely tied to the competing body cultures presented by various sports groups. Sport was seen as a dynamic, modern activity offering urban men of all classes models of strength, responsibility, and vigor. Yet Spartak's older, working-class tradition of fanship was often violent and little concerned with "sportsmanship." Dinamo athletes, on the other hand, were supposed to project a respectability and fairness, derived from middle-class notions of "rational recreation."[13]

As Andrei Starostin noted, "Spartak had many sources but just one birthplace—the Presnia"[14]—renamed Krasnaia (Red) Presnia in honor of the militance of its residents during the revolution.[15] For several decades before 1917, football in

V. G. Belinskii, N. G. Chernyshevskii, N. A. Dobroliubov, Anton Chekhov, and Leo Tolstoy as figures who believed people had to develop all aspects of their being. There was something of a disconnect between the intelligentsia and those who wrote and taught about physical culture and the body. The most important of these figures before the revolution was Petr Lesgaft, who evinced little interest in the politics of the body and less in the traditional problems tackled by the intelligentsia. Nor is there much evidence of intellectuals demonstrating great interest in the work of Lesgaft. Riordan, 47–53.

[12] Brownell, *Training the Body for China*, 11. On body culture, see also Thomas Laqueur and Catherine Gallagher, eds., *The Making of the Modern Body: Sexuality and Society in the Nineteenth Century* (Berkeley, Calif., 1987); Henning Eichberg, *Body Cultures: Essays on Sport, Space and Identity*, John Bale and Chris Philo, eds. (London, 1998); Mike Featherstone and Bryan S. Turner, eds., *The Body: Social Process and Cultural Theory* (London, 1991); Bourdieu, *Distinction*, 66–79; Brownell, 12; Karen Petrone, *Life Has Become More Joyous, Comrades: Celebrations in the Time of Stalin* (Bloomington, Ind., 2000), 24, 31–34. For a photographic record of the ways bodies were displayed in the celebrations about which Petrone writes, see *A Pageant of Youth* (Moscow, 1939).

[13] Eric Dunning, "Sport as a Male Preserve: Notes on the Social Sources of Masculine Identity and Its Transformations," in *Women, Sport and Culture*, Susan Birell and Cheryl Cole, eds. (Urbana, Ill., 1994), 163–79; R. W. Connell, *Masculinities: Knowledge, Power and Social Change* (Berkeley, Calif., 1995), 56; Holt, *Sport and the British*, 8; Gale Bederman, *Manliness and Civilization* (Chicago, 1996), 7. On sport as a marker of modern masculinity, see Arjun Appadurai, *Modernity at Large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalization* (St. Paul, Minn., 1995), 93; John Hoberman, *Sport and Political Ideology* (Austin, Tex., 1984), 11. Concerning class-based versions of masculinity, see Richard Gruneau and David Whitson, *Hockey Night in Canada: Sport, Identities and Cultural Politics* (Toronto, 1993), 192–96; John Nauright and Timothy Chandler, eds., *Making Men: Rugby and Masculine Identity* (London, 1996), 32; Gorn and Goldstein, *Brief History of American Sports*, 94; Eric Dunning and Kenneth Sheard, *Barbarians, Gentlemen and Players: A Sociological Study of the Development of Rugby Football* (New York, 1979), 175.

[14] Andrei Starostin, *Povest' o futbole* (Moscow, 1973), 54. Other works by Andrei Starostin, mostly memoiristic, include *Bol'shoi futbol* (Moscow, 1964); *Vstrechi na futbol'nom orbite* (Moscow, 1978); and *Flagman futbola* (Moscow, 1988).

[15] Laura Engelstein, *Moscow, 1905: Working-Class Organization and Political Conflict* (Stanford,

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Russia followed a classic pattern of modern cultural diffusion. Outside its birthplace, Britain, the sport was primarily a middle-class pastime, imported by such agents of modernity as factory managers, engineers, and diplomats.[16] This was the case not only in Russia but in Spain, Germany, and Argentina as well. Moscow lagged behind Petersburg in most matters of Western-derived popular culture, and soccer was no exception. The first organized matches in the capital were played in 1897.[17] A Moscow league was formed only in 1910.[18] The city's amateur soccer clubs charged high membership dues to keep out workers, who were not allowed by the police to gather in any uncontrolled group.[19] The teams of the Moscow league staged their games on fenced-off fields before crowds of a few thousand ticket-buying spectators drawn from the same respectable milieu as the players. Young men from Moscow's industrial regions, like kids everywhere, practiced their own version of "street" (*dikii*, literally "wild") football on rough fields, vacant lots, and apartment house courtyards, while dodging cart drivers, building superintendents, and the occasional policeman.[20] The borders between these two versions of the game were not impermeable, and some boys with interest and talent were able to find their way into the city's established clubs.[21]

The Presnia experienced explosive economic expansion after the peasant emancipation of 1861, becoming an extensive and varied industrial zone.[22] This concentration of factories, several enormous, made the district an attractive destination for thousands of peasants migrating to Moscow.[23] With so many large firms, the district was more homogeneously working class than other parts of

Calif., 1982), 215–20; Diane Koenker, *Moscow Workers and the 1917 Revolution* (Princeton, N.J., 1981), 20; Timothy Colton, *Moscow, Governing the Socialist Metropolis* (Cambridge, Mass., 1995), 65, 73.

[16] Mikhail Romm, *Ia boleiu za Spartak* (Alma-Ata, 1965), 123; Andrei Starostin, *Povest'*, 8; Riordan, *Sport in Soviet Society*, 9–41; Victor Peppard, "The Beginnings of Russian Soccer," *Stadion* 8–9 (1982–83): 159; Aksel' Vartanian, *Sto let rossiskomu futbolu* (Moscow, 1997), 23; Esenin, *Moskovskii futbol*, 14–16; Peter Frykholm, "Soccer and Social Identity in Pre-Revolutionary Moscow," *Journal of Sport History* 24, no. 2 (Summer 1997): 143–54. On soccer in Spain and Latin America, see Jimmy Burns, *Barca: A People's Passion* (London, 1999), 70–96; Tony Mason, *Passion of the People? Football in South America* (London, 1995), 1–7.

[17] Nikolai Starostin, *Futbol skvoz' gody*, 25; Albert Starodubtsev, "Pervye shagi," *Sportekspress zhurnal*, no. 10 (1999): 38–40; Andrei Starostin, *Bol'shoi*, 13; *Sovetskii sport*, October 25, 1957, May 17, 1958; Yuri Korshak, *Staryi, staryi futbol* (Moscow, 1975), 105–11. The sport actually caught on first in the suburban dacha (summer house) regions around Moscow.

[18] *Russkii sport*, January 15, 1912; Korshak, *Staryi, staryi futbol*, 105.

[19] Vartanian, *Sto let*, 23; Esenin, *Moskovskii futbol*, 14–15.

[20] *K sportu*, January 12, 1913, March 10, 1913, March 31, 1913, April 28, 1913, June 30, 1913; Nikolai Starostin, *Futbol skvoz' gody*, 88, 131; Andrei Starostin, *Povest'*, 4, 9, 14. The enormous Khodynka field in the northwest part of the city was a big site of Sunday pick-up games. Players came from all over Moscow, many from the Presnia. See also Vartanian, *Sto let*, 44–45; Anatoly Akimov, *Zapiski Vratar'ia* (Moscow, 1968), 5; Leonid Gorianov, *Ozhivshchie legendy* (Moscow, 1969), 158; and Gorianov, *Kolumby Moskovskogo Futbola* (Moscow, 1983), 76–123; Starodubtsev, "Pervye shagi," 40; V. V. Frolov, *Futbol v SSSR. Spravochnik* (Moscow, 1951), 8; M. Martynov, *Liubimaia igra* (Moscow, 1955), 2.

[21] Gorianov, *Ozhivshchie legendy*, 129–32; Romm, *Ia boleiu za Spartak*, 15.

[22] Nisenboim and Rasinskii, *Ot MKS do Spartaka*, 3; E. Kirichenko, *Moskva: Pamiatniki arkhitektury, 1830–1910-kh godov* (Moscow, 1977), 8, 37; Engelstein, *Moscow, 1905*, 48.

[23] Joseph Bradley, *Muzhik and Muscovite: Urbanization in Late Imperial Russia* (Berkeley, Calif., 1985), 4, 56, 139. Seventy percent of the Presnia's residents were recent migrants from the countryside. The district ranked eighth of seventeen districts in rural emigrants. Most came from provinces west of the city. The presence of the nearby Alexandrovskii railroad station made the Presnia a popular jumping-off point for the newly arrived.

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Moscow's semi-rural suburbs,[24] where factory workers did not constitute a majority of laboring hands.[25] Despite the variety of occupations in the district, the labor market was poorly organized. This did not make the Presnia a peaceful place, and crime was rampant.[26] A sense of danger permeates the memoirs of the Starostins, who came to play leading roles in the district's football life.[27] The brothers, however, were different from their working-class and artisan neighbors. Their father, a hunting guide, had brought the family from the village of Pogoist in Pskov Gubernia to Moscow, where his employer, the Imperial Hunting Society, set them up in a comfortable house on Presenskii Kammer-Kollezhskii Val.[28] Their somewhat elevated circumstances made the brothers liminal figures who were able to move easily between the streets of their neighborhood and the nearby institutions of organized sport. This was true particularly of Nikolai (1898–1996),[29] who studied at a commercial academy, where he started playing soccer at age nine. By the time he was a teenager, Nikolai had already demonstrated the qualities of the "wheeler-dealer" he became later in life.

Soviet and Western sources describe the Presnia's working population as active, militant participants in the revolutionary events of 1917, and Soviet-era memoir and journalistic accounts predictably claim the Starostins and their friends welcomed the revolution. Yet few of the Presnia's young footballers seem to have played an active political role.[30] Soon thereafter, the hardships of the Russian Civil War took a predictable toll on sport and everything else in Moscow. But these trials did not obliterate the activity of the practitioners of street football. If anything, new opportunities were created.[31] While the prerevolutionary clubs had not closed down, most of their members had fled, leaving the facilities available to those previously excluded.[32] In the neighborhood, sporting activity was led by Ivan Artemev, a war veteran and now a member of the Komsomol (Communist Youth League). With most of the old clubs lying dormant, it seemed an opportune time to

[24] Strauss, *Factory and Community*, 33.

[25] Robert Thurston, *Liberal City, Conservative State: Moscow and Russia's Urban Crisis, 1906–1914* (Oxford, 1987), 22; Akademia Nauk, Institut Istorii SSSR, *Istoriia moskovskikh rabochikh* (Moscow, 1983), 139; Victoria Bonnell, *Roots of Rebellion* (Berkeley, Calif., 1983), 25–45.

[26] Engelstein, *Moscow, 1905*, 49.

[27] Andrei Starostin, *Povest'*, 8; Nikolai Starostin, *Moi futbol'nye gody* (Moscow, 1986), 11.

[28] Nikolai Starostin, *Futbol skvoz' gody*, 12.

[29] There has been much debate about Nikolai Starostin's birth date. Most official sources give 1902 as the year of birth, but unofficial rumors often put the date earlier. In the sentencing document (*prigovor*) that sent Starostin, his brothers, and several friends to hard labor in the camps, the police give his birth date as 1898. The earlier year makes a number of important moments in Nikolai Starostin's lifetime more plausible. This is particularly true for the year of his debut in organized soccer for the Russian Gymnastic Society, which took place, as best as can be calculated, in 1916. Here, the difference is significant. Were he born in 1902, his debut would have taken place at the age of fourteen, not likely. On the other hand, eighteen would be a normal time in life to start play at what then passed for the elite level in Russia. Some of the uncertainty may be due to the fact that Nikolai was born in the family's native village in Pskov Gubernia, where recordkeeping may have been far less precise than in Moscow, where the rest of the siblings were born. See Gosudarstvennyi Arkhiv Rossiskii Federatsii (hereafter, GARF), fond 7583, opis' 60, delo 4105, listy 1–2; Nikolai Starostin, *Zvezdy bol'shogo futbola* (Moscow, 1967), 67, 140. There were numerous sets of brothers who played soccer in the Presnia. The most famous were the four Kannunikovs, particularly Pavel, and the three Artemevs, especially Ivan.

[30] *Okt'iabr na krasnoi presne, vospominania k X godovshchine* (Moscow, 1927), 5, 8, 12, 13, 30.

[31] Riordan, *Sport in Soviet Society*, 62.

[32] Andrei Starostin, *Povest'*, 87.

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create a workers' athletic organization in the neighborhood.[33] The Moscow Sport Circle (later Krasnaia Presnia) was formed in 1921. Artemev assumed leadership of the district's sporting life and with his colleagues fixed upon a potato field as the site of a "stadium" for local athletes. They received permission to build, and in 1922 the new venue became a reality.

During the 1920s, club soccer, despite its popularity, was not played on a national basis. Teams competed in city championships. At the end of certain seasons, select squads from each city took part in an All-Union tournament. These inconsistencies reflected the uncertainties of the semi-capitalist New Economic Policy (NEP, 1921–1928). Like so much else in early Soviet life, no one was sure how to go about organizing matters of athletic activity in a postrevolutionary society.[34] As a result, the Bolsheviks were left to base their approach on the two available Western models of sport: professionalism and the formally amateur Olympic movement.[35] In the late nineteenth century, American and European entrepreneurs rushed to take advantage of increases in leisure time and disposable income by creating sporting spectacles to entertain rather than educate middle and working-class audiences. Olympism, as developed by the French baron de Coubertin, was a reaction to the crassness of sports professionalism, whose practitioners and followers were largely drawn from subordinate social groups. By contrast, many of the disciplines on the Olympic program had military applications, appealing to the elites who composed the Olympic Games' earliest audience and leadership. A conservative response to divisive nationalisms and socialist internationalism, Olympism viewed sport as a vehicle for social improvement.[36] The Bolsheviks, who also believed in social improvement, refused to take part in the games, citing the exclusion of workers, but Olympism appealed to the Communist Party, which saw it as a way to convince the backward to embrace modernity.

Those who favored sport's didactic possibilities were considerably less comfortable with soccer. In the context of the early NEP, important domestic games of the Moscow city league could draw up to 10,000 spectators, who paid the not-inconsiderable sum of 60 kopecks (100 to a ruble) for a ticket.[37] There was money to be made, an activity permissible under the NEP. Inevitably, an atmosphere of professionalism emerged.[38] Realizing their power, players called for higher pay and more comfortable traveling conditions.[39] In order to survive, teams scheduled large numbers of money-making "comradely" (*tovarishcheskie*) or "friendly" games outside local league programs. Krasnaia Presnia regularly took part in twenty to

[33] Nisenboim and Rasinskii, *Ot MKS do Spartaka*, 4; S. Lapitskaia, *Byt rabochikh trekhgornoi manufaktury* (Moscow, 1935), 193. See also the fairly minimalist reports on sport and physical culture of the Krasnopresenskii Region Executive Committee of the Party, in Tsentral'nyi Gosudarstvennyi Arkhiv Obshchestvennykh Dvizhenii Moskvy (hereafter, TsGAODM), f.99, op.1, d.88, l.33; TsGAODM, f.69, op.1, d.170, ll.2, 15.

[34] Riordan, *Sport in Soviet Society*, 62.

[35] John MacAloon, *This Great Symbol: Pierre de Coubertin and the Origins of the Modern Olympic Games* (Chicago, 1981), 43–82; Gruneau, "Critique of Sport," 85.

[36] John Hoberman, "Toward a Theory of Olympic Internationalism," *Journal of Sport History* 22, no. 1 (Spring 1995): 1–37.

[37] *Krasnyi sport*, September 25, 1927; *Vechernaia Moskva*, May 20, 1929, reported 100,000 attended the opening program of the Moscow league's spring season.

[38] Robert Edelman, *Serious Fun: A History of Spectator Sports in the USSR* (Oxford, 1993), 55.

[39] Nikolai Starostin, *Zvezdy*, 41.

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thirty such matches each year, at times barnstorming as far afield as Central Asia.[40] Other Moscow teams also traveled.[41] As Nikolai Starostin later made clear, under the conditions of the NEP, ticket sales were his team's sole source of revenue.[42] Krasnaia Presnia was run as an enterprise, and the lessons learned with this local team would be remembered in the 1930s.[43] Unlike Dinamo, created from the top down, the future Spartak was based on an extended group of neighborhood friends.

Along with professionalism, violence became common on the field and in the stands, leading to discussions of outlawing the game. Women, who were encouraged to participate in many of the sports on the Olympic program, were banned from soccer. Unlike Olympic sport, football had become a rowdy, corrupt entertainment, not the kind of leisure activity sought by a party-state trying to change the behaviors of its citizens.[44] In 1926, sport clubs were reorganized with teams based on industries rather than regions.[45] Starostin found a sponsor in the food workers' union (*Pishchevik*). The team assumed the union's name but, more significantly, moved the site of its games from the heart of Krasnaia Presnia to the new 13,000-seat Tomskii Stadium in nearby Petrovskii Park.[46] In 1928, Dinamo Stadium (capacity 35,000, later 55,000) opened across the street.[47] This first serious Soviet venue was later rented to Spartak and other teams for important matches.[48] From 1926 to 1934, the future Spartak changed sponsors repeatedly, as it competed unsuccessfully with Dinamo for supremacy in the capital.[49] At the end of this period, the team sought a more powerful patron.

Nikolai had enjoyed cordial relations with Promkooperatsiia, a wealthy organi-

[40] Nisenboim and Rasinskii, *Ot MKS do Spartaka*, 28, 32, 39, 45. The practice of scheduling large numbers of friendlies was also typical of British soccer in the 1880s before the creation of a truly national league, which provided a full schedule of fixtures for teams. *Kalendar'osennikh sorevnovanii na pervenstvo gor. Moskvy po futbolu, sezon 1924 g.* (Moscow, n.d.).

[41] The army and Dinamo teams were also accused of using the games for commercial purposes. Anti-commercial elements in the hierarchies of both sponsoring organizations reduced these practices, but, by contrast, none of the future Spartak's sponsors sought to control the Starostins' money-making activities. *Vechernaia Moskva*, August 6, 1929, reported, "The basic goal of the majority of these football journeys is to make money. They earn their money, divide it up and go home."

[42] Nikolai Starostin, *Futbol skvoz' gody*, 21.

[43] Esenin, *Moskovskii futbol*, 149; Nikolai Starostin, *Zvezdy*, 84.

[44] This was not the case with Ivan Artemev, who left Krasnaia Presnia to join Dinamo in 1923. Various accounts give different reasons for his leaving. Nikolai Starostin, *Futbol skvoz' gody*, 141; Gorianov, *Ozhivshchie legendy*, 179. In his 1986 work, Nikolai Starostin, *Moi futbol'nye gody*, 11, said he became captain when Artemev left. In 1989, Starostin said he was the captain who did not name Artemev to the side, which was the reason Artemev gave for leaving. My larger point here is to question the accuracy of Starostin's accounts.

[45] The army team had evolved out of the civil war creation known as Vsevobuch. The team originally was called OPPV. In 1928, it became TsDKA (Tsentral'nyi Dom Krasnoi Armii); Esenin, *Moskovskii futbol*, 19; Nisenboim and Rasinskii, *Ot MKS do Spartaka*, 34.

[46] Esenin, *Moskovskii futbol*, 10; Nisenboim and Rasinskii, *Ot MKS do Spartaka*, 34. The original Krasnaia Presnia stadium was given to the team from the huge Trekhgornaia (formerly Prokhorov) textile works.

[47] *Sovetskii sport*, March 26, 1946; V. I. Vinokurov, *Dinamo Moskva '67* (Moscow, 1968), 11; *Krasnyi sport*, May 1, 1936.

[48] The idea for a Spartak stadium was first raised at the highest political levels in 1936. The matter went nowhere and was raised again in 1948. See Aksel' Vartanian, "Stadion dlia Spartaka: Istoriia nachalas' v 1936 godu," *Sportekspress*, July 9, 2001.

[49] Nisenboim and Rasinskii, *Ot MKS do Spartaka*, 41, 47–67; *Krasnyi sport*, May 12, 1928, June 20 and 23, 1928; Romm, *Ia boleiu za Spartak*, 86–87; Siegelbaum, *Stakhanovism*, 16; Akimov, *Zapiski Vratar'ia*, 8; Esenin, *Moskovskii futbol*, 46; *Sovetskii sport*, February 13, 1970; *Izvestiia*, July 12, 1937.

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zation that supervised large segments of the lucrative retail trades. Its roughly 600,000 members were salespeople, tailors, barbers, waiters, and others in the service sector.[50] At the same time, the head of the Komsomol, Alexander Kosarev, was seeking to expand his organization's control in the area of sport. Nikolai brought Kosarev into contact with Ivan Pavlov, the head of Promkooperatsiia. The Komsomol offered political support, while Promkooperatsiia furnished funding. In November 1934, Kosarev charged the Starostins with organizing and naming the new group.[51] They gathered friends and relatives and spent an all-night brainstorming session before settling on "Spartak." The name proved meaningful.[52] Of the major sports organizations to emerge before the war, Spartak was the only group named for a revolutionary leader who had the added virtue of being an athlete. Nor was the choice lost on the fans. The original Spartacus had fought for the poor against the rich, and many came to feel Spartak was the unofficial representative of those who still suffered exploitation. On April 19, 1935, the national Spartak Society opened its doors.[53] Along with elite sport, the new group assumed responsibilities for mass physical culture. Spartak was an immense operation, with a large, well-rewarded bureaucracy that supported teams in various sports in the USSR's largest cities. Nikolai Starostin, who had retired as a player, took on broadened responsibilities as head of the new group, but the focus of his attention remained on football.[54] From the outset, Spartak was able to make use of Promkooperatsiia's considerable resources to attract stars in a number of sports, which quickly generated criticism that the new group was buying athletes to achieve big-time victories while ignoring physical education.

In Paris on New Year's Day 1936, a combined Dinamo-Spartak team lost 2–1 to the Racing Club de France, then one of Europe's elite teams. The Soviets, who had reluctantly agreed to play during their off-season, impressed the Paris public and press.[55] Despite this respectable result, Nikolai Starostin seized the opportunity to call on Kosarev and the leaders of Soviet sport to reorganize the domestic structure of the game along the lines of the professional leagues of Western Europe.[56]

[50] According to Nikolai Starostin, 15 percent of Promkooperatsiia revenues went to sport once Spartak was established. Nikolai Starostin, interview with the author, Moscow, September 25, 1990. Promkooperatsiia was part of the Ministry of Trade run by Anastas Mikoyan, who was adept at providing a measure of autonomy for Promkooperatsiia to dispose of its funds as it wished. Nikolai Starostin, *Futbol skvoz' gody*, 42.

[51] Nikolai Starostin, interview; *Futbol skvoz' gody*, 24.

[52] In a 1986 documentary on Spartak, Andrei and Nikolai disagreed on the source of the name. Rossiskii Gosudarstvennyi Arkhiv Kinomatografii (hereafter, RGAK), reel no. 1–30605–1. In truth, the name was not original even in the Russian context. A powerful sports club founded in Leningrad in 1922 had been called Spartak. There was even a Spartak Nizhny Novgorod. Vartanian, *Sto let*, 25. Nikolai had been to Germany and played against worker sports clubs named for the Spartacist League. The Olympic-style sports festivals held in the USSR were called Spartakiads.

[53] V. V. Radionov, ed., *Rossiskii futbol za 100 let* (Moscow, 1997), 491; Andrei Starostin, *Povest'*, 92.

[54] Nisenboim and Rasinskii, *Ot MKS do Spartaka*, 52–53; GARF, f.7576, op.13, d.14, ll.7, 19, 24.

[55] The Politburo agreed to the match less than two weeks before it was scheduled. Rossiskii Gosudarstvennyi Arkhiv Sotsial'no-Politicheskoi Istorii (hereafter, RGASPI), f.17, op.3, d.974, l.11, December 21, 1935. They refused to permit a return match in Moscow later that year. RGASPI, f.17, op.114, d.606, l.116, May 26, 1936.

[56] Before the matter reached the Politburo, it had been hotly debated within Soviet soccer circles.

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Otherwise, he said they were "stewing in their own juices." In a long memorandum, Starostin urged the replacement of the old city championships with a national league composed of the best clubs in the land. Consistent with the trend toward hierarchy that emerged during the late 1930s, the teams were staffed by well-paid professionals who were to play a home-and-away schedule stretching from May to early November. The new structure would, in his words, "legalize the professionalism that already exists in our football."[57] In May 1936, Soviet soccer opened a new era. The league, with seven first-division teams in Moscow, Leningrad, and Kiev, was an overnight success, drawing millions of fans. Instantaneously, Spartak, strengthened by Promkooperatsiia's generous support, came to rival Dinamo for preeminence.[58]

Spartak also emerged as the favorite team of the male workingmen, who overwhelmingly constituted the capital's football public. This fact was demonstrated by Spartak's league-leading attendance, estimated for most matches by the national sports daily, *Krasnyi sport*.[59] Accounts in the press, memoirs, and a flood of popular literature made it clear Spartak was the most popular Soviet club, ambiguously called the "people's team."[60] Yet Spartak's adoption by the Moscow public involved more than its sponsorship by a prominent civilian organization. During the Soviet period, published accounts acknowledged the team's popularity but not the reasons for the intensity of the fans' attachment. The matter does not even appear in archival documents. On the other hand, time spent in the stands of Soviet stadiums and the kitchens of Soviet citizens clearly revealed the depth and character of feeling surrounding Spartak. These locations were, in James Scott's words, "the

See M. Iakushin, *Vechnaia taina futbola* (Moscow, 1988), 50–51; Andrei Starostin, *Povest'*, 134; Akimov, *Zapiski Vratar'ia*, 34.

[57] Barbara Keys, "The Dictatorship of Sport: Nationalism, Internationalism and Mass Culture in the 1930s" (PhD dissertation, Harvard University, 2001), 228–31. On professionalism, see Lev Filatov, "Bol'shoi futbol v zone lzheliubitel'stva," *Fizkul'tura i sport*, no. 6 (1988): 6–7.

[58] GARF, f.7576, op.13, d.15, l.1. There were four divisions in all. The lower divisions were larger; Riordan, *Sport in Soviet Society*, 127. The structure of the league, especially the first division, changed from season to season. By 1938, the first division (called group A) included twenty-six teams; the next year it was reduced to fourteen. The first year, the league was divided into spring and fall seasons, with Dinamo winning in the spring and Spartak in the fall. Thereafter, Dinamo was champion in 1937 and 1940. Spartak won the league-cup double in 1938 and 1939. The Spartak players divided 10,000 rubles for their victory in 1936. GARF, f.7576, op.13, d.14, l.16.

[59] We do not have official and universal attendance figures, but the journalists' estimates give a good idea of popularity. When Dinamo and Spartak met at the 55,000-place (not seat) Dinamo Stadium, they regularly overflowed what turns out to have been not a mammoth structure. *Sovetskii sport*, March 26, 1949. Five years ago, the 55,000 bench places were replaced by a mere 36,000 plastic seats. Crowds at Dinamo for the biggest games varied from 60,000 to 90,000. *Izvestiia*, September 22, 1936, July 9, 1937, September 15, 1938, June 22, 1939; *Krasnyi sport*, August 25, 1938. The real differences came when Spartak or Dinamo entertained a weaker provincial team. Games between Traktor Stalingrad and Spartak, for example, could draw between 25,000 and 35,000, depending on weather. Dinamo games in Moscow with the same opponent might draw 20,000 to 25,000. *Krasnyi sport*, November 19, 1938. The figures are more spotty for games outside the capital, but Spartak appears to have outdrawn Dinamo on the road. *Krasnyi sport*, August 13, 1938, June 19, 1940.

[60] While there was no book-length account of Spartak written in the 1930s, the 1960s and 1970s saw several accounts that discussed pre-war events, among these, Martyn Merzhanov, *Igraet Spartak* (Moscow, 1963); Konstantin Esenin, *Spartak Moskva* (Moscow, 1974); as well as a large section of his *Moskovskii futbol*. See also Romm, *Ia boleiu za Spartak*.

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social sites of hidden transcripts."[61] Unique in Soviet history, these were places the "unofficial histories" of the game could be retold.

This was a topic millions of citizens knew about but did not write about.[62] Only since 1989 do we have published accounts of these sentiments. In a 1999 article in the monthly *Sportekspress zhurnal*, Iurii Oleshchuk, a jurist, described rooting for Spartak in the 1930s as a pre-teen:

> We lived in a large *kommunal'ka* [communal apartment]. We were all working class, and in the courtyard [*dvor*], the kids all proclaimed they were children of a single class. Our rooting interests were basically one half for Spartak and the rest for all the other clubs combined. In school it was the same . . . Why? Today I understand most clearly that Spartak was the home team [*rodnaia komanda*] of ordinary people [*prostoliudi*]. Why? The name had meaning for us. Then all the kids and even the grown-ups knew the name of the leader of the slave revolt in ancient Rome . . . How could the names of the other teams—Dinamo, TsDKA [Central House of the Red Army], Lokomotiv or Torpedo—compare?

Spartak's sponsorship by Promkooperatsiia had a similar resonance. Although the organization was financially strong, for Oleshchuk it represented the ordinary people who labored under its wing. Even industrial workers, formally outside Promkooperatsiia's institutional control with their own factory teams, identified with Spartak. Among the team's supporters, only one club inspired hatred—Dinamo. "The relationship of Spartak's fans to Dinamo," wrote Oleshchuk, "was highly antagonistic. Dinamo represented the authorities: the police, the organs of state security, the hated privileged elites. They ate better. They dressed better, and they certainly didn't live in *kommunal'ki*." Matches between Spartak and Dinamo were, in Oleshchuk's words, "wars on the field and in the stands. There were lots of fights among the fans. Really huge battles were prevented by separating the supporters. Spartak's fans sat in the east tribune where the seats were cheaper,

[61] By this phrase, Scott means that the sites of hidden transcripts "are those locations in which the unspoken riposte, stifled anger, and bitten tongues created by relations of domination find a vehement, full-throated expression. It follows that the hidden transcript will be least inhibited when two conditions are fulfilled: first, when it is voiced in a sequestered social site where the control, the surveillance, and repression of the dominant are least able to reach, and second, when this sequestered milieu composed entirely of close confidants who share similar experiences of domination." Of the two sites mentioned in my text, clearly the kitchen comes closer to Scott's definition. The stadium is more problematic. It does bring together "close confidants and like-minded people," and the anonymity of the large, emotionally charged crowd made surveillance difficult. Still, most of Scott's subjects were rural dwellers, and many of them can be described as pre-modern. Hidden transcript takes on perhaps more necessity when applied to urban dwellers in a modernizing police state. While hidden transcripts can explain a great deal, they do frustrate historians who would prefer to see some sort of contemporaneous written record. After more than a decade of searching, I have not come across a contemporaneous written account about Spartak that details what everyone knew to be the reason for the team's popularity. Scott, *Domination and the Arts of Resistance: Hidden Transcripts* (New Haven, Conn., 1990), 120. See also Peeter Tulviste and James Wertsch, "Official and Unofficial Histories: The Case of Estonia," *Journal of Narrative and Life History* 4, no. 4 (1995): 311–29. I am grateful to my colleague, Stefan Tanaka, for bringing this work to my attention. As in the case of Spartak, all of Tulviste and Wertsch's unofficial histories came either from interviews or post-1991 accounts.

[62] I have been going to the USSR since 1965 and since that time have attended scores of games at which I have had scores of conversations with fans who, knowing I was American, openly discussed their love of Spartak and hatred of Dinamo. Had I known at the times of these conversations I would be writing on the subject some thirty years later, I would have recorded their words in some manner, but at that time sport was not considered a legitimate subject for scholarly inquiry.

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while Dinamo's supporters occupied the aristocratic northern and southern stands."[63]

In a 1990 interview, the late lawyer and lifelong Spartak fan Boris Nazarov recalled, "As I was growing up, when Spartak played Dinamo or TsDKA, you could hear from the stands 'kill the cops' [*bei militsiia*] or 'kill the soldiers' [*bei koniushek*, literally, the grooms]."[64] Hatred of the structures of force was central to the fans' preference for Spartak. Conflating the army's postwar strength with its less mighty pre-1941 status, Nazarov continued, "Through the draft, Dinamo and TsDKA could get the best players from the other teams. They served but never held a bayonet, never sat inside a tank, never worked in the organs of the Ministry of Interior . . . and the public knew this. Spartak lost a great deal because of this, and the fans hated the players who left."[65]

On a different note, Aksel' Vartanian, Soviet soccer's most informed student, places special emphasis on the Starostins' relationship with a small group of the capital's more worldly intellectuals: "Spartak was always popular. Some of it had to do with the Starostins, who had friends in the 'bohemian world' . . . This team somehow belonged to society. Dinamo was the Interior Ministry. They were hated. TsDKA was the army . . . Spartak was not a team that belonged to any single group. Maybe it was the Starostin brothers, maybe their friendships with the intelligentsia, but there was a kind of mark of democracy on the team. Giving your heart to Spartak, you hung on to some hope that they were somehow apart from their surroundings."[66] Alexander Vainshtein, who co-authored Nikolai Starostin's 1989 memoir, offered a similar explanation to Nazarov's. "The idea that Spartak is the 'people's team' is a myth . . . They were the most popular team . . . Spartak was the most popular team for many reasons—first that it was not part of the structures of force."[67]

Disrespect for the authorities could be exacerbated by the experience of attending one of Spartak's games. Getting to an important match on impossibly crowded transport did not enhance the serenity or obedience of spectators. Mounted police shoved the entering crowds into the stadium. Once inside, finding one's assigned seat often proved impossible. Overcrowding for big games was the rule, and gate-crashers, usually young boys, numbered in the thousands. Oleshchuk describes the process with a certain fondness: "Only a fool tried to get past the

[63] Oleshchuk, "Mistika Spartaka," 10. All three quotes are from the same page. Andrei Starostin noted the same tendency of Spartak fans to sit in the western stand of Dinamo; Starostin, *Bol'shoi*, 45.

[64] The word *bit'* here has the meaning of beat with one's fists, perhaps kill, rather than beat, that is, defeat in an athletic contest.

[65] Boris Lavrentievich Nazarov, interview with the author, Moscow, October 6, 1990.

[66] Aksel' Vartanian, interview with the author, Moscow, December 6, 1999. It is important to remember that the Starostins' relationships with a small circle of Moscow creative intellectuals did not mean that the team had a significant following of intellectuals. Nor did it mean that intellectuals were necessarily fans of Spartak. In fact, sport as a passion among the intelligentsia was still very limited.

[67] Alexander Vainshtein, interview with the author, Moscow, December 8, 1999. Vainshtein stated that Spartak had its own support at the highest of institutional levels, especially in the party. In that sense, he said, calling them the people's team made no sense, since the people did not run the team. Of course, as I have noted in the introduction, nowhere in the world of elite sport do ordinary people run any team. Vainshtein was also far more skeptical than Vartanian about the "bohemian" influence on Andrei Starostin, claiming that Nikolai would berate Andrei (then still playing) for hanging out with people who would ruin his game. See also Lev Filatov, "Teatr Andreia Starostina vospominanii kumira," *Fizkul'tura i sport*, no. 5 (1995): 31–32.

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ticket-takers alone . . . but there was another way—collectively. We had a reliable system . . . called the 'steam engine.' Thirty, forty, fifty of us without tickets formed a huge snake at one of the entrances and at an agreed-upon moment threw ourselves with incredible strength at the gate. The ticket-takers would scream, try to catch us with their hands, but they could not stop us."[68]

Order did not always prevail in the stands. In *Krasnyi sport*, the journalist and prerevolutionary soccer star Mikhail Davidovich Romm described a season-ending Spartak-TsDKA match on October 30, 1936, at the army's smaller ground. "At half-time, spectators who had been behind the barriers began a general attack on the field. Thousands of people poured out like an avalanche and surrounded the playing surface like a tight wall that went right up to the sidelines, surrounded the goals and covered the corners turning the rectangle into an oval."[69] During the second half, the surging fans destroyed one of the goal posts. In the midst of this chaos, Spartak triumphed 3–1 to claim its first league championship.[70] Thereafter, in every season before the war, newspaper reports described further incidents involving both Spartak players and fans.[71] Given the team's visibility, it is reasonable to ask if Spartak supporters were truly more rowdy than the fans of other clubs. Vartanian has shown that disorders were common and by no means restricted to Moscow.[72] Yet press accounts involving hooliganism by Spartak fans and players did appear more often, although certain newspapers may well have singled them out for special attention.

The anti-authoritarian attitudes of Spartak fans and their accompanying rowdyism raise important questions about public acceptance of the regime. What were the political consequences of these choices and behaviors? Did hatred of the police and army represent a rejection of the authority of Stalinism, or were "the lads" (*rebiata*) just letting off steam? Recent work by Western and Russian historians has demonstrated considerable dissent, disorganization, and grumbling in Stalin's Russia. These scholars reveal a broad divide between what many Soviet citizens described as a righteous "us" and a privileged "them."[73] Significant numbers of ordinary men and women made critical comments in a variety of ways and places. The 1930s were a time of scarcity and uncertainty, heightening the regime's fear of the masses.[74] Much of this complaining was monitored by the police. Therefore, it is interesting to note the stadium was one of the few places in the USSR where a person could shout "kill the cops" and not suffer serious consequences.

The reason for this enclave of comparative safety in a society otherwise characterized by extensive surveillance is not immediately clear. One finds no

[68] Yuri Oleshchuk, "Fanaty Vremen Bobrova," *Sportekpress zhurnal*, no. 10 (1999): 86.

[69] *Krasnyi sport*, November 1, 1936. This account is repeated in Akimov, *Zapiski Vratar'ia*, 59–62.

[70] This was for the fall season. Dinamo had won in the spring.

[71] *Izvestiia*, May 6, 1940; *Krasnyi sport*, April 15, 1937, September 3, 1938, June 12, 1939, July 2, 1940.

[72] Aksel' Vartanian, "Draki pri sotsializme," *Sportekspress futbol*, no. 27 (1999): 32–35. For a detailed report on disorders in 1935, see GARF, f.7576, op.13, 108, ll.63–69, 77, 79.

[73] Sarah Davies, *Popular Opinion in Stalin's Russia: Terror, Propaganda and Dissent* (Cambridge, 1997); Fitzpatrick, *Everyday Stalinism*; Rittersporn, *Stalinist Simplifications*; Natalia Lebina, *Povsednevnaia Zhizn' Sovetskogo Goroda: Normy i Anomalii* (St. Petersburg, 1999); Elena Osokina, *Our Daily Bread: Socialist Distribution and the Art of Survival in Stalin's Russia, 1927–1941* (Armonk, N.Y., 2001).

[74] Fitzpatrick, *Everyday Stalinism*, 42–50.

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discussion of it in any Soviet-era source, published or archival. Yet a comparative example, taken out of context, may help illustrate the nature of the stadium and the peculiar social relations it creates, regardless of the political system. In his celebrated memoir of Arsenal fandom, the English writer Nick Hornby remembers his first match on the terraces of Highbury. What impressed him most was not the "Gunners'" play but "the way adults were allowed to shout the word, WANKER! ['jerk off'] as loudly as they wanted without attracting any attention."[75] Could it be that Nazarov's "kill the cops" was the semantic equivalent of Hornby's "wanker"? Were "the lads" too focused on the field to take the words seriously, or did the crowded stadium guarantee anonymity?

A gathering of two or three people on the street could provoke police attention in Stalin's time, but thousands crammed into the stands were another matter. Such was the popularity of soccer that the police had little choice but to permit matches at which large numbers of people were crowded together under circumstances that raised their emotions.[76] The state's structures of force found football posed tasks different from their usual charge. Many scholars have argued that Soviet citizens were unable to change the system, despite their dissatisfactions, because of the regime's ability to atomize possible opposition through repression.[77] In this regard, the state found soccer undermined the effects of atomization. It brought people together to watch an unpredictable spectacle, creating, in the process, both social relations and compelling topics of conversation. On the other hand, sport's influence was limited. While it brought people together, it did not do so on a constant basis. Historically, the stadium has been neither a public nor a private space but what Clifford Geertz, following Erving Goffman, has called a "focused gathering." For Geertz, both the Balinese cockfight and, by extension, a soccer match are neither disorderly crowds nor orderly groups but, consistent with sport's liminality, something "in between."[78] The social relations created while going to the stadium, in the stands, and on the way home are complex but ephemeral. Although fans discuss events among themselves and read about them in the press, they possess nothing that can be called "power" until they are once more gathered together. The episodic character of these moments makes them different from ordinary life and creates the "space" for otherwise inadmissable, even dangerous, acts and utterances.

This does not mean Soviet soccer games were truly carnivalesque. Even during a match, rowdyism was the exception, and seating arrangements, with the privileged occupying more desirable locations, undermined the possibilities for cultural inversion. If not the sites of pure Bakhtinian carnival, the Soviet stadium was also not the Circus Maximus. Soviet soccer was not a safety valve consciously created by the state. If it had been, the authorities would not have spent so much time complaining, publicly and privately, about the fans' bad behavior, nor would they have so heavily ascribed didactic aims to sport.[79] The evidence of tension between

[75] Nick Hornby, *Fever Pitch* (London, 1997), 20.
[76] Vartanian, interview.
[77] Filtzer, *Soviet Workers and Stalinist Industrialization*, 1, 8, 255.
[78] Clifford Geertz, "Deep Play: Notes on the Balinese Cock Fight," in Geertz, *The Interpretation of Cultures* (New York, 1973), 434.
[79] Mikhail Bakhtin, *Rabelais and His World*, Helen Iswolsky, trans. (Cambridge, Mass., 1968).

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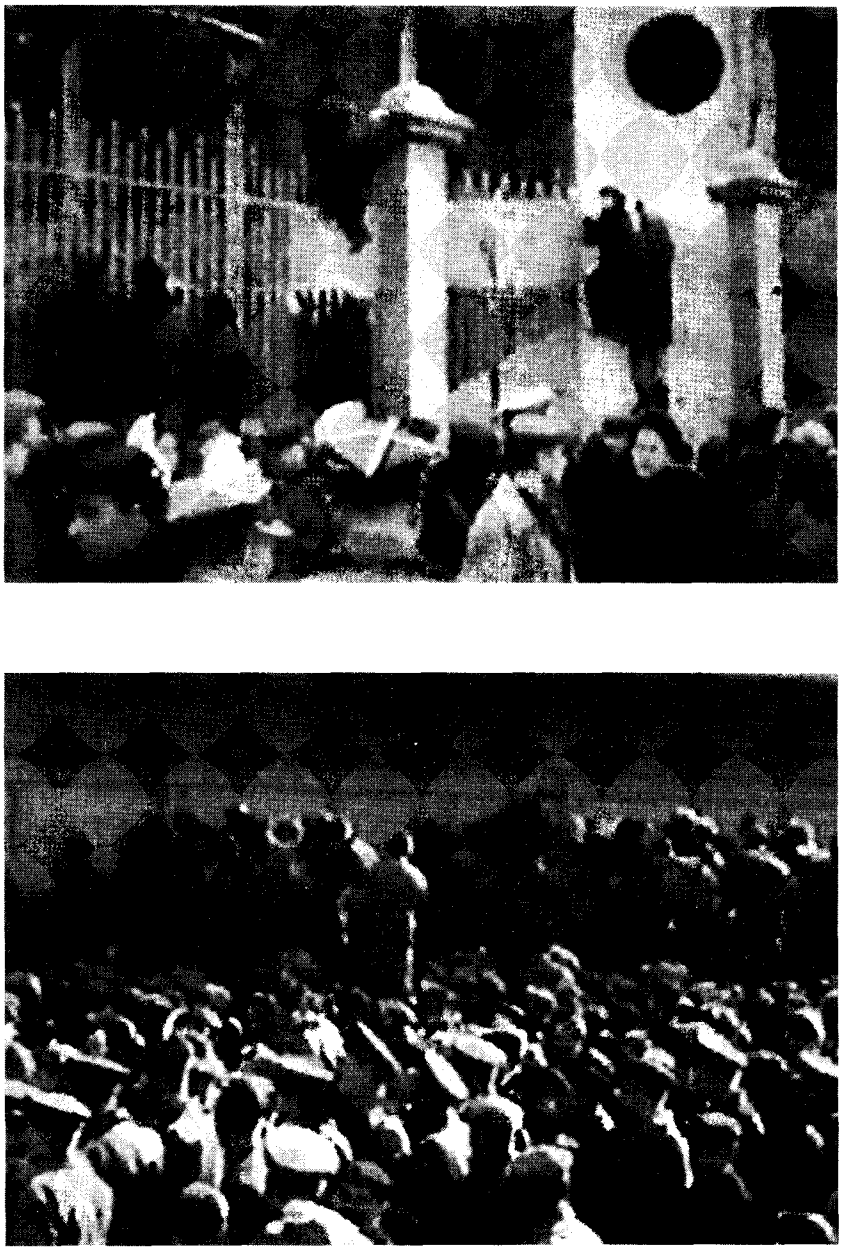


FIGURE 3: Two stills from a documentary show gate-crashing and a surging crowd "lining up" for tickets at Russian soccer games. The documentary is from 1986; the footage is from the late 1930s. Courtesy of the Russian State Archive of Cinematography, reel no. 1–30605–1.

subordinate and dominant groups is substantial. Still, it does not directly answer the question of whether the new Soviet labor force was "us" or "them." Indeed, the very distinction may be too sharply drawn.

Finally, Spartak may have provoked "class" antagonism and hooliganism, but it was also popular for a far more conventional reason. The team was good. Oleshchuk, Nazarov, and thousands of other Moscow men date their love of

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Spartak from the summer of 1937. That July, an enormously talented touring team of Basque all-stars drawn from teams in the powerful Spanish league came to the USSR to raise funds for the embattled Spanish Republic.[80] The visitors showed Soviet fans an astounding level of soccer never previously seen by ordinary citizens. Only at the end of their tour, tired and exhausted, did they lose to Spartak, which had been strengthened by the addition of four players from other teams, including the sensational young striker Grigorii Fedotov. With the score tied 2–2 at the half, the game turned on a dubious penalty awarded by the referee, who, as it happened, was a Spartak official. Perhaps realizing what was transpiring, the Basques played the role of grateful guests and lost 6–2. These nuances, however, were lost on young boys who had been taken to their first game by football-loving dads. All these kids knew was that Dinamo Moscow had lost to the Basques twice, while Spartak had emerged victorious.[81]

In the summer of 1936, the struggle between Spartak and Dinamo moved from grassy fields to the ancient cobblestones of Red Square. In 1931, the State Sport Committee had reinvented the tradition of Physical Culture Day, a mammoth sports parade held each summer in Red Square.[82] Thousands of tanned, fit male and female bodies marched in close unison. Mass gymnastic displays were complemented by floats and banners. If not identical, these events were certainly similar to sport holidays in Fascist Italy and Nazi Germany.[83] Extensively filmed and photographed, the parades of the 1930s were supposed to symbolize the orderliness and controlled character of Soviet sport for both domestic and foreign audiences. Not a sports event but rather political theater with sport as its theme, Physical Culture Day became the apotheosis of Stalinist body culture. Dinamo athletes were especially visible participants in these spectacles, and many of their floats were sculptures of arranged, immobile male and female bodies.[84]

Spartak approached the parade differently. With Kosarev's inspiration, Nikolai Starostin concocted a novel idea for the 1936 parade. Hundreds of Spartak athletes and officials sewed a giant green rug the size of a regulation soccer field. Each year, this Soviet precursor of Astroturf was rolled out onto Red Square and a game was

[80] The Basques had beaten Racing twice the previous year in friendlies; see P. Prybylovskii, *Trenery bol'shogo futbola* (Moscow, 1980), 35. The Basques received $5,000 US from a special Politburo fund for the tour. RGASPI, f.17, op.162, d.21, l.57. Permission for the tour was finally given shortly before the Basques' arrival. RGASPI, f.17, op.3, d.987, l.131.

[81] Soon after the famous triumph over the Basques, Kosarev sent Spartak on a tour of Europe, where they won further glory at the Workers' Olympiad in Antwerp and at a special tournament connected with the Paris International Exposition. Nikolai Starostin, *Futbol skvoz' gody*, 37–40. Starostin makes much of the fact that the referee in the match against the Basques, Kosmachev, an official of the Spartak Society, was banned from the game for his "favoring" of Spartak. Yet Starostin did not mention the ban was temporary, not, as he implied, permanent, nor does he state clearly that many felt Kosmachev did indeed favor Spartak.

[82] Physical culture displays had been part of parades marking other holidays, most notably May Day. There had been sports holidays and demonstrations of various sorts before 1931. Additionally, the holiday was celebrated throughout the USSR on the main square of each major city. Petrone, *Life Has Become More Joyous*, 30; Edelman, *Serious Fun*, 37–43.

[83] Richard Mandell, *The Nazi Olympics* (New York, 1971); Victoria De Grazia, *The Culture of Consent: The Mass Organization of Leisure in Fascist Italy* (Cambridge, 1981).

[84] Petrone, *Life Has Become More Joyous*, 23–45; Edelman, *Serious Fun*, 37–43.

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played, creating an oasis of spontaneity in an otherwise highly controlled event. Until 1939, Dinamo refused to join Spartak in this moment of "real play." Instead, Spartak's starters took on their reserve squad in a match that could have ended at any moment had Stalin, no great soccer fan, become bored with the "spectacle" before him.[85]

In taking such different approaches to this consciously created celebration, Spartak and Dinamo were demonstrating two different versions of body culture—the disciplined military, Olympic style of Dinamo versus the more spontaneous, professional-entertainment model of Spartak.[86] These approaches affected the subsequent practices of the two groups in a variety of activities beyond the parades themselves.[87] As already noted, the Soviets were torn between two models of sport, Olympism and professionalism. While they refused to take part in the Olympics, the leadership came to favor a non-commercial, competitive version of sport to be used for didactic purposes, particularly the goal of social improvement. The Dinamo Society, founded by the police, came to represent official Stalinist body culture, which embraced the statist Olympic model, if not its class and gender content.[88] Indeed, the parades bear many similarities to the overblown opening ceremonies of the Olympic Games. Before the war, Dinamo athletes dominated the multi-sport Spartakiads, festivals that made the "civilized" sports on the Olympic program available to working men and women in the best tradition of "rational recreation."[89] By contrast, Spartak took a more spontaneous approach to leisure and sporting spectacles, emphasizing games rather than parades. The events it stressed in its own practice, as Oleshchuk, Romm, and Nazarov show, were less didactic. The primary rituals for Spartak fans were such male celebrations as the pre-game metro or tram ride, the pushing and shoving to get to their seats, plus chanting, cheering, booing, drinking, and cursing—not to mention the occasional riot—practices more profane than sacred.[90]

These differences were also consistent with the sponsorship of the two groups. Dinamo, supported by the secret police, was inextricably part of the state sector. Its athletes were to embody the virtues the regime sought to inculcate through sport—discipline, order, health, respect for authority, and social improvement.[91] Dinamo was part of an organization subject to military discipline, and the bodies it presented were supposed to give the impression of discipline.[92] By contrast, Spartak

[85] Nikolai Starostin, *Futbol skvoz' gody*, 19–40; RGAK, reel no. 1–30605–1.

[86] Brownell, *Training the Body for China*, 11.

[87] These practices of the body can have as important a historical impact as more conventional concerns of scholars. Richard Gruneau has argued, "Bodily disciplines, habits and ceremonies both constitute and express the relative power of classes, regions, ethnic groups and genders. They also constitute and express the differences in power between organizational and client groups and their supervisory and administrative superiors." Gruneau, "Critique of Sport," 85–105.

[88] The Olympic model is inherently statist because athletes take part as representatives of nations, even though many Olympic Committees are formally independent of governments.

[89] *Fotoal'bom spartakiada* (Moscow, 1929), n.p.

[90] Victor Turner, ed., *Celebration: Studies in Festivity and Ritual* (Washington, D.C., 1982); Turner, *From Ritual to Theater: The Human Seriousness of Play* (New York, 1982). While Olympic practitioners would seek to see the rituals they invented as sacred, there are, in Turner's view, profane rituals as well.

[91] V. Vinokurov and O. Kucherenko, *Dinamo Moskva* (Moscow, 1973); *Vsesoiuznoe fizkul'turno-sportivnoe ordena Lenina obshchetsvo Dinamo* (Moscow, 1956).

[92] On the march, see Christel Lane, *The Rites of Rulers: Ritual in Industrial Society—The Soviet Case* (Cambridge, 1981); *My iz Dinamo, sbornik ocherkov i statei o sportsmenakh i kollektivakh ordena Lenina,*

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FIGURE 4: On Physical Culture Day (held annually in Red Square), Dinamo athletes form a human pyramid as their part in the Olympiad-style theatrical parade. From *A Pageant of Youth* (Moscow, 1939).

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was sponsored by the retail trades, which made it more a part of society—a producer of sport spectacles for the historically beleaguered consumer sector. Promkooperatsiia had became a wealthy organization more than willing to use its money to buy top athletes, who were more often presented to the public in athletic contests as opposed to festivals.[93]

In the international arena, Dinamo's leaders, as well as its sportsmen and women, were active supporters of the state's diplomatic goals. Despite some words and a few deeds to the contrary, Spartak would later prove a less enthusiastic carrier of the regime's aims. Although the example is outside my chronological limit, it is revealing of pre-war attitudes that, when the USSR finally took part in the Olympic Games, in 1952, army and Dinamo athletes dominated Soviet teams. By comparison, Spartak provided only a handful of Olympians.[94] Similarly, after the war, the army sport system and the Dinamo society became, in the words of the leading Western student of Soviet sport, the "organizational pillars" of the sports movement.[95] In establishing this priority, the leadership was clearly responding to differences that had emerged during the 1930s.

The body cultures of the two groups were, in turn, tied to different types of masculinity. Here, too, differing constructions of manhood intensified their rivalry. For Soviet males, like most others, adopting sport, with its rules, organizational structures, and schedules, was part of becoming a modern urban man. During the course of the nineteenth century, both professional and Olympic sport had been constructed in Europe and the United States as male bastions, but each approach offered a different version of manhood.[96] As we have seen, Spartak's supporters practiced a Soviet version of an earlier British working-class masculinity that was often violent and little concerned with sportsmanship. As a group with a sense of grievance, winning, for these particular men, was very important. While Oleshchuk's characterization of the games as "wars" is overstated, he does succeed in conveying the seriousness with which Spartak fans approached football. By contrast, Dinamo, despite its own supporters' occasional lapses, offered a more respectable middle-class manliness.[97] Their publicly obedient athletes were presented as objects for emulation. Finally, these different masculinities fostered different attitudes toward female sport. Again, the example, while postwar, is instructive. Dinamo and the army clubs paid lip service to women's participation. Spartak, by contrast, proved largely indifferent. Thirteen of the forty female athletes on the first Soviet Olympic team at Helsinki were members of Dinamo. Only one came from Spartak. The society's leaders cared most about football—a "real man's game"—Soviet women had long been forbidden to play.[98]

fizkul'turno-sportivnogo obshchetsva Dinamo (Moscow, 1968); *Dinamovtsy v boiakh za Rodinu, sbornik* (Moscow, 1975).

[93] Nikolai Starostin, *Futbol skvoz' gody*, 29–34; RGAK, reel no. 1–30605–1.

[94] Boris Khavin, *Vse o sovetskikh olimpitsakh* (Moscow, 1985), 6–36.

[95] Riordan, *Sport in Soviet Society*, 159. On the seriousness with which the Dinamo Society took the Olympics, see *Dinamovtsy—Geroi olimpiada* (Moscow, 1982).

[96] Dunning, "Sport as a Male Preserve," 163; Gruneau and Whitson, *Hockey Night in Canada*, 192.

[97] Vartanian, "Draki pri sotsializme." On Dinamo fanship, see N. Arutunian and N. Naumenko, "Ispoved' belo-golubogo fanata," *Sport dlia vsekh*, no. 16 (1998): 2.

[98] Khavin, *Vse o sovetskikh olimpitsakh*, 7. See Riordan, *Sport in Soviet Society*, 320–22, on the

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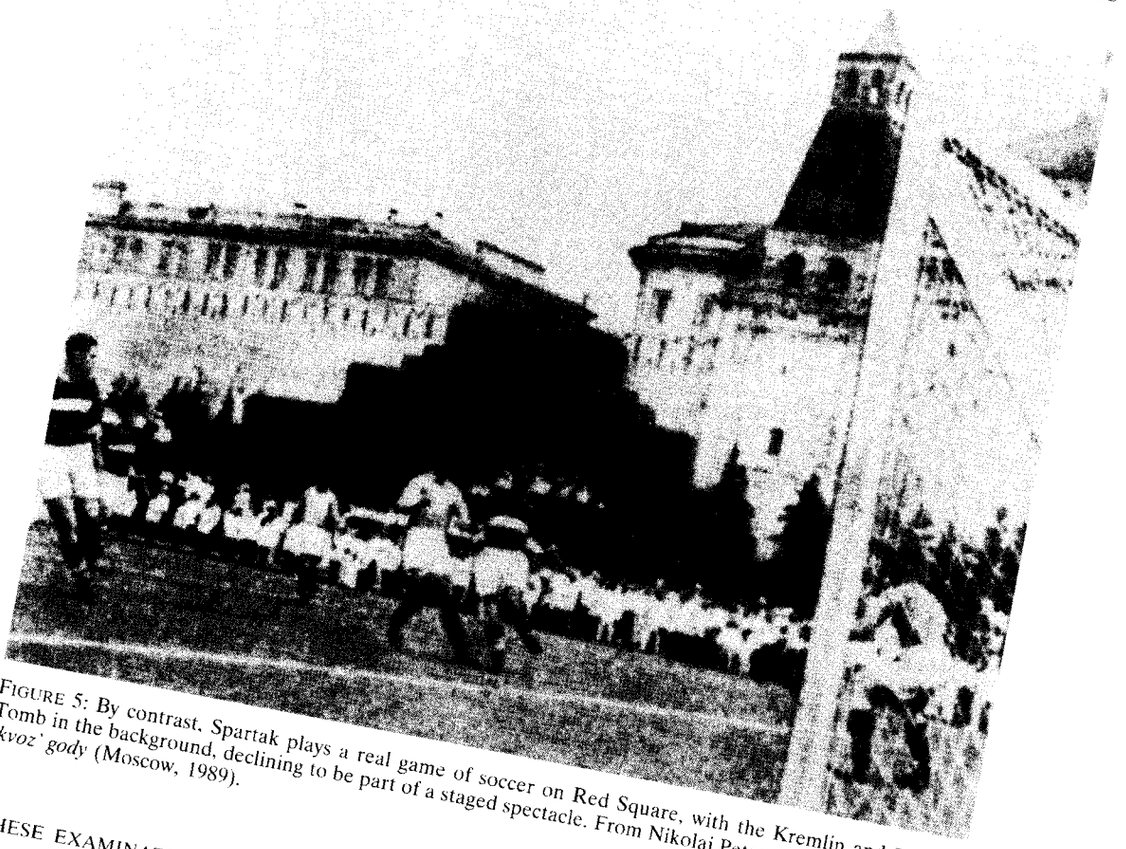


FIGURE 5: By contrast, Spartak plays a real game of soccer on Red Square, with the Kremlin and Lenin's Tomb in the background, declining to be part of a staged spectacle. From Nikolai Petrovich Starostin, *Futbol skvoz' gody* (Moscow, 1989).

THESE EXAMINATIONS OF THE Spartak-Dinamo rivalry and the actions of their fans have been the necessary prelude to answering the question, raised at the outset, about the attitudes of the Soviet working class before the war. Despite the massive reduction of living standards that accompanied industrialization and collectivization, the party-state was not overthrown. Explanations have varied enormously, with consensus elusive. Soviet historians of labor, predictably, described an identifiable working class at the head of the march for "socialist construction."[99] Some Western scholars, most notably Kenneth Strauss and Robert Thurston, while eschewing crude Soviet class categories, also ascribed the regime's survival to the integration, and subsequent contentment, of workers, despite struggle on the shop

banning of women's soccer. It was a journalistic staple to call soccer a "man's game." See Romm, *Ia boleiu za Spartak*, 11; and Merzhanov, *Igraet Spartak*, 4.

[99] Perhaps the most triumphalist of the Soviet students of labor is S. L. Selianskii, for whom the history of the Soviet working class up to the 1970s is a succession of victories. See Selianskii, *Izmeneniia v sotsial'noi strukture sovetskogo obshchestva, 1938–1970* (Moscow, 1973), 149–51; I. E. Vorozheikin and Selianskii, *Rabochii klass, vedushchaia sila sovetskogo obshchestva* (Moscow, 1977), 8–10; Selianskii and V. B. Tel'pukovskaia, *Rabochii klass SSSR, 1938–1965* (Moscow, 1971), 58–59. A more nuanced approach was offered by Andrei Sokolov in the late 1980s. See A. K. Sokolov, *Rabochii klass i revoliutsionnye izmeneniia v sotsial'noi strukture obshchestva* (Moscow, 1987).

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floor. Siegelbaum and Hiroaki Kuromiya found contingent and shifting worker identities, especially early on during industrialization. Others, most notably Donald Filtzer, stressed repression in the face of worker-management tensions. Stephen Kotkin, in his massive study of the new city of Magnitogorsk, detailed an accommodation, mediated by language, which combined quiescence with cynical manipulation of the system. A still different tack was taken by Gabor Rittersporn, who argued that Soviet workers were not a unified class but rather an "urban laboring mass," lacking the cohesion to oppose the state.[100]

By 1929, the prerevolutionary proletariat, which all but evaporated during the civil war, had been reconstituted. Subsequently, the demands of forced draft industrialization required massive numbers of new workers, who were primarily peasants and women.[101] Soviet cities grew at an astronomical rate, creating enormous pressure on housing, food supply, and transit. Between 1929 and 1934, Moscow's population had risen from 2.3 million to 3.6 million.[102] Industrial labor comprised barely a quarter of Moscow's diverse population. Official sources described some 823,400 Muscovites as factory workers by 1933.[103] Another 649,900 fit into the ambiguous and highly heterogenous category of white-collar workers, called "employees" (*sluzhashchie*).[104] In drawing conclusions about the attitudes of Moscow workers, it is important to connect the recent broader studies, which have revealed widespread dissent and grumbling, with the earlier, more focused work on labor. Can we be any more precise than the categories of "us" and "them"? To answer such questions, it would be best to have sources such as election results, public opinion surveys, and a free press, but in the absence of these types of direct evidence it is necessary to look elsewhere. Sport is one such place. The vast bulk of anecdotal material on pre-war soccer indicates that the audience was overwhelmingly working class and male. Memoirs, player biographies, and popular histories are unanimous on this point. While some white-collar workers must have followed the game, they do not appear in these accounts. Thus it is possible, when talking about pre-war Soviet football followers, to be more precise than "us" and "them." Nevertheless, the evidence does not support abandoning all caution.

Moscow was not typical of the entire USSR, and not all workers followed soccer. It is particularly unlikely that the thousands of women and peasants who took up work in the capital became a large part of the soccer audience. Women's involvement in pre-war football was largely limited to watching men watch other

[100] See note 5. Gabor Rittersporn, "From Working Class to Urban Laboring Mass: On Politics and Social Categories in the Formative Years of the Soviet System," in Siegelbaum and Suny, *Making Workers Soviet*, 253–73.

[101] A. I. Vdovin and V. Z. Drobizhev, *Rost rabochego klassa SSSR, 1917–1940 gg.* (Moscow, 1976), 87; *Istoriia moskovskikh rabochikh*, 137. Unlike the works of Selianskii, these books confront difficulties and also provide much useful information that allows a reader to disaggregate the working class in order to help characterize it with more precision.

[102] Fitzpatrick, *Everyday Stalinism*, 42.

[103] Vdovin and Drobizhev, *Rost rabochego klassa*, 115–26. The figures on blue and white-collar workers are from Strauss, *Factory and Community*, 37.

[104] Strauss, *Factory and Community*, 39. On white-collar workers during the 1920s, see Daniel Orlovsky, "The Hidden Class: White-Collar Workers in the Soviet Twenties," in Siegelbaum and Suny, *Making Workers Soviet*, 222–48.

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men play football.[105] In the little remaining documentary footage on early soccer (roughly forty minutes), women do appear in the stands. Yet nearly all the matches captured on film were cup finals or other important games at comparatively well-policed Dinamo Stadium. Those females shown on screen were always stylishly dressed and usually young. They tended to sit together, and it is reasonable, given the prevailing patriarchy of the period, to think they may have been the wives or girlfriends of players, suggesting the absence of a female presence at most regular matches.[106] Similarly, peasants, nearly all recent arrivals from the countryside, were, like peasants elsewhere in the world, little involved in the modern, urban phenomenon of sport. While it is likely that a portion of those who flocked to the capital during industrialization eventually took an interest in the game, the majority of recent migrants to the city did not. Older peasant leisure practices persisted despite residence in Moscow. Strolling and visiting were preferred to a specifically scheduled event like a soccer game, governed by poorly understood rules.[107] The fictional hero of film and literature, Anton Kandidov, who went from melon-catching *muzhik* (peasant) to goalie for the Soviet national team, would have been exceptional, even if he were real.[108]

While the paucity of solid empirical information requires care, it is clear that those workers who watched soccer had greater experience of urban life than the newcomers. The men who had followed the sport before the revolution and during the 1920s continued to do so into the late 1930s. Many of them had raised families and passed on a love of the game to sons. Additionally, several Soviet scholars have claimed that Moscow workers were becoming older and more skilled, a process that made them more likely to be drawn to the urban activity of sport. The shift in Moscow away from textiles toward metalworking can also be seen as a sign of an increasingly skilled work force.[109] With the Third Five-Year Plan, announced in 1938, an even greater emphasis was placed on heavy industries, especially defense.[110] The chaos of the First Five-Year Plan allowed little time for leisure, and the new recruits to the urban labor force were not highly trained. Yet, from the league's formation in 1936 up to the war, the capital's workers became more experienced, not only on the factory floor but in the ways of city life. They were beginning to fit the sociological profile of football audiences in other nations, particularly Great Britain, where the relatively skilled segments of the working class

[105] See Appadurai, *Modernity at Large*, on Indian cricket, 93; Vdovin and Drobizhev, *Rost rabochego klassa*, 131.

[106] RGAK, reel nos. 1–3490, 1–30361–IX, 1–3752–IV, 1–2281, 1–2262, 1–2435, 1–2471, 1–2462, 1–4374, 1–3507, 1–4079, 1–3102, 1–3118, 1–30605–1, 1–3221.

[107] On the retention of rural practices in urban settings, see Hoffmann, *Peasant Metropolis*, 118–37; Moshe Lewin, *The Gorbachev Phenomenon: A Historical Interpretation* (Berkeley, Calif., 1991); John Bushnell, "Urban Leisure Culture in Post-Stalin Russia: Stability as a Social Problem?" in Terry Thompson and Richard Sheldon, eds., *Soviet Society and Culture: Essays in Honor of Vera S. Dunham* (Boulder, Colo., 1988), 60.

[108] Kandidov was the protagonist of the 1936 film *Vratar'* (The Goalie) and the novelization of Lev Kassil's screenplay, *Vratar' respubliki* (The Goalie of the Republic). See also Keith A. Livers, "The Soccer Match as Stalinist Ritual: Constructing the Body Social in Lev Kassil's *The Goalkeeper of the Republic*," *Russian Review* 60 (October 2001): 592–613.

[109] Vdovin and Drobizhev, *Rost rabochego klassa*, 139; *Istoriia moskovskih rabochikh*, 183; Strauss, *Factory and Community*, 29.

[110] Vorozheikin and Selianskii, *Rabochii klass*, 8–9.

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were more likely to be involved with sport.[111] It should, however, be noted that the precise meaning of the term "skill" (*kvalifikatsiia*), as used by Soviet historians, is ambiguous.[112]

To talk about Spartak and the working class requires a clear understanding of how we are using the term. Oleshchuk's characterization of Moscow football supporters as one half for Spartak and one half for everyone else corresponds to the preponderance of anecdotal evidence. This conclusion is not challenged anywhere in the literature, in archival material or in personal recollections. Yet this does not mean Spartak's following was socially and economically homogenous. Promkooperatsiia, Spartak's sponsor, represented primarily service and trade workers. Between 1928 and 1932, it grew from roughly 600,000 members nationally to 1.6 million, while the percentage of workers involved in trade and distribution increased from 5.3 percent to 9.2 percent.[113] Industrial laborers, who, as noted, were not a majority in 1930s Moscow, may well have had different views and interests, but many of them rooted for Spartak along with their less successful factory teams, founded and organized by plant managers. Thus the term "working class," while still useful, is best understood here in the broadest sense to encompass thousands outside the factory, including construction, transport, and trade.

Despite these caveats, we can say that a significant portion of Moscow working males made one of the few free choices available to them, a choice that established, in a limited but still meaningful way, their independence from the regime. Yet the politics of this choice were far from clear, and it would be stretching the available evidence to claim the team's following was either anticommunist or outspokenly oppositional. By the mid-1930s, worker grievances were numerous, and the labor shortage gave them considerable power on the factory floor.[114] Still, this did not lead to ongoing organization. The secret police saw to that. Oleshchuk, Vartanian, Vainshtein, and others of their generation, when interviewed, stressed that Spartak supporters did not seek what some have recently called "regime change." Yet these interviewees' understanding of politics is limited to the policy struggles and competing ambitions at the pinnacle of the state and party structures. If they were not directly affecting state policy, Soviet soccer fans (not just those of Spartak) were still able to create the "chosen communities" described by Levon Abramian. The regime sought to use sport to inculcate values of health, punctuality, skill, and respect for authority. The state wished to see its "guardians of order" successful on the field and admired by the public. In a 1936 article in *Krasnyi sport*, I. I. Kharchenko, then head of the state sports committee, remarked that Dinamo, rather than Spartak, provided the best model for other sport societies.[115] Yet support for Dinamo was not a goal mass repression alone could achieve. Chosen

[111] Vdovin and Drobizhev, *Rost rabochego klassa*, 112–15; *Istoriia moskovskikh rabochikh*, 183.

[112] Vdovin and Drobizhev, *Rost rabochego klassa*, 195–212; *Istoriia moskovskikh rabochikh*, 332; Siegelbaum, *Stakhanovism*, 42–43.

[113] Vdovin and Drobizhev, *Rost rabochego klassa*, 96, 98; see also O. I. Shkaratan, *Problemy sotsial'noi struktury rabochego klassa SSSR (istoriko-sotsiol'ogicheskoe issledovanie)* (Moscow, 1970).

[114] Filtzer, *Soviet Workers and Stalinist Industrialization*, 2; Siegelbaum, *Stakhanovism*, 30; Robert Thurston, "Reassessing the History of Soviet Workers: Opportunities to Criticize and Take Part in Decision-Making, 1935–1941," in Stephen White, ed., *New Directions in Soviet History* (Cambridge, 1992), 160–88.

[115] *Krasnyi sport*, July 1, 1936.

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communities were just that. The people picked their own heroes. These "communities," while not limited to the stadium, were as episodic as the "focused gatherings" of match day. They were also, to use Benedict Anderson's now famous phrase, "imagined communities," but without clear geographical boundaries.[116]

During the late 1930s, male workers in Moscow used Spartak to make choices about their identities. To be sure, these choices were highly fluid, for, in the political context of the period, they could not have assumed an organized form. Nevertheless, by choosing Spartak and supporting them in less than orderly ways, thousands of Moscow men kept their distance from much around them that was distasteful, while maintaining a measure of personal dignity.[117] This did not make Spartak, to use an anachronistic phrase, a "dissident" team.[118] But the club's independence and success displeased the leaders of the NKVD, who understood their competition involved "more than a game." Everywhere, spectator sports have allowed people to carve out what Eric Dunning has called "enclaves of autonomy," where "mass audiences" can evade the "goals of those who seek to control them." Even in the highly repressive conditions of the purges, Moscow working men used soccer in just this way. They found in the sport's liminality and spontaneity a way to demonstrate a measure of agency denied them in other parts of their lives.[119]

THE SPARTAK-DINAMO RIVALRY went beyond elite politics to include the politics of the everyday. There was substance to the differing styles.[120] As such, the stakes were high. Was sport important? It was important enough for Dinamo's police patrons to be outraged by Spartak's success.[121] When Spartak's adaptation of Western tactical

[116] Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, rev. edn. (London, 1991). In other cases over the course of Soviet history, fan communities could, in fact, embrace a nation. Sport was virtually the only safe way to express nationalist sentiments. Georgian soccer and Lithuanian basketball provided especially powerful cases. Ironically, Spartak was, at times, the target of such emotions. Riots and even murders were not uncommon. Vartanian, interview.

[117] Yuri Oleshchuk, interview with the author, Moscow, December 12, 1999; Vainshtein, interview; Filtzer, *Soviet Workers and Stalinist Industrialization*, 225.

[118] Vainshtein, in particular, took exception to the term "dissident." "At the time, people did not think that way. It was never a dissident team, because all the people who rooted for Spartak were famous people of the regime . . . The actor Ianshin, the writer Kassil' or the composer Shostakovich. They were all famous people but not opponents or dissidents. They honestly served the regime." Vainshtein, interview.

[119] Eric Dunning, *Sport Matters: Sociological Studies of Sport, Violence and Civilization* (London, 1999), 3–4. "[A]n important aspect of sports in modern societies consists in their development as an enclave where people are permitted to experience a relatively high—but crucially variable—degree of autonomy as far as their behavior, identities and relationships are concerned." While this may sound like a safety valve, Dunning attaches too much significance to those "behaviors, identities and relationships" to use a term that implies a dismissal of the seriousness of the feelings and emotions expressed in sport.

[120] On power of the non-state variety, see Michel Foucault, *Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings, 1972–1977* (New York, 1980), 58. For a clear discussion of Foucault's thought with relation to sport and the body, see Gruneau, "Critique of Sport," 103: "The virtue of Foucault for the study of sport is that he demands consideration of administrative power in the broadest possible range of practices and discourses that impinge on the human body. Foucault virtually forces one to consider the body by making it the primary site for the development of various technologies of power in modernity."

[121] To be fair, dissatisfaction with the 1938 cup competition was not limited to the police. Many in the football world complained about a whole range of organizational problems at a congress of football professionals. GARF, f.7576, op.13, d.17, ll.3, 31, 33, 44.

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approaches was combined with their Western-style business model, the Starostins became suspect.[122] They were accused of "running a bourgeois sports enterprise," and there was a kernel of truth to the accusations. As Nikolai Starostin would later relate, Spartak did pay higher wages than other clubs, and he and his brothers were well rewarded for their many victories.[123] Rumors of Spartak's improprieties first appeared in the press in 1936. The Starostins were accused of buying and selling players, neglecting sports with military applications, and paying insufficient attention to political work—long common practices and certainly not criminal in any context other than that of the terror. Yet the sports world did not escape the purges. Hundreds of athletes and officials were arrested, and, by the summer of 1937, Nikolai expected to be taken away at any moment.[124] His concern deepened soon thereafter. In September, Georgii and Serafim Znamenskii, the USSR's most famous track stars, secretly denounced the Starostins to the minister of sport.[125] They claimed Starostin had asked them to assist in currency speculation,[126] and said Nikolai had used contacts in the military to get army soccer players mustered out early to play for Spartak. This latter charge was, in fact, true.[127] In November, Georgii Znamenskii wrote, "Nikolai Starostin devotes his time, attention and funds only to football. He ignores the other sports. He allows only a few designated people to work with the soccer team. He acts personally for himself rather than being guided by the situation of the organization . . . This method is similar to that of an entrepreneur of a private sports club."[128]

Again, if these claims were plausible, it was because the Starostins felt this was the "normal" way to organize big-time sport. Here, they had an important patron in Alexander Kosarev, who believed entertainment under Communism should actually be entertaining. The Starostins were not isolated figures. Rather, they

[122] Prybylovskii, *Trenery bol'shogo futbola*, 43; *Krasnyi sport*, April 7, 1936, May 1, 1936, August 27, 1936; GARF, f.7576, op.1, d.364, l.93; GARF, f.7576, op.13, d.112, ll.3, 4, 14; Tsentral'noe Khranil'ishch'e Dokumentov Molodezhnykh Organizatsii (hereafter, TsKhDMO), f.M-1, op.5, d.75, ll.3–5. Thanks to Barbara Keys for sharing this material.

[123] The Starostins' base salary was a hefty 2,000 rubles per month compared to 190 for the average industrial worker. TsKhDMO, f.M-1, op.5, d.75, ll.3–5; Andrle, *Workers in Stalinist Russia*, 45. For a more detailed account of the charges raised against the Starostins, see Keys, "Dictatorship of Sport," 250–54.

[124] TsKhDMO, f.1, op.23, d.1268, ll.1–2; *Futbol-khokkei*, May 13, 1990; Nikolai Starostin, interview; Nikolai Starostin, *Futbol skvoz' gody*, 44.

[125] According to official legend, Serafim died at the front. Georgii succumbed to war wounds in 1946. For classically hagiographic accounts of their lives, see *Sportsmeny* (Moscow 1963), 65; *Sovetskii sport*, July 8, 1958; A. Salutskii, *Brat'ia Znamenskie* (Moscow, 1973). In a February 2001 television show in the series "Bol'shoi roditel' " on NTV, the daughter of Georgii Znamenskii said her father and uncle were NKVD agents and that Serafim had committed suicide, not died at the front. While her assertions may not necessarily be true, they do track well with the Znamenskiis' accusations of the Starostins.

[126] The Starostins were also accused of buying excessive gifts for their wives when in Paris. The presents consisted of twelve French dresses for each wife as well as commodes. The trip to Paris took place in July 1937 and was connected with the Paris International Exposition. The Znamenskiis were also part of the Soviet delegation. TsKhDMO, f.1, op.23, d.1268, l.22.

[127] TsKhDMO, f.1, op.23, d.1268, ll.24–25. This practice did, in fact occur, and would come back to haunt Spartak when one of their goalies, Vladislav Zhmelkov, was called back to the army. After it had been discovered that he had left the service two months earlier than the end of his hitch, he was required to play for TsDKA. Zhmelkov refused the assignment and found himself playing for an army team in faraway Chita. He was sent to the front when the war broke out. While Zhmelkov survived, he was unable to resume his career at the highest level. The deterioration in his game has usually been ascribed to heavy drinking after his professional exile to Chita. *Spartak*, no. 5 (May 2000): 17.

[128] TsKhDMO, f.1, op.23, d.1268, ll.28–31.

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understood that they needed to have important friends in order to present sports entertainments to the public. Before big games, Nikolai distributed 1,000 free tickets to leading figures in the Moscow and national party organizations, and in Kosarev they had a powerful protector with close political and personal ties to N. I. Yezhov, the central organizer of the terror.[129]

By late 1938, however, Yezhov had outlived his perverse usefulness. He was replaced by Lavrentii Beria, who set about arresting and executing Yezhov's allies, including Kosarev. Beria sought to slow the whirlwind of repression[130]—good for the nation but terrible for Spartak, which lost its strongest patron. Beria, a passionate fan and former player, cared deeply about the success of all the teams under Dinamo's wing. He had not been pleased by Spartak's league-cup "double" in 1938, and when Spartak looked to repeat the feat in 1939, he intervened directly in the cup competition to require Spartak to replay its disputed semi-final victory.[131] When Spartak triumphed again, Beria tried a new way to "control" his rivals, seeking to have the Starostins arrested on many of the same charges that had emerged in 1937. In 1939, Vyacheslav Molotov, in his capacity as prime minister, refused to sign an arrest order, but three years later with the war on, Politburo member Georgii Malenkov did.[132]

Why Beria succeeded in 1942 when he failed in 1939 has never been fully answered.[133] Until now, all we have known about the Starostins' fate has come from their side, but it appears part of the story has been omitted. According to their sentencing document (*prigovor*), all four Starostin brothers were given the relatively light sentence of ten years at hard labor for the clearly absurd political crimes of "anti-Soviet statements" and "doubts about Soviet victory in the war."[134] Yet the prosecutor also claimed that the Starostins had embezzled 160,000 rubles from the Spartak Society's sporting goods store and Nikolai had exchanged illegally obtained food and vodka for draft exemptions.[135] It would be easy to dismiss these charges as typically ridiculous, an attempt to make the Starostins appear to be common criminals. The document, after all, contains only accusations, not proof. But the

[129] Petrone, *Life Has Become More Joyous*, 85–109. On Kosarev, see E. Dobrovol'skii, "Aleksandr Kosarev," *Sportklub*, no. 4 (1998): 34–36; Nikolai Starostin, interview. On Kosarev's close relationship with Yezhov and his strong support for the terror, see J. Arch Getty and Oleg Naumov, eds., *The Road to Terror: Stalin and the Self-Destruction of the Bolsheviks, 1932–39* (New Haven, Conn., 1999), 411. One example of Kosarev's ardor, concerning the purges, emerged during the discussion of sentencing of Nikolai Bukharin. Nearly every member of the Politburo (including Krupskaia) voted to support Stalin's decision, whatever it might be. Kosarev, however, demanded execution.

[130] Getty and Naumov, *Road to Terror*, 489–550.

[131] Starostin has acknowledged that the one goal scored by Spartak against Dinamo Tbilisi in the 1–0 semi-final was controversial. The ball had, seemingly passed the goal line but was cleared away by a defender before it could touch the ground or the net. Nevertheless, the referee had ruled a goal. Nikolai Starostin, *Futbol skvoz' gody*, 41–57.

[132] Nikolai Starostin, *Futbol skvoz' gody*, 63–64.

[133] In his final memoir, Nikolai Starostin attributed Molotov's initial reluctance to their daughters' friendship, but aside from the prime minister's reputation as something less than a sentimentalist, this does not explain what had changed by 1942. *Futbol skvoz' gody*, 63.

[134] In a discussion of the Stalin period that did not mention the Starostin case specifically, Aksel' Vartanian referred to an old anecdote that lent credibility to the claim that their "light" sentence was an admission of their innocence. "Did you hear about Ivanov?" "What did he get?" "Twelve years." "What for?" "For nothing." "What are you talking about? For nothing, they give you ten years." *Sportekspress*, February 26, 2001.

[135] GARF, f.7583, op.60, d.4105, ll.2–5.

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specificity of the economic crimes compared to the vagueness of the political accusations suggests there may have been some substance to the criminal charges.[136] Certainly, if the authorities had sought to smear the brothers, why were the criminal charges never made public?[137] Even so sympathetic a figure as Alexander Vainshtein has doubts: "I'm sure Nikolai Petrovich didn't tell the whole truth. There were various rumors going around . . . No one knows the whole truth. Basically the conflict was about their unusual popularity . . . I don't think Beria had Starostin arrested because he wanted Dinamo to become champions. I think the irritation was about their popularity and independence."[138] Although unproven, the accusations are unsettling, as they contrast sharply with the Starostins' postwar image of extreme probity.

Guilty or not, the brothers spent two years at secret police headquarters in Moscow, after which they were sent to labor camps. When they arrived at their destinations, they were met by local camp commandants who, unbeknownst to Beria, were so excited to have sport celebrities in their midst they invited the Starostins to coach local Dinamo teams in the lower and outer reaches of the Soviet minor leagues. The brothers were spared hard labor and allowed to live in their teams' locker rooms rather than the brutal barracks. They continued to live in camps until 1948 and in exile until 1954. Their absence did not go unnoticed by the fans. In 1997, the eminent sportswriter Lev Filatov remembered the immediate postwar era when Spartak fell into football eclipse: "We looked upon the vegetating state of Spartak with sadness, quietly remembering the Starostin brothers, who, in our youthful imaginations, would not have permitted the hallowed club to fall into such disarray. But to speak publicly about it was dangerous. During those years, the lines in information guides that should have been imprinted with the Starostins' names instead read 'and others.'"[139] The brothers finally came home to Moscow with the first and most privileged group of returnees. Their special status allowed them to resume their careers with little difficulty. Everyone connected with Spartak knew what had happened to them, and their days in the camps were discussed openly, but not publicly.[140] Eventually, in 1964, Andrei wrote a popular memoir. In it, he stated that he and his brothers had been arrested in 1942 after "false

[136] The political accusations may have been added to keep the trial out of an ordinary criminal court, where a football-loving judge, blinded by the Starostins' popularity, might have dismissed the case. J. Arch Getty, personal communication after reading the documents, March 1999.

[137] If it turned out that the brothers had committed "crimes" less noble than merely being better at soccer than Dinamo, it becomes easier to understand the unwillingness of the Starostin family to allow outsiders access to their police file.

[138] Vainshtein, interview. At the time of the interview, Vainshtein did not know of the existence of the sentencing document. I do not know if he has learned of its existence since.

[139] Lev Filatov, "Romb Nikolaia Petrovicha, Sekta gde verkhovodili Starostiny," *Sportivnaia zhizn' Rossii*, no. 3 (1997): 3–4.

[140] Edelman, *Serious Fun*, 84; Jim Riordan, "The Strange Case of Nikolai Starostin, Football and Lavrentii Beria," *Europe-Asia Studies* 46, no. 4 (1994): 681–90; *Sovetskii sport*, May 11, 1990. Nikita Simonian, Spartak star of the 1950s and later coach, along with Gennadii Logofet', a star of the 1960s, both described Starostin's constant willingness to regale the team about his Gulag experiences. Logofet', interview with the author, Moscow, September 5, 2000; Simonian, interview, Moscow, September 7, 2000.

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accusations fabricated by enemies of the people."[141] Nikolai presided over Spartak until his death in 1996, all the while projecting an image of moral rectitude. Reviled in some quarters before the war, he died a beloved figure. The contrast between Starostin's later propriety and the earlier rumors of corruption may disturb his fans and undermine his carefully crafted self-image, but these lapses should shock only those who would make of him a saint. Good people were capable of doing less than admirable things, and bad people occasionally did good. In the final analysis, this very ambiguity may tell us more than anything else about what it meant to have been human and lived in the USSR.

THE SAME AMBIGUITY APPLIES to Spartak's pre-war, male, working-class fan base. These men turn out to be neither uncritical supporters of the regime nor its innocent victims. Their identities may have been fluid, but it would also be wrong to see them as cynical chameleons, manipulating the system through "little tactics."[142] If anything, they were employing their own tactics to resist. Ultimately, their support for Spartak undermines the view that acceptance of the regime was strong and universal among Soviet workers. The team's fans, to use Kotkin's sporting discourse, "deployed" sport, among other things, as a "'field of play' in which people engaged the 'rules of the game' of urban life."[143] This was not domination and resignation but rather, as Stuart Hall has said, "contested terrain."[144] On the other hand, Spartak supporters did not go so far as to seek the overthrow of Communism. Oleshchuk recalls that he and his pals simultaneously thought Spartak great, Dinamo terrible, and Stalin an OK Joe.[145] Instead of "us" and "them," the tension was between two ways of being Soviet.

Oleshchuk's statements about the Spartak-Dinamo rivalry may well indicate a Soviet-style "class struggle," and there is little doubt that millions shared his resentments. Does this then mean that the category of class adequately explains their views? Western scholars who studied Soviet workers rightly sought to move beyond the rigidities of mechanically deployed class categories. Yet, as the doyen of historians of the USSR, Moshe Lewin, noted in responding to those views, class can be useful when employed judiciously, "if we drop any explicit or implicit claims that classes and 'structures' are immutable, if we accept that social realties can be, and often are, very fluid, then the concept of class becomes real and useful, but our work becomes more intricate because we have ceased to take class and class consciousness for granted."[146] Lewin's approach to class consciousness differs considerably from the much-discussed but rarely existing variety Karl Marx described in

[141] Andrei Starostin, *Bol'shoi*, 200. Starostin went on to say that he and his brothers were sent to "various far-off parts of the country." He then follows this statement with a brief description of his soccer activities in the Arctic nickel-mining town of Norylsk. Starostin never says he was actually in a camp. Instead, the experience is made to sound like a provincial exile.

[142] Stephen Kotkin, "Coercion and Identity: Workers' Lives in Stalin's Showcase City," in Siegelbaum and Suny, *Making Workers Soviet*, 278.

[143] Kotkin, "Coercion and Identity," 309.

[144] Stuart Hall, "Notes on Deconstructing the Popular," in *People's History and Socialist Theory*, Raphael Samuel, ed. (London, 1981), 232.

[145] Oleshchuk, interview.

[146] Moshe Lewin, "Concluding Remarks," in Siegelbaum and Suny, *Making Workers Soviet*, 378.

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FIGURE 6: Andrei Starostin (left) in exile in Arctic Norylsk, with the flag of the local Dinamo team behind him. From Nikolai Petrovich Starostin, *Futbol skvoz' gody* (Moscow, 1989).

capitalist contexts. Soviet workers found it difficult to act "for themselves," but this did not mean the preliminary processes of identity formation were not in play. The tensions between laborers and elites were intense, but, with no Soviet ruling class of the Marxist type, this was not a classic proletarian-bourgeois confrontation, despite certain similarities. The broader Gramscian categories of subordinate and dominant social groups may better describe a struggle in which the subordinate were not completely powerless. The unwritten rules produced by the "chosen communities" of game day, along with the shared pleasures of fandom, provided ordinary people with feelings of strength and power. Despite their many difficulties, Soviet working men were not atomized in every part of their lives.

Nevertheless, one can well agree with those historians of the laboring masses who have questioned the predictive certainties of a materially oriented social history. They are also correct when noting that the nineteenth-century faith in the historically transformative power of the proletariat was not borne out by the maelstrom of the twentieth century's first half. As a result, with workers no longer center stage, labor history has been moved to the margins, and an opportunity has been lost. Instead of looking in new places for answers to unresolved questions, the profession seems, rather, to have abandoned the study of labor. Yet, if workers are no longer the central players in a discredited master narrative, this is scarcely a

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reason for ignoring them altogether. Instead, culture, especially popular culture, can, as it has in other cases, provide deep understanding of the lives of ordinary people.

The massively popular leisure activity of sport is particularly rich with possibilities. Not only can it expose cleavages of class, it also allows us to examine this historically constructed, but thankfully now contested, male entertainment to show us how those cleavages were embodied and gendered. In this essay, sports have provided a missing link, a different way of attacking an old problem. I have sought here not to look either at work or at play but at the relation of the one to the other. Like the intellectuals who founded it, the Bolshevik Party based its theory of history on production and never fully comprehended the ludic. Nor did the Soviet state succeed in using mass culture to control the citizenry.[147] Even as the regime expended millions on sports infrastructure and personnel, its other actions continually privileged the mind while failing to comprehend the body. In much the same way, historians who ignore sport impose a hierarchy of significance rarely shared by their subjects. If big-time spectator sports have been an "enclave of autonomy," then it was at just such times and places that people were most likely to reveal their true feelings. This is why Abramian remarked, "To be a fan . . . is to be gathered among others and to be free." The positive emotions generated by this sphere of human activity may have been ephemeral, but millions of Soviet men grasped them with a passion generated by little else. Supporting Spartak may have been a small way of saying "no," but if the gesture were small, it nonetheless spoke volumes.

[147] For accounts that provide an introduction to the richness and limitations of Soviet popular culture, see Richard Stites, *Russian Popular Culture* (Cambridge, 1992); see also Frederick Starr, *Red and Hot: The Fate of Jazz in the Soviet Union, 1917–1991* (New York, 1994).

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Review Essays

What's Beyond the Cultural Turn?

One of the most dramatic shifts in our discipline between the 1960s and the 1980s was the increasing number of professional historians who began to describe themselves as "new social historians" and see their work as borrowing from or brushing up against one or another social science discipline. Then, beginning in the 1980s, the percentage of professional historians who claimed an affiliation with the "new cultural history" started to grow markedly. And this in turn led to novel ideas about connections between history and neighboring fields, including branches of the humanities such as literary criticism. In Beyond the Cultural Turn, *the participants sought to illuminate these two related waves of transformation within history, while also asking where study of society and culture may now be heading in their wake. The 1999 volume did so by bringing together essays by a diverse set of scholars, who study different times and places yet share a common interest in the borderlands between disciplines and the complex relationship between "social" and "cultural" modes of analysis. Most of the contributors are either sociologists (Richard Biernacki and co-editor Victoria E. Bonnell) or historians (Caroline Walker Bynum, Jerrold Seigel, Karen Halttunen, Margaret C. Jacob, Hayden White, and co-editor Lynn Hunt). The others are scholars who have links to both of these disciplines (Margaret Somers, Steven Feierman, William H. Sewell, Jr., and Sonya O. Rose). Thus what emerged was a dialogue—the tone for which is set in a wide-ranging "Introduction" by Bonnell and Hunt—that is structured around the concerns of history and sociology, as well as the ever-shifting gray areas between these two disciplines.*

The review essays that follow were commissioned with an eye toward expanding the discussion beyond the disciplines of the co-editors, in an effort to see how the relationship between the "social" and the "cultural" and recent changes in historical practice look when viewed from other intellectual borderlands. This explains why most of the discussion to come focuses on those chapters in Beyond the Cultural Turn, *such as the ones by Sewell and Biernacki that open the book, which make the broadest arguments about definitions and methods. The first of the three pieces is by* **Ronald Suny,** *a specialist in Russian and Soviet history who currently teaches in a department of political science. The second is by* **Patrick Brantlinger,** *a specialist in Victorian studies whose home is a department of English. The third is by* **Richard Handler,** *an anthropologist whose work has tended to focus on historical issues. Each author was asked both to assess the arguments in* Beyond the Cultural Turn *itself and also invited to use that book as a starting point for a broader consideration of disciplinary genealogies and the relationships between fields. Together, the essays suggest a breadth of disciplinary approaches to the study of culture.*

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Review Essays

Back and Beyond: Reversing the Cultural Turn?

RONALD GRIGOR SUNY

IN SOCIAL SCIENCE, if you are not "bringing (something) back"—class, the state, whatever—you are probably already moving "beyond"—beyond Orientalism, beyond identity, and now beyond the cultural turn.[1] For those of us who made the cultural or linguistic or historical turn not so long ago, it is dismaying that all our efforts to catch up and bring back are still leaving us behind. Or are they? Back and beyond are metaphors for movement through space and time, in this case an intellectual journey from one practice of social analysis to another, abandoning certain ways of thinking and including, often reintroducing, others. The presumption is that travel is indeed broadening, not to mention deepening, and that experienced analysts will want to enrich their investigations with whatever insights, tools, and data can be gathered along the way.

From the heights of political history, the move in the late 1960s and 1970s was to step down into society and include new constituencies in the narrative (or get rid of narrative altogether!). From social history, with its often functionalist or mechanistic forms of explanation, the shift was to plunge even deeper into the thick webs of significance that make up culture. In the narrative proposed by *Beyond the Cultural Turn*, "the new cultural history took shape in the 1980s as an upstart critique of the established social-economic and demographic histories."[2] The turn began, many would argue, with E. P. Thompson's introduction of a notion of culture into labor history, the bastion of Marxist social history, and Clifford Geertz's redefinition of culture in anthropology, a move that proved particularly seductive to historians.[3] Although all this moving was going on among historians and anthro-

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[1] For "backs" and "beyonds," see Peter B. Evans, Dietrich Rueschemeyer, and Theda Skocpol, eds., *Bringing the State Back In* (Cambridge, 1985); Scott G. McNall, Rhonda F. Levine, and Rick Fantasia, eds., *Bringing Class Back In: Contemporary and Historical Perspectives* (Boulder, Colo., 1991); Fred Dallmayr, ed., *Beyond Orientalism: Essays on Cross-Cultural Encounters* (Binghamton, N.Y., 1996); Rogers Brubaker and Frederick Cooper, "Beyond 'Identity,'" *Theory and Society* 29 (2000): 1–47.

[2] Richard Biernacki, "Method and Metaphor after the New Cultural History," in Victoria E. Bonnell and Lynn Hunt, eds., *Beyond the Cultural Turn: New Directions in the Study of Society and Culture* (Berkeley, Calif., 1999), 62.

[3] E. P. Thompson, *The Making of the English Working Class* (1963; Harmondsworth, 1968); Clifford Geertz, *The Interpretation of Culture: Selected Essays* (New York, 1973).

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pologists, and to a lesser extent among historical sociologists, it found little resonance among political scientists, as the self-proclaimed "core" of the discipline moved closer to economics, formal modeling, game theory, and rational choice. Old fault lines hardened between disciplines, and within disciplines, even as appeals to interdisciplinarity sounded. Yet, at the same time, social science could not go back, for the various turns had created heightened awareness of and sensitivity to matters of agency and subjectivity, contingency, the constructedness of social "reality," textuality, and the need for self-reflexivity by the investigator.

In this essay, I would like, first, to trace some of the genealogy of the cultural turn, particularly in Marxist social history and in the aftermath of Geertz's essays; second, to outline what I believe are the principal approaches and insights of the cultural interpretivists; and, finally, to explore the relative absence of this kind of work within political science, with the exception of a few political theorists and constructivist international relations theorists.

FOR MANY OF MY GENERATION, the coming of age in the 1960s was both politically and professionally connected with an initiation into the new forms of Marxism (often unacknowledged as such) that were disrupting the academy. The momentary revival of an intellectual Marxism, particularly among historians, was connected, on the one hand, with the hot wars into which the Cold War establishment had taken young Americans and, on the other, with the exciting achievements of British social historians—E. J. Hobsbawm, George Rudé, and E. P. Thompson were the most important—that expanded the focus of historians of the modern era in both topics and methods. Given the realities of American academic life, at a moment when the market for scholars was shrinking, social history in this country was never as openly socialist history as it was in Britain, but the research agenda that celebrated revolution, the working class, pre-capitalist forms of community, and alternatives to the dominant and seemingly immovable social order was closely allied and deeply indebted to the British Marxists. What made this alliance possible was that both historiography and intellectual Marxism were undergoing transformations that permitted divergent and open-ended explorations. What made it necessary was that Marxism as it existed failed to answer the most important questions it itself posed: How does class formation take place? What are the sources of consciousness? What makes a revolutionary situation? Why nation and not class? Thompson called these "the real silences of Marx."[4]

Today, at a new millennium's beginning, Marxism appears to have lost both its inspirational power and the confidence with which its loyalists were able to defend the most vile acts as political necessities. Still, for many in the generation of the Sixties, a particular form of humanist and critical Marxism, along with a variety of forms of liberalism, defined the principal lines of political choice. Western Marxism, primarily outside the circles of Communist parties (but also sometimes within, as in Britain and Italy), was in a constant struggle with the looming presence of the Soviet Union and was unable to ignore the often perverse influence of

[4] E. P. Thompson, *The Poverty of Theory and Other Essays* (London, 1978), 362.

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actually existing socialisms. More concerned with the defeats of socialism in its more democratic form in the West than with the successes of Soviet socialism, Western Marxism, in spite of the plurality of different theoretical positions and practices, was in some sense a Marxism of despair.[5]

In the late 1950s and 1960s, the significant intellectual defection from Soviet-style Communist parties in the West (such as E. P. Thompson and the "New Left" from the Communist Party of Great Britain) and an appeal by some to the socialist humanism of the Young Marx turned attention to Marx's early "Economic and Philosophical Manuscripts" and the newly translated *Grundrisse*. With the appearance of the New Left, Western Marxists—Georg Lukacs, Karl Korsch, the Frankfurt School, various strains of Trotskyism, and, most notably, Antonio Gramsci—were able to renew and refine earlier discussions of critical Marxism. Among Communist parties, Nikita Khrushchev's liberalization permitted national roads to socialism, and a healthy pluralism and lively discussion reentered the petrified official Marxism of the Stalinist era. On one side of the discussion were those influenced by the structuralist Marxism of Louis Althusser, which was highly critical of socialist humanism and attempted to return the discussion to the great economic works, *Capital* and *Pre-Capitalist Economic Formations*.[6]

Althusser interrogated the relation between structure and subject in history and society—a theoretical conundrum central to the problem of class formation. Already in Marx there was an unsteadiness, an oscillation between structural causality and human agency, between the contradiction of the forces of production and the relations of production in *Capital*, on the one hand, and his more political analyses of class on the other, particularly in his historical works, like *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte*. V. I. Lenin's later attempt to deal with this problem on the practical level, through the agency of the party, combating at one and the same time the passivity of Second International reformism and revisionism *and* the multifaceted spontaneity of the "masses" themselves, left the New Left unimpressed as they searched for more communitarian and less elitist forms of organization. For much of the short twentieth century, Marxists divided between those who emphasized the primacy of structure (for example, Nikolai Bukharin, and later Althusser) and those who emphasized human agency (many Trotskyists and Marxist humanists). With the triumph among French intellectuals of Claude Lévi-Strauss and Structuralism in the 1960s, Marxists like Althusser eliminated the subject, "save as the illusory effects of ideological structures," radically rejecting any volition of the individual or collective. "History," Althusser claimed, "is a process without a subject." Men and women are simply the "supports of the means of production."[7] Althusser's former student Michel Foucault carried the flag into poststructuralism and described Marxism itself as an involuntary effect of an

[5] Perry Anderson, *Considerations of Western Marxism* (London, 1976). Much of what follows is a reconstruction of personal and generational experience remembered through readings of Anderson's works—besides *Considerations*; *Arguments within English Marxism* (London, 1980); *In the Tracks of Historical Materialism* (London, 1983); *The Origins of Postmodernity* (London, 1998)—and Geoff Eley, *Forging Democracy: The History of the Left in Europe, 1850–2000* (New York, 2002).

[6] His two major studies—*Pour Marx* and *Lire le Capital*—both appeared in 1965.

[7] Anderson, *In the Tracks of Historical Materialism*, 38; Louis Althusser, *Politics and History* (London, 1972), 183; Althusser, *Reading Capital* (London, 1970), 112, 252; Anderson, *Arguments within English Marxism*, 16.

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old-fashioned Victorian episteme. His erasure of the subject and elevation of discourse contributed powerfully to what would be termed the "cultural turn."

Although there are many ways to tell the story of structure and agency and the revival of culture, the discussion that took place with the appearance of the influential work of E. P. Thompson offers a bridge from the moment of social history to the fascination with cultural studies. For Thompson, Althusser's structuralism represented an outmoded kind of Marxism, one in which "process is fate," and he and his comrades sought to revive an alternative tradition in which men and women are the "ever-baffled and ever-resurgent agents of an unmastered history." Rather than a process without a subject, Thompson argued, history is the arena in which humans transmute structure into process. Through experience (Thompson's key term), individuals make themselves into social classes, groups conscious of differences and antagonisms and conflicting interests. In his famous formulation—"Classes arise because men and women, in determinative productive relations, identify their antagonistic interests, and come to struggle, to think and to value in class ways: thus the process of class formation is a process of self-making, although under conditions which are 'given' "[8]—Thompson presented human beings as part subjects, part objects in history, voluntary agents of involuntary determinations. What seemed so transparently to have been resolved by Marx—either in the version of the "bottom line," that in the final instance it is the economy, stupid, or in the formula of "man making history but not under conditions chosen by himself"—were now seen to contain theoretical and methodological ambiguities.

Thompson's introduction of the concept of experience as the mediation through which "structure is transformed into process and the subject re-enters into history" implied a further "necessary middle term"—culture.[9] "For people do not experience their own experience as ideas, within thought and its procedures . . . They also experience their own experience as *feeling*, and they handle their own feelings within their culture, as norms, familial and kinship obligations and reciprocities, as values or (through more elaborated forms) within art or religious beliefs."[10] Thompson's beautifully crafted account of working-class experience in England up to 1832 presented class formation as the product both of the objective advent of the factory system *and* of the self-constitution of class by workers themselves. Agency took the form of a collective experience that was converted into broad social consciousness by workers themselves. In an often-quoted introductory paragraph, he tells us,

> Class happens when some men, as a result of common experiences (inherited or shared), feel and articulate the identity of their interests as between themselves, and as against other men whose interests are different from (and usually opposed to) theirs. The class experience is largely determined by the productive relations in which men are born—or enter involuntarily. Class consciousness is the way in which the experiences are handled in cultural terms: embodied in traditions, value-systems, ideas and institutional forms. If the experience

[8] Thompson, *Poverty of Theory*, 297–98.
[9] Thompson, *Poverty of Theory*, 362.
[10] Thompson, *Poverty of Theory*, 363.

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appears as determined, class consciousness does not . . . [C]lass is defined by men as they live their own history, and, in the end, this is its only definition.[11]

Here, Thompson held on to a notion of interest as latent, given by the structure of social relations, and to be realized fully through experience. Thompson, of course, never abandoned the materialism that had always been part of Marxism. In his later studies of the eighteenth century, he proposed that class in the sense he used it in earlier works is a nineteenth-century phenomenon and that the more universal category is class struggle. "People find themselves in a society structured in determined ways (crucially, but not exclusively, in productive relations), they experience exploitation (or the need to maintain power over whom they exploit), they identify points of antagonistic interest, they commence to struggle around these issues, and in the process of struggling they discover themselves as classes, they come to know this discovery as class consciousness."[12] Here very clearly, Thompson exposes his own objectivist side. Class exists immanently as a template into which experiences arrange people. Not so much a construction, as it will be later with poststructuralism, class (like nation for nationalists) is a discovery.

For Thompson, experience as well was sometimes something external to the subject, something that "walks in without knocking at the door and announces deaths, crises of subsistence, trench warfare, unemployment, inflation, genocide. People starve: their survivors think in new ways about the market. People are imprisoned: in prison they meditate in new ways about the law."[13] Historical events, actualities, teach lessons that are true about the real world. As Perry Anderson points out (critically), for Thompson, experience was many different things: the actual living through events by participants and the effects they have on people; "the mental and emotional response, of an individual or of a social group, to inter-related events or the many repetitions of the same kind of event"; and the process of learning from such events, "a subjective alteration capable of modifying ensuing objective actions."[14] Thompson conflated these different aspects (or kinds) of experience, maintaining what he calls a dialogue between social being and social consciousness. But he was particularly interested in how experience as lived life was processed, understood, and represented. Foreign to his thinking was any notion of an ahistorical, acultural idea of a rational interest somehow independent of affect, values, and cultural norms.

Although Thompson's turn toward culture and consciousness, in many ways like Geertz's emphasis on signification, would lead successive scholars to play down or ignore altogether the material, structural, "objective" side of social determination, both of these authors retained a focus on the material. In his essay "The Peculiarities of the English," a polemic against Perry Anderson and fellow Marxist Tom Nairn, Thompson argued that the growing moderation of English workers in mid-century was the product of their progressive imbrication into the fabric of English society. Their very successful entry and the improvement of their well-being

[11] Thompson, *Making of the English Working Class*, 9–10.

[12] E. P. Thompson, "Eighteenth-Century English Society: Class Struggle without Class?" *Social History* 3, no. 2 (May 1978): 147; *Making of the English Working Class*, 151.

[13] Thompson, *Poverty of Theory*, 201.

[14] Thompson, *Poverty of Theory*, 199; Anderson, *Arguments within English Marxism*, 26.

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made them less revolutionary. Here, structure, rather than agency, is paramount. Thompson wrote: "[L]et us look at history *as* history—men placed in actual contexts which they have not chosen, and confronted by indivertible forces, with an overwhelming immediacy of relations and duties and with only a scanty opportunity for inserting their own agency."[15] Thompson suggested that the relative determinative power of agency and structure shift though history, so one or the other may take on greater power at different conjunctures. In the period of *The Making of the English Working Class*, that is, up to 1832, workers faced an unconsolidated capitalism, an embryonic industrial society, with the ideological structures of liberalism and political economy not yet securely in place. Here, the political opening was available and certain lessons had not yet been learned, whereas later, workers had already undergone certain experiences, successes, and failures; structures had become consolidated; the ideological hegemony of the middle class was gaining strength; and the very successes of workers in ending the earlier social apartheid and integrating within the new social order entangled them in unanticipated ways and reduced their aspirations toward revolutionary destructuring.

Along with his elevation of consciousness and culture—what Marxists often dismissively referred to as "superstructure"—and his repositioning of agency, Thompson embraced Marxism, not as an all-encompassing explanatory theory but as a tradition of historical materialist, empirical inquiry. What was most exciting was the sense that the seemingly one-dimensional "natural" world of capitalist economics was itself a product of specific histories, and people who would become its victims stood up against it with values and passions that survived from an older form of social organization. Rejecting the reductionism of earlier Marxists, Thompson and other theorists, such as Raymond Williams, reminded us of the radical historicism in Marxism.

While some Marxist sociologists, such as Eric Olin Wright, took the objectivist road, and materialist understandings of interest found their way into political science through economics, many historians and historical sociologists took the implications of Thompson's work further to explore the origins and evolution of consciousness, culture, and historical contextualization. The important interventions by Gareth Stedman Jones, William H. Sewell, Jr., and Joan Wallach Scott, among others, in the late 1970s and early 1980s shifted the analytical focus from the material to the linguistic and marked a turning away from the sociology of earlier social history toward a greater association with anthropology.[16] Borrowing from the work of feminist historians, Scott faulted Thompson for taking experience for granted, as simply existing out there busily determining consciousness, and insisted that experience itself is being constituted, contested, and given meaning all the time. Interests themselves, like identities, must be understood to be discursively articulated and constituted. Experience should not be "seen as the objective

[15] E. P. Thompson, "The Peculiarities of the English" [first published in *The Socialist Register* (1965)], in *Poverty of Theory*, 69.

[16] William H. Sewell, Jr., *Work and Revolution in France: The Language of Labor from the Old Regime to 1848* (Cambridge, 1980); Gareth Stedman Jones, *Languages of Class: Studies in English Working-Class History, 1832–1982* (Cambridge, 1983); Geoff Eley, "Is All the World a Text? From Social History to the History of Society Two Decades Later," in Terrence J. McDonald, ed., *The Historic Turn in the Human Sciences* (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1996), 195–200.

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circumstances that condition identity; identity is not an objectively defined sense of self defined by needs and interests. Politics is not the collective coming to consciousness of similarly situated individual subjects. Rather politics is the process by which plays of power and knowledge constitute identity and experience."[17] Moving on from Thompson, historians became increasingly interested not in the "facts" of experience itself but in how "experience" was experienced by historical actors.

The very questions Marxism raised about consciousness and ideology, the inexplicable power of nationalism, and the particular kinds of oppression visited on women and experienced in the family led to new ways of answering that moved beyond anything conventionally included within Marxism. For some, the limits of Marxism encouraged expanding the boundaries of the tradition; for others, Marxism provoked rejection and defection. First, the influence of Foucault and the growing interest in language that flowed from Ferdinand de Saussure through structuralism into poststructuralism, the new emphasis on meaning and discourse, fundamentally changed the direction of much research by Marxist (now perhaps post-Marxist) historians and social scientists. The direction of the arrow of determination shifted from the material to the realm of discourse, culture, and language. Second, Marxism as a potent, totalizing grand narrative was undermined by the postmodernist suspicion of all such master narratives with their ideas of progress, their teleological certainty, and their resistance to anomalies and ambiguities.[18] Third, at a moment of confusion and doubt among Marxists, even before the disappearance of European state socialisms, scholars replaced the focus on class (at least for a time) with a concern for other social collectivities. The most important were nation and gender. Feminist historians and theorists rapidly moved from an inclusivist women's history driven by a commitment to recover and include women in the existing narratives, to questioning those narratives themselves, and ultimately to a deep interrogation of the category "woman." Once the earlier confidence of Marxist and social historians in the primacy of the social was shattered, culture and discourse appeared to offer possibly richer forms of explanation.

THE CULTURAL TURN is neither the same as the linguistic or historical turn nor coterminous with poststructuralism or postmodernism, but it has overlapped temporally and intellectually with a number of concerns shared by all of them. The attention to language and its deep structures preceded the renewed interest in history within American social science in the 1980s and 1990s, a profound reversal of the post-1945 rejection of history from political science and sociology particularly.[19] The cultural turn, it should be noted, was neither the same as "bringing culture back in" (though it certainly entailed that as well) nor the belief that

[17] Joan W. Scott, *Gender and the Politics of History* (New York, 1988), 5.

[18] A powerful critical intervention into the discussion of Marxist totality came from within the fold in the persons of Ernesto Laclau and Chantal Mouffe, *Hegemony and Socialist Strategy: Towards a Radical Democratic Politics*, Winston Moore and Paul Cammack, trans. (London, 1985).

[19] Terrence J. McDonald, "Introduction," in McDonald, *Historic Turn*, 2–5.

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"culture matters," a stance that would lead in a quite different direction (and a different implied politics) from the cultural turn.[20]

One might tell the story of the evolving, revolving "cultural turn" from a number of key texts—Hayden White's *Metahistory: The Historical Imagination in Nineteenth-Century Europe* (1973), Michel Foucault's *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison* (translated into English, 1977), or from the seminal works of Roland Barthes, Pierre Bourdieu, Jacques Derrida, Thomas Kuhn, Richard Rorty, Marshall Sahlins, or Raymond Williams.[21] But—again from both generational and personal experience—the most influential text was probably Clifford Geertz's *The Interpretation of Cultures: Selected Essays* (1973). Few come away from this book indifferent to its challenge or unaffected by its lapidary language. The program of Geertz (and others, like White) was to reject positivist approaches to understanding human experience and to insist on the centrality of meaning, the historically and culturally specific constructions of understanding and feeling. As Sherry Ortner puts it, "Geertz's battle against various forms of functionalist and mechanistic perspectives (regardless of their theorists of origin—Emile Durkheim, Karl Marx, Sigmund Freud, and so on) was important . . . because it challenges a view of society as a machine, or as an organism, a view in which complex human intentions and complex cultural formations are reduced to their effects on that social machine or social organism."[22] Or in Geertz's own description of his research program: "Believing, with Max Weber, that man is an animal suspended in webs of significance he himself has spun, I take culture to be those webs, and the analysis of it to be therefore not an experimental science in search of law but an interpretive one in search of meaning."[23] To be opposed were all forms of "objectivism" and "reductionism"—something against which Marxists and social historians were then struggling.

In his essay "The Concept(s) of Culture," which is all the more brilliant for its transparency, William H. Sewell, Jr., remembers facing the limits of social history and what has been called "the revelation of anthropology." "I experienced the encounter with cultural anthropology as a turn from a hardheaded, utilitarian, and empiricist materialism—which had both liberal and *marxisant* faces—to a wider appreciation of the range of human possibilities, both in the past and in the present. Convinced that there was more to life than the relentless pursuit of wealth, status, and power, I felt that cultural anthropology could show us how to get at that 'more.'"[24] Geertz provided a way to understand meaning as something not buried

[20] For examples of culture without the cultural turn, see Samuel P. Huntington, *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order* (New York, 1996); Lawrence E. Harrison and Samuel P. Huntington, eds., *Culture Matters: How Values Shape Human Progress* (New York, 2000).

[21] For an excellent account of the influence of the linguistic and cultural turns on history, see Peter Novick's concluding chapters in *That Noble Dream: The "Objectivity Question" and the American Historical Profession* (Cambridge, 1988).

[22] Sherry B. Ortner, "Thick Resistance: Death and the Cultural Construction of Agency in Himalayan Mountaineering," in Ortner, ed., *The Fate of Culture: Geertz and Beyond* (Berkeley, Calif., 1999), 137.

[23] Geertz, *Interpretation of Cultures*, 5.

[24] William H. Sewell, Jr., "The Concept(s) of Culture," in Bonnell and Hunt, *Beyond the Cultural Turn*, 35–36. The phrase "revelation of anthropology" comes from Gayle Rubin, "The Traffic in Women: Notes on the 'Political Economy' of Sex," in *Toward an Anthropology of Women*, Rayna R. Reiter, ed. (New York, 1975), 157, and is quoted by Sewell in "Geertz, Cultural Systems, and History: From Synchrony to Transformation," in Ortner, *Fate of Culture*, 37.

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deep in the mind but visible externally in public practices, rituals, and symbols. "Culture is public because meaning is."[25] A culture could be read like a text, and so could past societies. As he wrote in *Local Knowledge*, "The trick is not to get yourself into some inner correspondence of spirit with your informants. Preferring, like the rest of us, to call their souls their own, they are not going to be altogether keen about such an effort anyhow. The trick is to figure out what the devil they think they are up to . . . [The ethnographer does this by] searching out and analyzing the symbolic forms—words, images, institutions, behaviors—in terms of which, in each place, people actually represented themselves to themselves and to one another."[26]

At the same time that he provided a method and direction for new research—"sorting out the structures of signification"—Geertz challenged historians and social scientists to be wary of what passed as "data." "[W]hat we call our data are really our own constructions of other people's constructions of what they and their compatriots are up to."[27] And the work of social scientists, in his case anthropological writings, "are themselves interpretations, and second and third order ones to boot . . . They are, thus, fictions; fictions, in the sense that they are 'something made,' 'something fashioned'—the original meaning of *fictio*—not that they are false, unfactual, or merely 'as if' thought experiments."[28] Therefore, social science was to be more interpretative than simply observational, more like the work of literary critics than that of cipher clerks.

With the fallout from Geertz's theoretical essays and the almost simultaneous influence of literary and linguistic studies on history, the principal elements were in place for what would later be recognized as a "cultural turn" in history and social science. We should remember that the turn kept turning, but it might be instructive at this point to ask: What was specific about the cultural turn? What exactly have been its contributions? And what is to be gained precisely by going beyond it?

First and most fundamentally, the cultural turn opposes explanations that follow from social naturalism, or what George Steinmetz has called "foundationalist decontextualization."[29] Rather than making some ahistorical and essentialist assumptions about human nature—humans are instrumentally rational, aggressive, or territorial; women are nurturing; Armenians are good merchants—or positing primordial or transhistorical institutions—individuality, the market, the nation—as fundamental to human society, culturalism and historicism argue that there are no timeless, decontextualized, ahistorical "natural" characteristics or institutions. Things that appear to be most natural to human society—market economies, the state, the nation, society itself—are historical constructions made by human actors who in turn are reconstituted by the very products of their making. Culturalists, therefore, deeply suspect hard, fixed, essential social categories (class, nation,

[25] Clifford Geertz, "Thick Description: Toward an Interpretive Theory of Culture," in Geertz, *Interpretation of Cultures*, 12.

[26] Clifford Geertz, "'From the Native's Point of View': On the Nature of Anthropological Understanding," in Geertz, *Local Knowledge: Further Essays in Interpretative Anthropology* (New York, 1983), 58.

[27] Geertz, "Thick Description," 9.

[28] Geertz, "Thick Description," 15.

[29] George Steinmetz, *State/Culture: State-Formation after the Cultural Turn* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1999), 20–21.

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gender) and propose considering a more radical understanding of identities as fluid, multiple, fragmented, and constantly in need of hard work to sustain.[30]

Second, whereas the linguistic and historical turns share this general proposition, they place the weight of explanation on language and history, while the cultural turn emphasizes the constitutive power of culture broadly understood. Culture is seen as a "category of social life," different from though not unrelated to the economy, society, or politics. Culture is not simply derivative of other spheres, as more objectivist approaches might have it, nor is it reducible to material or other noncultural causes. The ordinary uses of the word "culture" are multiple and contested, but culturalists are intensely interested in the problem of meanings that are not limited to the strictly linguistic and the processes through which they are made. Most fruitfully, culture may be thought of as "a system of symbols possessing a real but thin coherence that is continually put at risk in practice and therefore subject to transformation."[31] Culturalism proposes the autonomy and power of culture, even while it is deeply committed to historicization. Understanding comes with cultural, spatial, and temporal contextualization. But—here following Thompson—history is never just lived, it is made. Similarly, many accept the constitution of social forms and knowledge by language but are reluctant to limit constitution to language alone. Although the world might be read like a text, it is not the same as a text.

Third, culture itself was, like all other categories and identities, to be "problematized" (a favorite activity of those invested in the turn). From a holistic or unified idea of culture as a self-sustaining system, in which all the parts work toward an integrated whole (something akin to the Marxist notion of totality), anthropologists would shift increasingly toward a notion of culture as a contested area in which meaning was changeable, conflicted, and inflected with politics. Culture as "a coherent system of symbols and meanings" gave way in the work of many scholars to a notion of culture as practice.[32] What looked far more coherent, constant, and integrated in the classical ethnographies of Bronisław Malinowski, Margaret Mead, Ruth Benedict, and even Clifford Geertz is now thought of as "worlds of meaning" that are normally "contradictory, loosely integrated, contested, mutable, and highly permeable."[33] Culture, like society, is a field of play with its borders far less clear than in earlier imaginations, its internal harmonies less apparent, in which actors and groups contend for position and power, sometimes in institutions, sometimes

[30] The literature on identities is now enormous. My own brief discussion can be found in "Provisional Stabilities: The Politics of Identities in Post-Soviet Eurasia," *International Security* 24, no. 3 (Winter 1999–2000): 139–78, particularly 144–46.

[31] Sewell, "Concept(s) of Culture," 52.

[32] Sewell, "Concept(s) of Culture," 44–47. Sewell argues that "the presumption that a concept of culture as a system of symbols and meanings is at odds with a concept of culture as practice is perverse. System and practice are complementary concepts: each presupposes the other" (p. 47). But he warns that "the network of semiotic relations that make up culture is not isomorphic with the network of economic, political, geographical, social, or demographic relations that make up what we usually call a 'society' " (p. 49).

[33] Sewell, "Concept(s) of Culture," 53. Besides the stress on coherence of culture, three other critiques of the original Geertzian program are worth noting: his relative lack of emphasis on power and dominance, his tendency to attach a particular culture to a particular group, and his commitment to the notion of the ethnographer's rapport with the "natives" and reluctance to move toward hyperreflexivity. These critiques are made respectively in the essays by Sherry B. Ortner, Lila Abu-Lughod, and George E. Marcus in Ortner, *Fate of Culture*.

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over control of meaning. In its full flower, the cultural turn holds that culture "is not an object to be described, neither is it a unified corpus of symbols and meanings that can be definitively interpreted. Culture is contested, temporal, and emergent."[34]

Anthropology in the postcolonial globalized world no longer enjoys the imagined luxury of studying isolated, uncontaminated "primitive" societies far from the invading influence of modernity.[35] A new generation of ethnographers has turned its attention back to the metropole and investigation of more complex societies in the first and second worlds. Likewise, other categories are no longer seen as fixed, given, and stable: Society, nation, gender, politics, the economy, and identities are reconceived as arenas of contestation, of difference rather than harmony.[36]

Fourth, the cultural turn shares with Foucault a suspicion of the stable, rational, sovereign subject. It emphasizes agency, but the nature of the agent is under reconsideration. As Terrence McDonald puts it, "Agency and the agent . . . have taken on critical importance at precisely the same time that the concept of the agent has been evacuated of much of its content. Rather than a colossus bestriding the pages of history, the agent must now emerge from those pages."[37] The historical agent can no longer simply be deduced "from a putative map of social structures and accompanying subject positions" but must be understood in the contexts of power and discourse, constituted structures as well as historic conjunctures and events.[38] The injunction against reductionisms of any kind has led some cultural interpretivists to suspect the kinds of explanations from "exogenous" factors, such as economics, ideologies, or even psychological drives or human nature. And the emphasis on the self-constituting agent, or the problem of subjectivity and the mutual constitution of actor and structure, leads cultural interpretivists to question the paradigms of positivism and hold back from seeking causal explanations. This reluctance puts them at odds with those social scientists, particularly in political science, whose fundamental reason to do science is the search for causality.[39] Even before the cultural turn, but more intensively after it, scholars have turned their attention to the constitution of social phenomena, particularly to those previously so emphatically naturalized: identity, interests, and power.

Fifth, the cultural turn has increasingly moved from the elaboration of systems of meaning, in the Geertzian sense, to an exploration of regimes of domination, of power, reflecting the influence of Foucault and feminism. The cultural turn embeds politics in everyday life, in the ways in which meaning is constructed and actors are either empowered or constrained. "Foucault's concept of the disciplinary society," Geoff Eley writes, "profoundly shifts our understanding of politics, carrying the

[34] James Clifford and George E. Marcus, eds., *Writing Culture: The Poetics and Politics of Ethnography* (Berkeley, Calif., 1986), 19.

[35] Eric R. Wolf, *Europe and the People without History* (Berkeley, Calif., 1982).

[36] On problematizing and pluralizing politics, see Jodi Dean, "Introduction: The Interface of Political Theory and Cultural Studies," in Dean, ed., *Cultural Studies and Political Theory* (Ithaca, N.Y., 2000), 3.

[37] McDonald, "Introduction," *Historic Turn*, 6.

[38] McDonald, "Introduction," 6.

[39] For a thorough discussion of the difference between the two types of social inquiry—causal processes, in which one independent agent, temporally preceding an effect, makes that effect occur; and constitutive processes, in which ideas or social structures "create phenomena . . . that are conceptually or logically dependent on those ideas or structures, that exist only 'in virtue of' them" (p. 88)—see Alexander Wendt, *Social Theory of International Politics* (Cambridge, 1999), esp. 47–138.

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analysis of power away from the core institutions of the state in the national-centralized sense toward the emergence of new individualizing strategies that function outside, below and alongside the State apparatuses, on a much more minute and everyday level."[40] This radically alternative conception of power—in Keith Michael Baker's succinct formulation—"included emphases on power as constituted by regimes of truth rather than by the exercise of political will, as polymorphous and pervasive rather than unitary, as productive rather than repressive, as internal rather than external to the subject, as subjectivizing rather than subjecting."[41] Identity, discourse, and affect are all brought into play in explaining political choice, not only in the micropolitics of everyday life but at the level of the state itself.

Sixth, the cultural turn exposed the art and artifice of historical metanarratives, with their usual starting point in the Enlightenment and their grand tours from tradition to modernity. The problem was not so much that the grand narratives were right or wrong but that they had been taken as true, as accurate reflections of an actual past, and as bases of analysis and further elaboration, rather than as highly selective and convenient frames for understanding. The cultural turn saw all social-scientific accounts as constructed narratives, selected from available evidence, akin to other fictions, and told by narrators situated in a specific time and place.[42]

Stories are necessary to make sense out of the raw material of lived experience. Gone is the omniscient, objective observer, and in his place is a weaver of a new historical or ethnographic web woven with the threads, and according to the conventions, of particular disciplines. The great stories of the past—the rise of the bourgeoisie or the working class, the struggle of nations toward consciousness and freedom, the progressive emancipation of humankind from ignorance and superstition—were now seen precisely to be stories more or less plausible and resonant insofar as they played by the rules of disciplinary games and appealed to disciplinary communities. As Margaret R. Somers puts it, "Within a knowledge culture, narratives . . . not only convey information but serve epistemological purposes. They do so by establishing veracity through the integrity of their storied form. This suggests that in the first instance the success or failure of truth claims embedded in narratives depends less on empirical verification and more on the logic and rhetorical persuasiveness of the narrative."[43]

Seventh, by foregrounding the involvement of the investigator in the investigation, the cultural turn accepts the inability to achieve either full objectivity or distance from the object of study for which the historians had longed or the imagined rapport so ardently sought by classical anthropology. The observer/analyst is situated in both time and place, is educated in a particular way, and comes with her own subjectivity. She is involved despite herself, or because of herself, and is

[40] Eley, "Is All the World a Text?" 217.

[41] Keith Michael Baker, "A Foucauldian French Revolution?" in Jan Goldstein, ed., *Foucault and the Writing of History* (Oxford, 1994), 194.

[42] Karen Halttunen, "Cultural History and the Challenge of Narrativity," in Bonnell and Hunt, *Beyond the Cultural Turn*, 166.

[43] Margaret R. Somers, "The Privatization of Citizenship: How to Unthink a Knowledge Culture," in Bonnell and Hunt, *Beyond the Cultural Turn*, 129.

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now free to reflect on her own position. Self-reflexivity parallels the whole constructivist thrust of the cultural turn, bringing the constitution of both structure and agent back to the observer/analyst. As the introduction to an influential collection explains, the ethnographers represented in the volume "see culture as composed of seriously contested codes and representations; they assume that the poetic and the political are inseparable, that science is in, not above, historical and linguistic processes . . . Their focus on text making and rhetoric serves to highlight the constructed, artificial nature of cultural accounts." The "historical predicament of ethnography" is precisely that "it is always caught up in the invention, not the representation, of cultures."[44] Any attempt to represent and explain culture must by necessity be historicist and self-reflexive.

The list of stances and preferences of those having turned can be further extended, as can the new fields of inquiry that cultural interpretivists have opened up. The new concern with the body and the self, and the whole question of the production of subjectivities, comes to mind. While some historians and sociologists have returned to the creation of new megahistorical narratives, only very partially informed by insights from cultural studies, others, particularly cultural historians, have explored microhistory, a style of work in which the full context of a historical moment can be grasped.[45] The image of historians in the mind of some social scientists has been of laborers toiling in the fields of data collection, whereas in fact the cultural turn has granted a general permission to historians to practice their own kind of intellectual imperialism, expanding the range of legitimate topics. If politics is profoundly culturally constructed, and culture is fraught with political meanings and practice, and both are produced in time, then historians can move easily past the disciplinary border guards at the softening edges of anthropology, sociology, economics, and political science.

Discourse and representations, of course, are central to the cultural turn, but in recent years some culturalists have pulled back from the desire to replace older materialist accounts with purely discursive ones. If there is a noticeable trend at the moment, represented unevenly in *Beyond the Cultural Turn*, it is not so much an abandonment of the ground gained by the turn toward discourse, language, and culture but a reassessment of the place of the material and the structural, or what is often referred to as "the social." An oversimplified materialist or structural determination is not to be replaced by an equally one-sided cultural or discursive determination.[46] The turn back to the material and social is evident in Sewell's recent writings, notably in an essay on Geertz where he retrieves the materiality of

[44] Clifford and Marcus, *Writing Culture*, 2.

[45] For new macrohistories, one might look at Michael Mann, *The Sources of Social Power*, 2 vols. (Cambridge, 1986–93); Hendrik Spruyt, *The Sovereign State and Its Competitors: An Analysis of Systems Change* (Princeton, N.J., 1994); and Eric Hobsbawm's series of histories: *The Age of Revolution, 1789–1848* (London, 1962); *The Age of Capital, 1848–1875* (New York, 1975); *The Age of Empire, 1875–1914* (New York, 1987); and *The Age of Extremes: A History of the World, 1914–1991* (New York, 1995). Among the most influential microhistories are Carlos Ginzburg, *The Cheese and the Worms: The Cosmos of a Sixteenth-Century Miller*, John and Anne Tedeschi, trans. (Baltimore, 1980); Natalie Zemon Davis, *The Return of Martin Guerre* (Cambridge, Mass., 1983); Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie, *Montaillou: The Promised Land of Error*, Barbara Bray, trans. (New York, 1978).

[46] Insistence on the materiality of symbols and "the cultural" was long ago recognized by the cultural Marxists, such as Raymond Williams and Stuart Hall, and can even be found in Gramsci and Althusser, in their discussions of ideology. Here is a telling example of how going beyond looks suspiciously like

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the anthropologist's location of symbolization in the evolution of the human mind. "If Geertz is right as I [Sewell] firmly believe he is, semiotic systems are not unworldly or ghostly or imaginary; they are as integral to the life of our species as respiration, digestion, or reproduction. Materialists, this suggests, should stop worrying and love the symbol."[47] "Beyond," here, is in part a return, a going back, but even going back or beyond involves the journeys that one has already made and the consequent learning that has taken place. As Dorothy says—and Salman Rushdie reminds us—"There's no place like home."[48]

WHERE DOES THAT LEAVE POLITICAL SCIENCE? As a discipline, political science has hardly been touched by the cultural turn. The few influenced by the hermeneutic direction implicit in the linguistic, historical, and cultural turns have found themselves at a "separate table" within comparative politics, one set far from those engaged in rational choice or game theoretic work, a bit closer to those interested in new institutionalist and historical approaches, and closest to political theorists and international relations scholars of a constructivist bent.[49] The resistance of those who see themselves to be both the core and the future of the discipline to the approaches and preferences of cultural interpretivists begins with a specific view of science and a commitment to a particular politics that has informed much of political science. From its inception, American political science has held "aspirations to be both truly scientific and a servant of democracy, aspirations abetted by deep faith that these two enterprises went hand in hand."[50] But this basically liberal agenda contains within it an irreconcilable tension between asserting the importance of political agency, so fundamental to democratic citizenship, and providing

a bringing back. I am grateful to Geoff Eley both for pointing to the relevant texts of the 1970s and his memory of the reception of Gramsci, Althusser, and Laclau and Mouffe in Britain.

[47] Sewell, "Geertz, Cultural Systems, and History," 45.

[48] Salman Rushdie, *The Wizard of Oz* (London, 1992), 57. Rushdie's concluding on Dorothy's journey is a nice metaphor for some of the points being made in this article: "So Oz finally *became* home; the imagined world became the actual world, as it does for us all, because the truth is that once we have left our childhood places and started to make up our lives, armed only with what we have and are, we understand that the real secret of the ruby slippers is not that 'there's no place like home,' but rather that there is no longer any such place *as* home: except, of course, for the home we make, or the homes that are made for us, in Oz: which is anywhere, and everywhere, except the place from which we began."

[49] The metaphor comes from Gabriel Almond, "Separate Tables: Schools and Sects in Political Science," *PS: Political Science and Politics* 21 (1988): 828–42. Almond distinguished four schools or separate tables of political science along two dimensions, one methodological, the other ideological, and a large, eclectic "cafeteria" of liberal moderates in the middle. The four tables were: a soft left of critical theorists, inspired by Frankfurt school Marxism and opposed to a positivist, value-free political science and committed to a unity of theory and praxis; a hard right largely associated with rational-choice work; a soft right around the anti-historicist political theory of Leo Strauss and his followers; and a hard left of quantitative dependency and world-system theorists and econometricians. His plea in this essay is for a return to objective social science, while recognizing the need for a multiplicity of methods. What is striking in reading his review is how rapidly in the last decade his tables have been abandoned and occupied by new schools of thought.

[50] Rogers M. Smith, "Science, Non-Science, and Politics," in McDonald, *Historic Turn in the Human Sciences*, 127.

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"full causal accounts of politics, usually on the model of natural sciences that deny any conscious agency to the phenomena they study."[51]

Historically, political science, a field bound more by the object of its study, that is, politics, than by any consensus on the method of study, has engaged with a subject that even the most naturalistic and materialist investigators would agree is, unlike the natural sciences, constituted by the activities and self-understandings of human actors, among them political scientists.[52] In its initial phase of professionalization between the two world wars, political science stressed objective study, free from ideological preferences and values, and elaborated a naturalistic view of political behavior as determined by specific environments rather than universal laws. Empirical particularistic studies and accurate description and measurement of observable phenomena were seen to be the basis for a truly objective science of politics. Leaders in the field, such as Charles E. Merriam of the University of Chicago, eschewed rationalistic explanations, *a priori* reasoning, theories dependent on innate drives or instincts, or elaborate system-building. The meaning of political behavior was to be discovered in how politics operated in practice.

Edward Purcell has eloquently told the story of how this objectivism and an appreciation of cultural differences led researchers increasingly toward a moral neutrality and relativism that contradicted their personal commitment to democracy.[53] Their empirical findings confirmed that elite groups were able to dominate the majority of the population in democratic polities, and studies of public opinion and voting behavior undermined claims that humans were informed judges of their own interests. Eventually, the shock of the Great Depression, the struggle against Nazism, and the Cold War confrontation with the Soviet Union stimulated a reevaluation of democratic theory and encouraged a more positive evaluation of the actual practices of American democracy.

In the years following World War II, the discipline grew enormously and found links to public influence and power. Challenged by McCarthyism, political scientists sought shelter behind their claims to objectivity and neutrality. Yet celebratory theories of pluralism and cultural consensus dominated the analyses of American politics. Elites still ran things, they argued, but no single elite group dominated in the free-for-all of contested politics; all groups could compete. Without examining the barriers of class, race, and gender that gave coherence to this congenial system, the critical edge of political studies diminished. Students of politics joined in the general anticommunist patriotism of the day, developing the theory of totalitarianism that neatly homogenized Stalinism and Hitlerism and contrasted the T-model with Western democracy. Across the social sciences, "Marx was replaced by Freud,

[51] Smith, "Science, Non-Science, and Politics," 127.

[52] John S. Dryzek and Stephen T. Leonard, "History and Discipline in Political Science," *American Political Science Review* 82, no. 4 (December 1988): 1250. "The very existence of these objects—say a bureaucracy, army, monetary system, political party, monarchy, capitalist economy, socialist state, or democracy—is contingent on the subscription by social agents to some particular beliefs or theories. There is no analog to this in the natural sciences, where the objects—however they may be conceptualized—are not constituted by theories. They exist quite independently of whatever the scientist may *say* about them." This statement appears to me to be too dichotomous in a post-Kuhnian epoch, not allowing any social constitution of natural science's objects.

[53] Edward A. Purcell, Jr., *The Crisis of Democratic Theory: Scientific Naturalism and the Problem of Value* (Lexington, Ky., 1973).

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the word 'capitalism' dropped out of social theory after the war, and class became stratification."[54] When Robert A. Dahl and Charles E. Lindblom requested clearance to teach a course on planning in the late 1940s, the Yale economics department asked that they label it "Critique of Planning" instead.[55] And the group of social scientists at the University of Chicago who chose the term "behavioral sciences" to describe their endeavor did so consciously in order to appear neutral and not confuse congressional funders who "might confound social science with socialism."[56]

Political science suffered from science envy, and the so-called Behavioral Revolution of the 1950s was an effort to emulate, once again, the certainty, even predictability, of the natural sciences. Rather than a radical new departure, the revolution was a re-emphasis on scientific methods and a turn away from historical, philosophical, or descriptive approaches. Once again, "is" instead of "ought" would be the principal concern of the investigator; the object of study would be observed and observable behavior; the method would be rigorous, empirical, and theoretically informed; and the aim was to generate significant generalizations and empirically testable theories.[57] Among the dominant approaches to the study of politics and society were sociological theory descended from Max Weber, Emile Durkheim, and Vilfredo Pareto; culture and personality theory indebted to anthropologists Mead and Benedict; and social psychological theory that led to numerous surveys and small-group experiments. Political scientists took beliefs, ideas, values, and feelings seriously, and by the early 1960s the investigation of political culture was considered by many to be fundamental to an understanding of comparative politics.[58]

Although some reviewers believe that mid-century "political science produced almost no general scientific propositions of a high degree of conclusiveness," the intense discussions within the discipline—between historical political theory and "the new science of politics," on questions of values and political culture, for example—prepared the ground for a critical reaction in the late 1960s. The mobilization of the disenfranchised undermined the positive consensus about American politics, questioned assumptions about liberalism and actually existing democracy, and inspired new interest in justice and egalitarianism. While Marxism and critical theory remained on the margins, younger scholars were fascinated by the social structural work of Barrington Moore, the critique of modernization theory presented by dependency theory, new comparative studies of capitalism and labor, and a left turn in political theory.[59]

[54] Thomas Bender, "Politics, Intellect, and the American University, 1945–1995," in Bender and Carl E. Schorske, eds., *American Academic Culture in Transformation: Fifty Years, Four Disciplines* (Princeton, N.J., 1997), 29.

[55] Charles E. Lindblom, "Political Science in the 1940s and 1950s," in Bender and Schorske, *American Academic Culture*, 264.

[56] John G. Gunnell, *The Descent of Political Theory: The Genealogy of an American Vocation* (Chicago, 1993), 218.

[57] This description is a paraphrase of David Truman's characterization of behavioralism, as reported in Gunnell, *Descent of Political Theory*, 222.

[58] Gabriel A. Almond, *A Discipline Divided: Schools and Sects in Political Science* (Newbury Park, Calif., 1990), 122–23.

[59] Among the key texts were Barrington Moore, Jr., *Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy: Lord and Peasant in the Making of the Modern World* (Boston, 1966); David Greenstone, *Labor in*

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Ironically, at the moment when Western Marxists were abandoning economic determinist models of explanation, and historians wrestled with anthropology and literary criticism, many political scientists found new value in a view of human and group choice borrowed from economics. Much of political science had emphasized the predatory activities of elites, the established structures and procedures of modern politics, the determining effects of political culture, or the complexity of political decision-making that makes the agency of citizens difficult if not impossible, whereas new departures toward rational-choice theory centered the individual and his or her choices.[60] Rational choice theory (closely related to social or public choice) and its associate game theory offered students of politics a theory that claimed to explain politics across time and space as the result of strategic, rational, goal-maximizing behavior within given structures and institutions.[61] This methodological individualism questions the sufficiency of structuralist explanations with their emphasis on constraints and focuses instead on the choice of strategies adopted by actors to achieve their goals.[62] The model does not account for the formation of goals (first-order preferences) but is interested in the institutions and structures that shape strategies (second-order preferences). The theory assumes only that people hold consistent preferences, that they can order their priorities, and that they choose the means most likely to bring about their desired ends.[63] When theorists in this tradition looked at parties, nations, or classes, they treated them as unitary actors capable of rationally calculating their preferences and strategies toward utility maximization like individuals. Although not all political

American Politics (New York, 1969); Theodore J. Lowi, *The End of Liberalism: Ideology, Policy, and the Crisis of Public Authority* (New York, 1969); Walter Dean Burnham, *Critical Elections and the Mainsprings of American Politics* (New York, 1970); Sheldon Wolin, *Politics and Vision: Continuity and Innovation in Western Political Thought* (Boston, 1960); and Andre Gunder Frank, *Capitalism and Underdevelopment in Latin America: Historical Studies of Chile and Brazil* (New York, 1969).

[60] For reviews of the evolution of professional political science, see Almond, "Separate Tables"; Bernard Crick, *The American Science of Politics* (Berkeley, Calif., 1959); Robert A. Dahl, "The Behavioral Approach in Political Science: Epitaph for a Monument to a Successful Protest," *American Political Science Review* 55, no. 4 (December 1961): 763–72; Dryzek and Leonard, "History and Discipline in Political Science," 1245–60; William Mitchell, "Virginia, Rochester, and Bloomington: Twenty-five Years of Public Choice and Political Science," *Public Choice* 56 (1988): 101–19; David Ricci, *The Tragedy of Political Science* (New Haven, Conn., 1984); Raymond Seidelman, *Disenchanted Realists: Political Science and the American Crisis, 1884–1984* (Albany, N.Y., 1985); and Smith, "Science, Non-Science, and Politics."

[61] A useful distinction is made by Jeffrey Friedman between public-choice theory, usually favored by economists, which argues that political actors, like economic actors, have a propensity to pursue their material interests; and rational-choice theory, which argues that "regardless of what sort of ends people pursue, they do so through strategic, instrumentally rational behavior." The two approaches are often conflated and confused, and this conflation may account for the notion that rational-choice arguments are inherently conservative. Jeffrey Friedman, "Introduction: Economic Approaches to Politics," in Friedman, ed., *The Rational Choice Controversy: Economic Models of Politics Reconsidered* (New Haven, Conn., 1995), 2. Game theory is the exploration of how actors make decisions if their actions and outcomes depend on the actions of others.

[62] "Political science finds itself sitting uneasily between economics where choice under constraint is paramount, and sociology and anthropology where constraint by limiting structures or culture is fundamental." Ira Katznelson and Helen V. Milner, "American Political Science: The Discipline's State and the State of the Discipline," in Katznelson and Milner, eds., *Political Science: The State of the Discipline* (New York, 2002), 16.

[63] Barbara Geddes, "Uses and Limitations of Rational Choice," in Peter H. Smith, ed., *Latin America in Comparative Perspective: New Approaches to Methods and Analysis* (Boulder, Colo., 1995), 83.

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science succumbed to rational-choice theory, methodological individualism proved to be a muscular challenger to both the political culture approach and the post-behavioralist "inclination to stress institutional phenomena."[64] And in many ways, rational choice appears to be at the opposite pole in the discipline from cultural interpretivist approaches.

The question for political science has not been *whether* to deal with culture. Political scientists had followed American anthropology into an appreciation of the diversity of cultural forms in the 1920s and had generally adopted its relativist and value-neutral approach, and from the 1950s they carried that interest further into political culture. The question was *how* to deal with culture. Some political scientists consider political systems to be products of and limited by their cultures, with an elective affinity of one to the other, and still others treat culture as an instrument available for elites to use politically. There is no consensus on whether culture is just a piece of information to be considered or an independent explanatory variable.

Rational choice has taken several different approaches to deal with the inconvenience of culture. At one end, transhistorical and deductive notions of human preferences ignore cultural specificities and determinations. Here, analysts assume that all people want either wealth, status, or power and that other motivations can be reduced to these fundamental preferences. Others within the tradition recognize the importance of culture. Shared symbols, they argue, create a field of communication and trust and solve coordination and collective action problems. Cultural systems are political resources that can be employed by political entrepreneurs to mobilize otherwise divided populations without paying the start-up costs of organization. Yet, critics point out, reducing culture or constructions of identity to instrumental decisions, calculated strategic choices, loses much of the texture, complexity, and richness of actual politics. Such simplifications have led to a stark polarization in the discipline. As Lisa Wedeen argues, "[I]nsofar as individualism presupposes agents who are forward-looking strategists forever calculating costs and benefits, there will be a serious ontological and epistemological divide between most rational choice and interpretivist theorists. Interpretivists, in my view, can rightly claim that individualist assumptions prevent rational choice scholars from asking important questions about politics, not the least of which is how we come to know that people maximize their interests, if they do."[65]

The reductionist psychology of rational-choice theory has been a source of debate and discussion within political science from its earliest appearance. The early neo-institutionalists were among their most effective critics, raising the point that although self-interest certainly permeates politics, actual human action "is often based more on discovering the normatively appropriate behavior than on calculating the return expected from alternative choices. As a result, political behavior, like other behavior, can be described in terms of duties, obligations, roles,

[64] Theodore J. Lowi, in *American Political Science Review* 82, no. 3 (September 1988): 885.

[65] Lisa Wedeen, "Conceptualizing Culture: Possibilities for Political Science," unpublished paper, January 2001.

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and rules."[66] Rational choice theorists have responded by introducing culture, values, and morals and then considering their instrumental employment. "To share a culture," David D. Laitin writes, "means to share a language or a religion or a historiography. Very rarely do these cultural systems coincide perfectly within a large society. People must often choose which among their religious group, language group, and so on will be their primary mode of cultural identification. This choice is often guided by instrumental reasoning, based on the potential resources available for identifying yourself . . . Once a cultural group organizes politically, the common symbolic system makes for efficient collective action."[67]

For Laitin, culture is "Janus-faced," that is, "people are both guided by the symbols of their culture and instrumental in using culture to gain wealth and power." But this claim leads us to ask: How do we know when actions will be guided by values within the terms of a culture or instrumental in terms that transcend time, place, and culture, such as wealth and power? It appears that rational choicers would like to have it both ways: people may be guided by preferences that are historical and cultural, but their ultimate ends and the real nature of human actions—goal maximization—are transhistorical, ultimately the same in all contexts. And one cannot help but notice that the most prevalent preferences posited by rational choice are ones that have come to dominate modern capitalist Western societies. Certainly wealth, material well-being, or power is a powerful motivation for many, but interpretivists propose that such motivations are always culture-bound and historically derived. Status, security, respect, and love also function frequently, but the most interesting questions to ask are precisely about what meanings are attached to such concepts and under what conditions they drive people to act. For historians deeply located in different times and cultures, what may seem the most strategic choice is precisely the one that is most inflected (infected?) by culture or values in a historic setting.

The difficulty, of course, is finding out what preferences are, how they are formed, and how actors calculate what is rational. Laitin attempts to solve this problem outside the theory by turning to Geertzian ethnography: "Only with a keen understanding of the meanings embedded in shared symbols—the first face of culture—can one adduce cultural preferences without tautologically claiming that preferences can be derived from the behavior of actors who are assumed to be rational."[68] It is here that cultural interpretivists might make the greatest contribution. People act on the basis of preferences and toward desired goals, but the preferences, goals, and strategies are provided and given meaning within a cultural system. Culturalists contend that a large part of politics is the struggle over meaning and the right to be authorized to speak. For culturalists, language not only expresses but also constitutes the political world. Derived from neither social position nor ideology, language itself helps to shape perception of position, interests, ideologies,

[66] James March and Johan Olsen, "The New Institutionalism: Organizational Factors in Political Life," *American Political Science Review* 78, no. 3 (September 1984): 744.

[67] David D. Laitin, "Political Culture and Political Preferences," *American Political Science Review* 82, no. 2 (June 1988): 591.

[68] David D. Laitin, *Hegemony and Culture: Politics and Religious Change among the Yoruba* (Chicago, 1986), 16.

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and the meanings attached to the social and political world.[69] Interests and identities, even what might constitute strategic choices, are themselves part of a political process of constructing meanings. The process of constructing meaning, agents, and even the very notion of rationality, something central to cultural interpretivist explorations, is largely left out in normal rational-choice work.

Cultural interpretivists can certainly admit that in certain circumstances people operate strategically to maximize their interests, as they conceive them, and even that material or power incentives influence human action in many contexts. But that is only part of the story. Interpretivists are suspicious of any strict separation of culture and politics, identities and interests. In an exemplary essay on early modern familial states, Julia Adams generously accepts the contributions of rational-choice analysts, who have demonstrated the transhistorical structural factors compelling rulers to pursue economic resources, but goes on to show how a culturalist approach opens the issues of who the rulers were, what their values consisted of, and how the identities, values, and emotional commitments of rulers shaped their preferences and actions. Her argument "insists on the socially malleable boundaries of self, originally formed in the family, the cultural component of identity, and the historically specific role of affect for early modern elite political actors."[70] Among her patrimonial rulers, familial concerns, their identities and discourses, structured choices. Identities and emotional attachments take on causal weight, as Adams argues that they led to resistance to change, even when change might have been economically advantageous.

Adams employs the useful distinction between "thin" and "thick" versions of rational-choice theory: thin versions "are agnostic about actors' goals and values, whereas 'thicker' versions try to specify actors' desired ends, at least as exogenously given constraints." In either case, however, the ultimate ends or goals are "exogenously determined, and random with respect to the general theory, at the same time that they are held to be contingent on a universal means to an end [in this case]—revenue—that must itself be a goal if any higher-order ends are to be realized."[71] Although rational choice is agent-centered, actors, for all their importance, are conceived in fundamental ways as being independent of their historical and cultural context.

Rational choice has made significant contributions within political science (not to mention within economics), but in a whole range of political behavior, such as ethnic politics and nationalist movements, its value is limited. If we think about ethnic violence, a theory of instrumental rationality works best under two conditions. When there is total breakdown of the state, a "security dilemma" is created in which groups defined as ethnic or national may perceive a threat from neighbors and take preemptive action. In a second case, there may be a "bandwagon" story in which individuals will join a nationalist movement or follow a leader when they perceive the real possibility of victory. But instrumental rationality fails to explain

[69] For an example of this process of linguistic and symbolic constitution of modern political rhetoric and understandings, see Lynn Hunt, *Politics, Culture, and Class in the French Revolution* (Berkeley, Calif., 1984).

[70] Julia Adams, "Culture in Rational-Choice Theories of State-Formation," in Steinmetz, *State/Culture*, 114.

[71] "Culture in Rational-Choice Theories," 100.

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why such movements get started in the first place or why people are ready to die or kill for such symbolic goods as the site of a defeat five hundred or a thousand years ago. Rationality makes sense as a means to reach a goal, but both means and goals are very often constituted by religious, historical, or cultural values that have little to do with material or status improvement. Cost-benefit analyses do not help much with the kinds of ends set by cultures, which can require self-sacrifice, pain, and even death.[72] Both preference formation and strategic choices, then, must be considered within cultures and historic time. Rational choicers are ready to concede that culture and history, reason and emotion, help determine first-order preferences. I am suggesting that they also determine second-order preferences—institutions and structures—and the very strategies that actors adopt.

The added value offered by the cultural turn is exceptionally apparent in the study of nations and nationalism. Senses of mortality and desire for immortality, of the ethnic group or nation as kinship or the family writ large, of the conviction unquestioned that this group above all others is a part of nature rather than of choice, are fundamental to the bonds of solidarity that people forge in ethnic and national communities. These affective ties—the promise of redemption from oblivion, this remedy for anonymity and meaningless mortality—must be taken seriously if we are to understand why in the very process of constructing and imagining certain communities the effort of construction is so emphatically denied.[73] A critical question is why constructed identities and fabricated histories are held sacred as sources of primordial allegiances.[74]

Finally, the cultural turn strongly warns against seeing cultural units, nations, or classes, as unitary and internally homogeneous. Treating them as unitary actors with coherent identities and interests leads to essentialist conclusions about group behavior. Here, there may be an unrecognized affinity between rational individualism and cultural constructivism: many practitioners of both these approaches are suspicious of relying on the idea of the group and seek to disaggregate the seeming solidarity of the collective.[75] And all across political science, sociology, history, and anthropology, scholars recognize that it is through culture that we apprehend the world and construct the imaginative concepts with which to understand our place within it. Culture both limits and empowers; it gives agency and constrains it. Culture defines goals, guides us toward achieving them, and misguides us often as to what might be in our "interest."

[72] Ashutosh Varshney, "Cultures and Modes of Rationality," *APSA-CP Newsletter* 8, no. 2 (Summer 1997): 18–21, available on the World Wide Web at www.shelley.polisci.ucla.edu/apsacp.

[73] Yael Tamir, "The Enigma of Nationalism," *World Politics* 47 (April 1995): 418–40; Margaret Canovan, *Nationhood and Political Theory* (Cheltenham, 1996), 68–69.

[74] For a preliminary investigation of this question, see Ronald Grigor Suny, "Constructing Primordialism: Old Histories for New Nations," *Journal of Modern History* 73, no. 4 (December 2001): 862–96.

[75] In recent years, a number of rational-choice practitioners have made conciliatory moves toward integrating formal, rationalist methodologies and traditional or cultural interpretivist approaches. See, for example, Barry R. Weingast, "Formal Theory in Comparative Politics," *APSA-CP Newsletter* 8, no. 1 (Winter 1997): 6–7; Robert H. Bates and Rui J. P. De Figueiredo, Jr., "The Politics of Interpretation: Rationality, Culture, and Transition," *Politics and Society* 26, no. 4 (December 1998): 603–42; and David D. Laitin, *Identity in Formation: The Russian-Speaking Populations in the Near Abroad* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1998).

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MANY OF THE INSIGHTS AND STANCES of the cultural turn—the inherently unstable nature of categories, the problem of reflexivity, the preference for deep texture and thick description over parsimony, and the Foucauldian extension of power out from the state into the realm of disciplinary discourses and onto the body itself—provide fascinating openings for research by social scientists interested in politics. The very sphere of politics has been widened. (Just think of the job opportunities this offers!) Not only does Foucault's micropolitics become a locus for investigation, not only is the personal political and the body a site for politics, but fundamental assumptions about interests, the state, and the power and limits of political language now have to be interrogated.

Rather than flee from Foucault's imprecisions and obscurities, political scientists should borrow what they can from his difficult but fecund mind. The concept of discourse as a field of knowledge with its own practices and rules contributes a powerful new frame for thinking about politics, but at the same time discursive analysis would benefit from more precise critical examination and empirical grounding. There is much here for political science to do—in understanding the state, the less institutionalized forms of politics, and the languages and representations of power.[76] The insights from the cultural turn give us some purchase on the web of disciplinary and power relations that make up a political regime, the web in which subjects and citizens are caught, of which they may or may not be aware, and which they may or may not be able to resist. At the same time, the state can be brought back in along with culture. In an exciting departure, the authors of the essays in *State/Culture: State Formation after the Cultural Turn*, edited by sociologist George Steinmetz, seek to reverse the idea of culture as a product of the state and elaborate culture's constitutive role in state formation—not only in the Weberian application exclusively to non-Western states but also in the core countries of northwestern Europe.[77] Without deciding beforehand the power of discursive or cultural "constraints" on actors' abilities, or accepting what interests or identities are out there, political scientists might expand the range of possible preferences and motivations, rationally calculated and emotional, that people may have and explore how particular subjectivities are constituted.

The cultural turn, however, comes with its own politics and political costs. The radical doubting of cultures (and national cultures as the moment of congruence of culture and politics) challenges the dominant discourses of politics in the modern world. If cultures can no longer be assumed to be coherent, bounded entities in the real world, then their claims to self-determination, autonomy, and possibly statehood cannot be said to derive unproblematically from the need to represent a particular culture politically. The claims of nationalists that national cultures run back in time to a primordial originating moment and that culture was, is, or should be isomorphic with a territory (the "homeland") are now subject to critical, subversive historical analysis. Moreover, the very idea of the constructedness of nations, like that of cultures in general, and the central importance of belief,

[76] For examples of political scientists who both borrow from Foucault and other poststructuralists and expand the legitimate space of political science, see Lisa Wedeen, *Ambiguities of Domination: Politics, Rhetoric, and Symbols in Contemporary Syria* (Chicago, 1999); and Anne Norton, *Republic of Signs: Liberal Theory and American Popular Culture* (Chicago, 1993).

[77] See, particularly, Steinmetz's introduction, *Culture/State*, 1–49.

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representation, and imagination in making cultures and nations both challenge the more positivist theories of ethnic conflict and open the possibility for new constructions of national identity that could lead less predictably to conflict or cooperation. Here is an opportunity for a reconceptualization of a problem in political science. Indeed, the historicization and cultural formation of nations and nationalism were most significantly taken up by a political scientist, Benedict Anderson, but one who, for all of his influence in broader social science, history, and literary studies, remains marginal to the mainstream of political science.[78]

The deconstructive thrust of the cultural turn, however, need not lead us into a completely indeterminate world without any coherences or temporal solidarities whatsoever. Even as cultural interpretivists disaggregate the assumed wholeness of societies, cultures, and nations, there is an awareness that a certain "thin coherence" (the term is William Sewell's) remains.[79] Sherry Ortner suggests where anthropology may be on this point at the present:

> [P]eople are spinning what Geertz called "webs of meaning" all the time, with whatever cultural resources happen to be at hand. Thus, even if culture(s) were never as whole and consistent and static as anthropologists portrayed them in the past, and even if, as many thinkers now claim, there are fewer and fewer in the way of distinct and recognizable "cultures" in the contemporary world (though I am less sure about that), the fundamental assumption that people are always trying to make sense of their lives, always weaving fabrics of meaning, however fragile and fragmentary, still holds.[80]

Thin coherence and weaving fabrics of meaning also imply a (not-so-new) political program of deconstruction that holds that the social reality of any society is only one possibility among many. History and anthropology have often promised us an open world, a world (in Sewell's words) "contingent rather than necessary" in which "there exist forms of life radically different from ours that are nonetheless fully human . . . In the pasts they study, historians find worlds, structured differently from ours, worlds where people's motives, senses of honor, daily tasks, and political calculations are based on unfamiliar assumptions about human society and the cosmic order . . . History, like anthropology, specializes in the discovery and display of human variety, but in time rather than space."[81]

The most potent moment for this act of discovery is probably in the study of origins, the very moment in more essentialist theories used to naturalize present phenomena. Pierre Bourdieu suggests that "[t]here is no more potent tool for rupture than the reconstruction of genesis: by bringing back into view the conflicts and confrontations of the early beginnings and therefore all the discarded possibles, it retrieves the possibility that things could have been (and still could be) otherwise. And, through such a practical utopia, it questions the 'possible' which, among all

[78] Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London, 1983, 1991).

[79] Sewell argues that a culture must have some semiotic coherence, but it is a "thin coherence" that allows for linguistic and symbolic instabilities within a culture and, therefore, cultural change. Within a culture (and often to outside observers), what look like indisputable truths and stable practices are likely to be unstable and dubious over time. Sewell, "Concept(s) of Culture," 49–50.

[80] Ortner, "Introduction," in Ortner, *Fate of Culture*, 9–10.

[81] Sewell, "Geertz, Cultural Systems, and History," 37–38.

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others, was actualized."[82] This, of course, was precisely what the projects of Thompson and Geertz were all about—recovery of alternative worlds that held up visions not of why we had arrived at where we were but of where we might have gone.

In a way, we have come back from beyond. For the same idea of possible futures other than the present was what compelled people to turn to Marxism. At the moment, although a deep pessimism remains about the possibility of socialism in the wake of the collapse of Soviet-style systems and the global hegemony of market capitalism, there has been a revival of the kind of radical historicism that marked the best of the Marxist tradition—the view that all social formations (capitalism included) have their own history and evolution, their birth, maturity, and death, and their replacement by other forms. This revival has taken place not on materialist grounds but in the array of approaches loosely labeled poststructuralist and postmodern. In his conclusion to *Beyond the Cultural Turn*, one of the most influential voices in that turn, Hayden White, proposes, "[A] modernist social science must be directed to the study of those aspects of social reality that attest to human beings' capacities to make and remake that reality, not merely adjust to it. And it seems to me that the significance of the cultural turn in history and the social sciences inheres in its suggestion that in 'culture' we can apprehend a niche within social reality from which any given society can be deconstructed and shown to be less an inevitability than only one possibility among a host of others."[83]

This new historicization of capitalism and the dominant social forms, the attempt to be self-reflexive about the very order in which you live and work, is reminiscent of earlier Marxist attempts to become self-conscious about the bourgeois world. The relativization and historicization of capitalism allow for the retention of hope for development beyond. But any optimism must be tempered by the postmodernist sensitivity to the arbitrariness of any progressive master narratives that give easy confidence in a democratic, egalitarian, socially just future.

[82] Pierre Bourdieu, "Rethinking the State: Genesis and Structure of the Bureaucratic Field," in Steinmetz, *Culture/State*, 57.

[83] Hayden White, "Afterword," in Bonnell and Hunt, *Beyond the Cultural Turn*, 316.

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Review Essays
A Response to *Beyond the Cultural Turn*

PATRICK BRANTLINGER

THE "NEW CULTURAL HISTORY" shares more with two other movements—cultural studies and the new historicism—than some of its practitioners perhaps wish to recognize. Among other items, all three share the difficulties of the culture concept, and all of the contributors to *Beyond the Cultural Turn* acknowledge these difficulties. Asked by the editors of the *New Left Review* why he adopted "the term culture, in full consciousness of its accumulated semantic range, to denote a whole way of life—in preference to the term society," Raymond Williams replied that, "for all its difficulties," he felt "culture more conveniently indicates a total human order than society as it had come to be used." But, he added, "you know the number of times I've wished that I had never heard of the damned word. I have become more aware of its difficulties, not less, as I have gone on."[1] Williams stressed those difficulties in all of his major works, starting with *Culture and Society*.[2] This cultural historian of the concept of culture in British discourse also stressed that culture and other "keywords"—society, history, ideology, art, class, democracy—are sites of ideological struggle. He agreed with V. N. Vološinov that "each word" in any language "is a little arena for the clash and criss-crossing of differently oriented social accents."[3]

In her contribution to *Beyond*, Sonya Rose says much the same about "symbols": "Distinctions and boundaries . . . are actively created as people manipulate symbols. Moreover, [symbols] create order not simply because they provide a cognitive map that everyone in a society just follows, but because they are the outcome of struggles over the power to define—of contests, in other words, over symbolic power."[4] Williams is cited only a few times in *Beyond*, but cultural studies—a movement that Williams did as much as anyone to found—gets somewhat more frequent play and, indeed, its fullest consideration in Rose's essay. "The cultural turn," note the editors of *Beyond*, "and the accompanying collapse of explanatory paradigms, has produced a variety of corollaries. One is the rise of 'cultural studies.'" They add

[1] Raymond Williams, *Politics and Letters: Interviews with New Left Review* (London, 1979), 154.

[2] Raymond Williams, *Culture and Society, 1780–1950* (New York, 1958); compare *Beyond the Cultural Turn: New Directions in the Study of Society and Culture*, Victoria E. Bonnell and Lynn Hunt, eds. (Berkeley, Calif., 1999), 39.

[3] V. N. Vološinov, *Marxism and the Philosophy of Language*, Ladislav Matejka and I. R. Titunik, trans. (Cambridge, Mass., 1986), 41.

[4] Sonya O. Rose, "Cultural Analysis and Moral Discourses: Episodes, Continuities, and Transformations," in Bonnell and Hunt, *Beyond the Cultural Turn*, 221.

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that, for cultural studies, "causal explanation takes a back seat, if it has a seat at all, to the demystification and deconstruction of power." But is "power" ever not causal, or a general name for historical effectiveness? Victoria Bonnell and Lynn Hunt also claim that "many critics have pointed to the vagueness of culture, especially within cultural studies."[5] But why "especially" in cultural studies?

It is difficult to know what to make of the editors' comments about cultural studies.[6] One reason that they perhaps wish to distance themselves from that movement may be a growing "division between history and cultural studies," such that, as Michael Pickering puts it, there is "now a sort of stand-off between social history and cultural studies." During the 1960s and 1970s, cultural studies had a "historical dimension" that drew on the British Marxist historians for theories and models.[7] The importance of E. P. Thompson's *The Making of the English Working Class* to the early formation of cultural studies was perhaps second only to that of Williams's *Culture and Society*. The British history journals *Past and Present* and *History Workshop* have also been major venues for cultural studies, including "people's history." But more recent cultural studies work has abandoned this "historical dimension." Although there are exceptions, writes Pickering, "the 'historical myopia' castigated in [Stuart Hall and Tony Jefferson's] *Resistance through Rituals* has become endemic in forms of cultural studies that have developed in the 1980s and 1990s, particularly as epistemological issues have overridden those concerned with the experience of diverse social groups and different historical periods."[8] So perhaps it is understandable that, apart from Rose, the other *Beyond* historians pay little attention to cultural studies.

I wonder, however, if the new cultural history has a roomier explanatory "back seat" than cultural studies, or if it is any better at avoiding "the vagueness of culture"? For her part, Rose draws on cultural studies work on "moral panics" over patterns of youth rebellion—for instance, *Resistance through Rituals* (1976)—to help her understand "why . . . women's open expressions of sexuality [are] recurrently linked in public discourse with images of societal moral decay and family breakdown." Noting the limitations of structuralist approaches, Rose finds in the work of Stuart Hall and the Birmingham Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies several preferable theoretical tools. Four main influences on cultural studies—Antonio Gramsci, Mikhail Bakhtin, Michel Foucault, and Pierre Bourdieu—all provide ways "to understand continuities and transformations in moral discourse that make possible a more historical view of how culture works than do . . . structuralist models."[9]

At least Rose seems more willing than the editors of *Beyond* to view cultural studies as a main source of methods and theories for cultural history. Further, if "causal explanation" in cultural studies "takes a back seat . . . to the demystification

[5] Victoria E. Bonnell and Lynn Hunt, introduction, *Beyond the Cultural Turn*, 11–12.

[6] So, too, William H. Sewell, Jr., reduces cultural studies to its least interesting instances. Its "particular mission," he writes, is "the appreciation of cultural forms disdained by the spokesmen of high culture." Sewell, "The Concept(s) of Culture," in Bonnell and Hunt, *Beyond the Cultural Turn*, 42.

[7] Michael Pickering, *History, Experience and Cultural Studies* (London, 1997), 1; Patrick Brantlinger, *Crusoe's Footprints: Cultural Studies in Britain and America* (New York, 1990), 34–67.

[8] Pickering, *History, Experience and Cultural Studies*, 3.

[9] Rose, "Cultural Analysis and Moral Discourses," 227, 228.

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and deconstruction of power," that is also the case in cultural history, which upon any definition deals with "contests . . . over symbolic power." This is not to say that Bonnell and Hunt do not agree with that proposition. But, rather than to cultural studies, they turn to anthropology (and to some extent, sociology) for support. This preference perhaps expresses the sort of "science envy" that Ronald Grigor Suny notes in his discipline, political science.[10] The wish for scientific legitimacy (or certainty) perhaps affects all historical and social science disciplines, including cultural studies but also anthropology. In part, the cultural turn in any discipline entails a weakening or renunciation of that wish.

As Suny suggests, among the British Marxists such as E. P. Thompson and Raymond Williams, who helped establish cultural studies as in some sense a counter-discipline, the turn to culture was simultaneously a return to "the radical historicism in Marxism."[11] They rejected the theoretical reductionisms they saw both in mechanistic applications of the base-superstructure paradigm and in Althusserian structuralist Marxism in favor of a renewed sense of the complexities and contingencies of historical processes and of the indeterminate significance of human agency (summed up in the concept of "experience"). And through the 1960s and 1970s, the Gramscian notion of "hegemony" served to denote the attempt, at least, in much cultural studies work, to avoid reductionist (albeit supposedly scientific) patterns of analysis.

The question of legitimating cultural studies reached a *reductio ad absurdum* with "the Sokal hoax," which Margaret C. Jacob cites in her contribution to *Beyond*. Jacob notes that physicist Alan Sokal intended his 1996 article in *Social Text* to be "a spoof on the fields of science studies and cultural studies where they are indebted to deconstruction and French theory." The *Social Text* "fracas" dramatized the fact that every step in the development of science studies has "resembled trench warfare."[12] Both older and much more varied in its approaches and topics than science studies, cultural studies perhaps escaped some of the bad publicity generated by the Sokal hoax.[13]

But can appeals to anthropology help legitimate either cultural studies or the new cultural history? For one thing, as Richard Handler points out, the sorts of distinctions the editors of *Beyond* wish to maintain between society and culture and practice and representation are not supported by "Boasian" anthropology.[14] For another, while nineteenth-century anthropology made culture one of its two central focuses, the other was the physical differences between the races of mankind. Until World War I, many anthropologists believed that race was a causal factor that helped to explain cultural differences. With the rejection of evolutionary and racial

[10] Ronald Grigor Suny, "Back and Beyond: Reversing the Cultural Turn?" *AHR* 107 (December 2002): 1491.

[11] Suny, "Back and Beyond," 1481.

[12] Margaret C. Jacob, "Science Studies after Social Construction: The Turn toward the Comparative and the Global," in Bonnell and Hunt, *Beyond the Cultural Turn*, 98–99.

[13] Although science studies is sometimes treated as a specialization or subfield within cultural studies (which is apparently how Sokal viewed it), it has its own protocols, practitioners, and venues. One item it shares with both cultural studies and the new cultural history is the assumption that cultural and social factors "construct" all discourses, including scientific ones. In other words, neither scientific methods nor results transcend cultural contexts and the shaping power of history.

[14] Richard Handler, "Cultural Theory in History Today," *AHR* 107 (December 2002): 1513.

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assumptions, modern anthropology grew increasingly relativist even as it turned structuralist. That relativism has reached a climax (abyss?) with the impact of poststructuralism, which has landed anthropology in the same epistemological difficulties as science studies, cultural studies, and the new cultural history.

For historiography, those difficulties can paradoxically be understood as its undermining (or culturalization) by anthropology. Instead of the latter providing scientific legitimacy to the former, something like the reverse is at work in Marshall Sahlins's claim that historians, in contrast to anthropologists, "devalue the unique event in favor of underlying recurrent structures." Sahlins proceeds: "paradoxically, anthropologists are as often diachronic in outlook as historians nowadays are synchronic. Nor is the issue . . . merely about the value of collaboration. The problem now is to explode the concept of history by the anthropological experience of culture."[15] Sahlins has in mind Eurocentric historiographic assumptions that posit universal structures "underlying" all cultures and societies. In contrast, at least in its poststructuralist mode, anthropology reveals "diverse," perhaps incommensurate structures. But such universalizing assumptions the *Beyond* historians also reject.

In cultural studies, and first in the work of both Williams and Thompson, the focus on culture as "experience," "community," and "class consciousness" resulted partially from recognizing the inadequacy of the base-superstructure model or economic determinism. By now, there have been so many arguments that superstructural factors influence substructures—or, in other words, that the more or less separate spheres of economics, politics, social structure, and culture interact in complex, overdetermined ways—that the result is perforce a turn or return to culture.[16] Rather than a discrete category, level, or sphere, "culture" comes to mean the resultant stew when the various categories are viewed as interacting in complex, reciprocal ways. Not "culture is ordinary," as Williams insisted in a 1958 lecture, and as the cultural studies focus on "everyday life" has continued to insist; instead, culture is everything: there is nothing that is *not* culture—a totalizing definition that (like other totalizing definitions of society, ideology, or history) excludes nothing and, hence, explains nothing.[17]

So what can the reasonable cultural historian do but enjoy the stew and—Clifford Geertz to the rescue!—add to it by providing a "thick description" of it? As Richard Biernacki suggests, Geertz is helpful but not because "thick description" lends theoretical support to the historian.[18] Although that phrase sounds theoretical, what it offers is a pragmatic excuse for the anthropologist or the historian to go on doing what she is good at doing: thickly describing foreign or past cultures. After its reduction of various alternative theories to the almost nontheoretical stew of Gramscian hegemony, cultural studies also proceeds with thick description. The

[15] Marshall Sahlins, *Islands of History* (Chicago, 1987), 72.

[16] Bonnell and Hunt, *Beyond the Cultural Turn*, 26; Raymond Williams, "Base and Superstructure in Marxist Cultural Theory," in *Problems in Materialism and Culture* (London, 1980), 31–49.

[17] Raymond Williams, "Culture Is Ordinary," in Williams, *Resources of Hope: Culture, Democracy, Socialism* (London, 1989), 3–18.

[18] Richard Biernacki, "Method and Metaphor after the New Cultural History," in Bonnell and Hunt, *Beyond the Cultural Turn*, 63–64.

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issue becomes the search for "resistance" within the stew: in any given cultural formation, whatever is not hegemonic must be resistant, and vice-versa.[19]

For the *Beyond* historians, Geertz is a favorite.[20] But I doubt that he adds scientific legitimacy to the new cultural history, especially in light of Lynn Hunt's observation in her 1989 anthology that "Geertz's own increasingly literary understanding of meaning (the construing of cultural meaning as a text to be read) has fundamentally reshaped current directions in anthropological self-reflection."[21] The new "literary understanding" among anthropologists reaches one extreme in Stephen Tyler's "post-modern ethnography." Tyler rejects the pursuit of "universal knowledge" and "representation" in favor of a deconstructive "cultural poetics" that aligns him with the new historicism rather than with anything that could still be understood as scientific.[22] If the new cultural history recognizes the importance of both culture and anthropology, the new anthropology recognizes the force of the literary, or at any rate of poststructuralist literary theory. True, the *Beyond* historians also recognize what William H. Sewell, Jr., refers to as "the pervasive transdisciplinary influence of the French poststructuralist trinity of Lacan, Derrida, and Foucault."[23] But because it deconstructs scientific objectivity and universality in both the social sciences and historiography, poststructuralism, even as it provides theoretical insight, undermines aspirations for scientific legitimacy.

Though itself as much a response to as the cause of the postmodern epistemological crisis that Jean-François Lyotard calls "incredulity toward metanarratives," poststructuralism has been crucial to debates within cultural studies that have helped make that movement a major arena for the productive "clash and criss-crossing" of theories of diverse sorts—Marxist, structuralist, psychoanalytic, feminist, postcolonialist, as well as poststructuralist.[24] Nor is it the case that either inattention to "causal explanation" or a lack of rigor in confronting "the vagueness of culture" renders cultural studies less than useful for any project a cultural historian undertakes. All of the theories I listed have implications, at least, for "causal explanation." But it may also be just the sheer, inconclusive eclecticism of theories, plural, that leads Bonnell and Hunt to treat cultural studies rather dismissively. Then again, as Pickering suggests, perhaps it is the recent tendency in much cultural studies work on the mass media to foreshorten the "historical dimension" that makes it not especially useful to the (new) cultural historian.

Something similar happens in *Beyond* to the new historicism, which shares with

[19] I am, of course, parodying—but not by much—a tendency within cultural studies. (The parody does not do justice to more complex, theoretical treatments of hegemony by, for example, Williams and Hall.)

[20] That Geertz serves in *Beyond* as the synecdoche for anthropology is evident from the not always reliable index: Geertz is cited some two dozen times, compared to only four for Claude Lévi-Strauss and three each for James Clifford and Marshall Sahlins.

[21] Lynn Hunt, ed., *The New Cultural History* (Berkeley, Calif., 1989), 13.

[22] Stephen Tyler, "Post-Modern Ethnography: From Document of the Occult to Occult Document," in *Writing Culture: The Poetics and Politics of Ethnography*, James Clifford and George E. Marcus, eds. (Berkeley, Calif., 1986), 125–26. For awhile, at least, Stephen Greenblatt rejected the phrase "new historicism," in favor of "cultural poetics." See Greenblatt, "Towards a Poetics of Culture," in H. Aram Veeser, ed., *The New Historicism* (New York, 1989), 1–14.

[23] Sewell, "Concept(s) of Culture," 37.

[24] Jean-François Lyotard, *The Postmodern Condition: A Report on Knowledge* (Minneapolis, Minn., 1988), xxiv.

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cultural studies a theoretical eclecticism that its practitioners like to construe as pragmatic and even anti-theoretical.[25] The new cultural history of the *Beyond* historians, displacing what Peter Burke calls the "classical" variety, may be "anthropological," but its practitioners "have also learned much from literary critics like the 'new historicists' in the USA."[26] So, too, in his contribution to Hunt's 1989 anthology, Lloyd Kramer writes: "The one truly distinguishing feature of the new cultural approach to history is the pervasive influence of recent literary criticism, which has taught historians to recognize the active role of language, texts, and narrative structures in the creation and description of historical reality."[27] This is not literature (or literary criticism) in its classical, idealist mode, however; it is instead literature with the force of the ordinary, or in other words writ large as discourse, representation, textuality, or culture. For if everything is cultural, then it is also literary, because "there is nothing outside the text."[28] And historiography, too, as Hayden White insists, is in various ways more literary than many historians care to admit.

But while *Beyond* foregrounds the new cultural history, the new historicism is mentioned just twice. Though eager to claim interdisciplinary affiliations with anthropology and sociology, the *Beyond* historians do not seem eager to claim Stephen Greenblatt and his followers except perhaps as "literary" fellow travelers. Thus Sewell identifies both Greenblatt and Louis Montrose as "critics" and practitioners of "literary study" but not as cultural historians.[29] My hunch is that the new historicists (most of whom are members of literature rather than history departments) have gone too far in the poststructuralist direction of indeterminacy—or, more paradoxically, of "radical historicism"—for the *Beyond* historians to follow. Can you be a poststructuralist and still be a historian? Can you be a "radical historicist" and still be a historian? "Historians and sociologists," write Bonnell and Hunt, "have been . . . receptive to the cultural turn without embracing, however, the most extreme relativist or anti-positivist arguments of anthropologists or literary scholars"—or, one might add, of "radical historicism."[30]

No more than the new cultural history is the new historicism exactly new. Tentatively calling himself a new historicist, Brook Thomas declared in 1990 that a movement centered around Greenblatt and *Representations* was "old-fashioned." This he did in *The New Historicism and Other Old-Fashioned Topics*, wherein he argued that, despite the influence of Foucault and other French poststructuralists, the new historicism's real (or more real) affinities lie with the American pragmatist tradition and such early twentieth-century cultural historians as James Harvey Robinson and Charles and Mary Beard. Of course, Greenblatt and company have

[25] For the relations between cultural studies and the new historicism, see John Brannigan, *New Historicism and Cultural Materialism* (New York, 1998); and Kiernan Ryan, ed., *New Historicism and Cultural Materialism: A Reader* (London, 1996); and also Catherine Gallagher and Stephen Greenblatt, *Practicing New Historicism* (Chicago, 2000), 54–66.

[26] Peter Burke, *Varieties of Cultural History* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1997), 192.

[27] Lloyd Kramer, "Literature, Criticism, and Historical Imagination: The Literary Challenge of Hayden White and Dominick LaCapra," in Hunt, *New Cultural History*, 97–98.

[28] Jacques Derrida, *Of Grammatology*, Gayatri Spivak, trans. (Baltimore, Md., 1976), 158; Sewell, "Concept(s) of Culture," 36.

[29] Sewell, "Concept(s) of Culture," 36.

[30] Bonnell and Hunt, introduction, 4.

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not been claiming that historicism is new, only that their version of it is new. But perhaps their basic though undeclared allegiance is to a cultural historiography that literary scholars used to practice, before the New Criticism, structuralism, and poststructuralism intervened.[31] In any event, the new historicists are also sympathetic to versions of (Western) Marxism and cultural studies, even while their preference has been for Foucault over Marx.

According to its critics (including many of its practitioners), the new historicism has been both loosely eclectic and less than systematic. Greenblatt, Montrose, and the others, it is said, abandon attempts at rigorous fact-gathering and causal explanation in favor of "anecdotes" and the trains of association they suggest. Certainly, the new historicism, as befits a movement originating within literature departments, emphasizes hermeneutics or the interpretation of texts rather than facticity and cause-and-effect logic. And often, the texts are singular, canonical works of literature or else stories that seem randomly chosen. According to new historicist Alan Liu: "Where history of ideas straightened the world pictures, Elizabethan or otherwise, New Historicism hangs those pictures anew—seemingly by accident, off any hook, at any angle."[32] To be meaningful, an anecdote or "picture" must be situated in a context such as a "world picture," of course. But the new historicist starting point is frequently some *petit récit* or micronarrative from which the interpretive context seems more or less arbitrarily to sprout.[33]

The new cultural history also emphasizes hermeneutics over causal explanation. With "the collapse of explanatory paradigms" in the social sciences, Bonnell and Hunt declare, the result has been increasing emphasis on "interpretive" strategies, "cultural contexts," and even on "singular stories and places, what the Italians call *microstoria*, microhistory."[34] This sounds close, at least, to the more programmatic statements of the new historicists.[35] Moreover, if anything, the contributors to *Beyond* go further than the new historicists in claiming that historiography is not merely literary but always at least as fictional as it is factual. Thus, in her contribution to *Beyond*, "Cultural History and the Challenge of Narrativity," Karen Halttunen cites a number of recent cultural historians who insist on the narrative and fictive properties of historiography: besides both Hayden White and Foucault, she has in mind Natalie Zemon Davis, John Demos, and Simon Schama, among others. Perhaps the main theoretical shift evident in the writings of these and other neo-cultural historians is a final dispelling of the illusion that historiography can

[31] I am thinking, for instance, of Lionel Trilling, Edmund Wilson, Perry Miller, and F. O. Mathiessen, as well as of E. P. Thompson and Raymond Williams. See Brantlinger, *Crusoe's Footprints*, 26–33; and also Gerald Graff, *Professing Literature: An Institutional History* (Chicago, 1997), 209–25.

[32] Alan Liu, "The Power of Formalism: The New Historicism," *English Literary History* 56 (1989): 721–71.

[33] In *Practicing New Historicism*, Gallagher and Greenblatt defend attention to the "anecdote" as a way of writing Foucauldian "counter-history" (pp. 49–74 and *passim*). At the very least, the stress on contingency that the anecdotal introduces has the negative value of making standard, straightforward, teleological historical narratives difficult or impossible to construct or credit. In doing so, new historicists express Derrida's rejection of "the *metaphysical* concept of history. This is the concept of history as the history of meaning . . . developing itself, producing itself, fulfilling itself. And doing so linearly . . . in a straight or circular line." Jacques Derrida, *Positions*, Alan Bass, trans. (Chicago, 1981), 56.

[34] Bonnell and Hunt, introduction, 1–10.

[35] Such statements are infrequent, but see Gallagher and Greenblatt, *Practicing New Historicism*, 1–19; and H. Aram Veeser, "Introduction," *New Historicism*, xi.

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ever be more science than art. After all, are Schama's or Greenblatt's procedures much different from, say, those of Thomas Carlyle or Thomas B. Macaulay?

Chronicling the immorality of the stage, the influence of coffee houses, and the advent of street lighting in London during the late seventeenth century, Macaulay was operating as a cultural historian. Further, by taking Sir Walter Scott as a model, Macaulay insisted that history writing was more art than science, although I doubt that he believed it to be more fictive than factual. On the other hand, Macaulay was much more inclined than we are today to claim Scott's novels as reliable works of history: "Scott ... has used those fragments of truth which historians have scornfully thrown behind them in a manner which may well excite their envy. He has constructed out of their gleanings works which, even considered as histories, are scarcely less valuable than theirs."[36] By "fragments of truth" and "gleanings," Macaulay meant the customs, habits, and beliefs "of the people"—that is, the common culture—that political historians such as Lord Clarendon and David Hume ignored: "a truly great historian would reclaim those materials which the novelist has appropriated. The history of the government, and the history of the people, would be exhibited in that mode in which alone they can be exhibited justly, in inseparable conjunction and intermixture."[37] If the historian followed Scott's lead, Macaulay declared, "The early part of our imaginary history would be rich with colouring from romance, ballad, and chronicle." Just what he meant by "*imaginary* history" is uncertain, although he clearly did not mean that such history was merely fictional in the sense of nonfactual or unreal. In any event, through novelistic means, "Society would be shown from the highest to the lowest—from the royal cloth of state to the den of the outlaw; from the throne of the legate to the chimney-corner where the begging friar regaled himself"—just as Scott seemed to portray past society in its totality.[38]

Whatever their historical value as models of a sociological completeness that Macaulay believed historians should imitate, Scott's novels are in several ways, to use Dominick LaCapra's term, "worklike." While popular or mass-cultural texts provide certain sorts of evidence about the beliefs and values of their producers and consumers, LaCapra contends that high-cultural texts such as Gustave Flaubert's *Madame Bovary* provide different sorts of evidence. As an intellectual historian, LaCapra perhaps shares with literary and art historians the idealist tendency to author worship—what Roland Barthes might call the "Einstein's brain" approach.[39] However, LaCapra argues, all texts are not merely "documentary," they are also more or less "worklike." And sometimes, at least, worklike texts are historically powerful ones—Scott's novels, the *Communist Manifesto*, *Madame Bovary*, Darwin's

[36] Thomas Babington Macaulay, "History" ["The Romance of History," 1828], rpt. in Fritz Stern, ed., *The Varieties of History: From Voltaire to the Present* (Cleveland, Ohio, 1966), 86–87.

[37] Macaulay, "History," 87.

[38] Macaulay, "History," 87.

[39] Dominick LaCapra, *Madame Bovary on Trial* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1982). Albert Einstein (or his brain) "fulfils all the conditions of myth, which could not care less about contradictions so long as it establishes a euphoric security: at once magician and machine, eternal researcher and unfulfilled discoverer, unleashing the best and the worst, brain and conscience, Einstein embodies the most contradictory dreams, and mythically reconciles the infinite power of man over nature with the 'fatality' of the sacrosanct." Roland Barthes, "The Brain of Einstein," in Barthes, *Mythologies*, Annette Lavers, trans. (New York, 1979), 70.

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Origin of Species. Such texts are themselves historical events of greater or lesser magnitude. In common with cultural historians, intellectual historians emphasize the cultural shaping of intellectuals and such collective categories as contexts, schools, disciplines, traditions, and "systems of thought."[40] Rather than Einstein's brain taken as heroically unique and self-sufficient, the question becomes, what are the cultural, historical factors that shaped Einstein's ideas and texts? But even as historians stress collective factors, certain individuals and their worklike texts continue to be more influential than others in the shaping of cultures and their "world pictures."

Moreover, any text, even an anecdote, is a complicated affair, as Roger Chartier notes: "Texts are not deposited in objects—manuscripts or printed books—that contain them like receptacles, and they are not inscribed in readers as in soft wax."[41] Rather, as its etymology suggests, a text is a discursive weaving, a "clash and criss-crossing" from which interpretations and meanings proliferate. The "history of the book" is therefore not just about the material production of a bound, handwritten or printed object but is necessarily about the production and proliferation of meanings, interpretations, and values. If a text is always both a fact and an event, it is also always in excess of those seemingly bound or boundaried concepts. In *Practicing New Historicism* (2000), Gallagher and Greenblatt declare: "If an entire culture is regarded as a text, then everything is at least potentially in play both at the level of representation and at the level of event. Indeed, it becomes increasingly difficult to maintain a clear, unambiguous boundary between what is representation and what is event. At the very least, the drawing or maintaining of that boundary is itself an event."[42]

If "the cultural turn" that has given rise to cultural studies, the new historicism, and the new cultural history expresses the postmodern "incredulity" that any theory or metanarrative will ever suffice to deal with the difficulties of culture, Fredric Jameson's famous injunction, "Always historicize!" appears to be the only possible response.[43] And to historicize means both to thickly describe and to contextualize, because, as Geertz declares, culture is not "something to which social events . . . or processes can be causally attributed; it is a context, something within which they can be intelligibly—that is, thickly—described."[44] Besides distinguishing between "documentary" and "worklike" aspects of texts, LaCapra provides a useful taxonomy of cultural contexts. A given text can be read in relation to its "author's intentions"; its "author's life"; society; culture; the other texts produced by the author; and "modes of discourse" such as literary genres or "history" versus "literature."[45]

While distinguishing among types of contexts, LaCapra emphasizes that they overlap in a variety of ways. No absolute boundaries can be drawn between a text and its interpretations, or between society, culture, and modes of discourse.

[40] Michel Foucault, *Language, Counter-Memory, Practice* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1977), 199–204.

[41] Roger Chartier, *Cultural History: Between Practices and Representations* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1988), 12.

[42] Gallagher and Greenblatt, *Practicing New Historicism*, 15.

[43] Frederic Jameson, *The Political Unconscious: Narrative as a Socially Symbolic Act* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1981), 9.

[44] Clifford Geertz, quoted in Bonnell and Hunt, *Beyond the Cultural Turn*, 64.

[45] LaCapra, "Rethinking Intellectual History and Reading Texts." Still another context that LaCapra mentions, though he does not analyze it with the others, is the present situation of the historian.

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"Analytic distinctions such as those drawn between history and literature, fact and fiction, concept and metaphor, LaCapra writes, "do not define realms of discourse that unproblematically . . . govern extended uses of language." LaCapra adds that, while "it is common to distinguish history from literature on the grounds that history is concerned with the realm of fact while literature moves in the realm of fiction," this distinction also is by no means absolute.[46]

Despite New Critical and more recent attempts to reduce the job of the interpreter to the intrinsically textual, the interpretation of any text always entails contextualization. A literary canon is a context, and so are the generic conventions of, say, elegies. Not even so "professionally correct" a literary critic as Stanley Fish can read John Milton's *Lycidas* without referring to such contexts.[47] Further, great, worklike, canonical texts are, as LaCapra notes, typically in "conversation" or "dialogue" with "general or popular culture."[48] Bakhtin's analysis of both "dialogue" and "carnival" suggests that the division between popular and elite cultural forms is one major context through which economic, social, and political power has been both expressed and contested in all civilizations, past and present. The "great divide," as Andreas Huyssen has called it, between high and popular or mass cultural values and forms is a distinguishing feature not just of modernity. Nor, contra Huyssen, has that "divide" disappeared with the advent of postmodernity. Bourdieu's analysis of cultural "distinction" suggests that "taste" or value hierarchies will disappear only if and when social classes disappear. Both the hierarchies and social classes are subject to change, of course. But Rose's "contests . . . over symbolic power" remain a central subject of cultural studies as also of cultural history.[49]

Perhaps all cultures are, as Sewell claims, "contradictory . . . loosely integrated . . . contested . . . subject to constant change . . . [and] weakly bounded."[50] This is certainly the case with both modern and now postmodern cultures. But Sewell draws no line between primitive and civilized cultures. These properties or, perhaps, anti-properties of culture make it difficult or maybe impossible, except in specific cases (calling for thick description), to establish causal relations among

[46] LaCapra, "Rethinking Intellectual History and Reading Texts." LaCapra writes: "It is true that the historian may not invent his facts or references while the 'literary' writer may, and in this respect the latter has a greater margin of freedom in exploring relationships. But, on other levels, historians make use of heuristic fictions, counterfactuals, and models to orient their research into facts . . . Conversely, literature borrows from a factual repertoire in multiple ways [that invalidate] attempts to see literature in terms of a pure suspension of reference to 'reality' or transcendence of the empirical into the purely imaginary" (p. 57).

[47] I have in mind Stanley Fish's critique of both cultural studies and the new historicism in his *Professional Correctness: Literary Studies and Political Change* (Cambridge, Mass., 1995) and elsewhere, as well as René Wellek and Austin Warren's assault on "extrinsic" contexts as irrelevant to the interpretation of literary texts in *Theory of Literature* (New York, 1949).

[48] LaCapra, "Rethinking Intellectual History and Reading Texts," 52.

[49] Andreas Huyssen, *After the Great Divide: Modernism, Mass Culture, Postmodernism* (Bloomington, Ind., 1986). "The primary business of culture," writes John Frow, "is distinction, the stratification of tastes in such a way as to construct and reinforce differentiations of social status which correspond, *in historically variable and often highly mediated ways*, to achieved or aspired-to class position" (his italics). Nonetheless, Frow continues, "Whereas in highly stratified societies culture is closely tied to class structure, in most advanced capitalist societies the cultural system is no longer organized in a strict hierarchy and is no longer *in the same manner* tense with the play of power." Frow, *Cultural Studies and Cultural Value* (Oxford, 1995), 85, his italics.

[50] Sewell, "Concept(s) of Culture," 53–54.

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different aspects or spheres of cultures. They also make it difficult to establish what constitutes a fact for cultural history. Of course, what counts as a fact for a cultural historian may not count as one for, say, an economic historian. That difference illustrates, in a small way, "contests . . . over symbolic power."

In *History of the Modern Fact*, Mary Poovey shows how what most historians and scientists have understood as the solid building-block of knowledge has been culturally constructed from the Renaissance on. She also shows that deconstructions of facticity occurred long before the advent of poststructuralism.[51] Poovey focuses on the epistemological ruminations of Hume, Adam Smith, and other representatives of the Scottish Enlightenment. Hume's questioning of causation and objectivity reached a skeptical cul-de-sac for philosophy, but it led him to develop a sociable sophistication that affirmed the centrality of taste and refinement to the "liberal governmentality" that characterizes modern social formations. In other words, Hume also took a "cultural turn" away from ontology and epistemology toward the emergent axiological discourses of aesthetics and economics.

Aesthetics leads on to the literary and to literary criticism and theory. In contrast, economics, the first modern social science, could claim to be scientific because it made counting of a strictly secular, non-theological, non-Platonic sort central to its disciplinary apparatus. The "modern fact" is the historical product of the application of numbers to the observed phenomena of natural and social experience, starting with Renaissance merchants' double-entry account books. One reason for the power that comes from quantifying experience is that numbers appear to "solve the problem of induction" by at least seeming to "bridge the gap between the observed particular and general knowledge."[52] A second reason is that certain forms of public enumeration—census taking, tax accounting, and so on—are indispensable to modern governments. But numbers tend to reify social processes and "conflicts . . . over symbolic capital"—statistics as a version of what Alexis de Tocqueville called "the tyranny of the majority."

These epistemological and political issues make it imperative to recognize the limits of economics and the other social sciences—including "cliometric," positivist versions of historiography—which claim to be value-free and entirely fact-based; which also claim to render social experience in mathematized terms that privilege "quantity over quality and equivalence over difference"[53]; and which have had a massive influence on modern and now postmodern governmentality, whether liberal or otherwise. One attraction that the new cultural history shares with both cultural

[51] Mary Poovey, *A History of the Modern Fact: Problems of Knowledge in the Sciences of Wealth and Society* (Chicago, 1998). In this regard, Hume, who believed the "self" to be a "prejudice," could easily take his place among the thinkers whom Jerrold Seigel discusses as "problematizing the self" in his contribution, "Problematizing the Self," in Bonnell and Hunt, *Beyond the Cultural Turn*, 281–314.

[52] Poovey, *History of the Modern Fact*, 286. As Poovey, John Stuart Mill, David Hume, and many other analysts have understood, enumeration is only ever an approximation to a solution of the problem of induction; it is necessarily based on probability—the chance rather than absolute certainty that, for instance, the next observed particular in a statistical series will be like all or at least most of the previous ones. As John Herschel put it in his *Preliminary Discourse on the Study of Natural Philosophy* (1830), there will be a "necessary . . . numerical error in every observation," no matter how exact, which can only be compensated for by taking it into account as the "latitude" or margin of error for that observation (cited by Poovey, 319).

[53] Poovey, *History of the Modern Fact*, 4.

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studies and the new historicism is incredulity toward positivist models of objectivity that seek to convert quality into quantity and interpretive modesty into facticity. The cultural turn, Hayden White declares, "means a radical questioning of every science claiming to have a direct and unmotivated access to whatever reality is supposed to consist of."[54] And another attraction is, at least from the standpoint of literary scholars, the recognition not only of the cultural or textual basis of evidence but of the special (albeit not necessarily classical or canonical) status that, at least in some circumstances, accrues to worklike texts.

There is a hint of nostalgia about the new cultural history. Perhaps this is true of every enterprise that claims to have turned a corner: venturing "beyond" evokes the desire to return. Bonnell and Hunt cite Laurie Nussdorfer, who writes, "it may be quite some time before . . . we have something to replace the great lost paradigms of the postwar era." This is to say, Bonnell and Hunt continue, that "the cultural turn" in history writing has "raised more questions than it could answer."[55] But question-raising is a result of every important intellectual, academic, cultural turn, even as the proliferation of questions arouses both controversy and nostalgia. The new cultural historians recognize, however, that there can be no return to "the great lost paradigms." But perhaps that is cause for celebration: the new cultural history rejects what Friedrich Nietzsche called "that admiration for the 'power of history' which in practice transforms every moment into a naked admiration for success and leads to an idolatry of the factual."[56] In *Beyond the Cultural Turn*, "culture" is a term that, for all its difficulties, questions facticity even as it infuses history with a sense of potential—with contingency but also with a certain difficult affirmation of human agency.

[54] Hayden White, "Afterword," in Bonnell and Hunt, *Beyond the Cultural Turn*, 321.
[55] Bonnell and Hunt, introduction, 30 n. 19.
[56] Friedrich Nietzsche, *Untimely Meditations*, R. J. Hollingdale, trans. (Cambridge, 1983), 105.

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Review Essays

Cultural Theory in History Today

RICHARD HANDLER

IN HIS CONTRIBUTION TO *Beyond the Cultural Turn*, Richard Biernacki argues that the semiotically grounded relativism of post-1960s culture theorists has led them to reject all foundationalisms except their own. Taking Clifford Geertz as emblematic of this trend, Biernacki writes that he "introduced the actuality of culture as a general and necessary truth rather than as a useful construction. The investigator's abstract theory of the semiotic dimension and of its elemental constitution was an unacknowledged exception to the principle that knowledge is local, situated, and conjured by convention."[1]

This is an apt challenge to us anthropologists who situate ourselves among several lineages of semioticians—symbols-and-meanings theorists (including Geertz) who go back to Franz Boas, Max Weber, or Emile Durkheim, and to many social philosophers before them (for example, Johann von Herder, Jean-Jacques Rousseau, Giambattista Vico, or Michel de Montaigne). I confess to being guilty, though not quite as Biernacki charges. I do indeed think that semiosis is "general," in the sense of universal, in all human experience. And "culture," the term that American anthropologists since Boas have used to refer to this semiotic dimension of human experience, thus becomes, in this anthropological tradition, a "necessary" analytic term. But this does not mean that "culture" is not a "construction." It does, however, mean that, as a construction, culture trumps other currently fashionable social-scientific terms such as power, class, gender, race, practice, the economy, and, yes, "the social."

Thus it should come as no surprise that I find the programmatic thrust laid out by the editors of *Beyond the Cultural Turn* to be, in a word, uninteresting. The spatial metaphor of the title, "beyond the cultural turn," suggests that this work will take us into uncharted territory. Nonetheless, editors Victoria Bonnell and Lynn Hunt announce at the outset that their project is recuperative rather than exploratory. I have no quarrel with recuperation. Most of what's "new" in contemporary social-science theory has been said before, and it is often more useful to grapple with past articulations of ideas than to "relexify" them (to borrow a term

A version of this essay was presented to the departments of anthropology and history at the University of Virginia on March 2, 2001. I thank that audience for their engaged and generous response. Thanks are also due Ira Bashkow, Daniel Segal, and Jeffrey Wasserstrom for their critical encouragement.

[1] Richard Biernacki, "Method and Metaphor after the New Cultural History," in *Beyond the Cultural Turn: New Directions in the Study of Society and Culture*, Victoria E. Bonnell and Lynn Hunt, eds. (Berkeley, Calif., 1999), 64.

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from the anthropologist Robert Brightman) with shiny new jargon.[2] But I cannot find any value in the particular recuperative move the editors champion—to rehabilitate the concept of "the social" while taking into account the lessons of culture theory:

> By casting doubt on the central concept of the social, the cultural turn raises many problems for historical sociology and social history, not least the question of their relationship to each other. Yet as scholars in both disciplines confront the issues raised by the breakdown of the positivist and the Marxist paradigms, they may well find common ground again in a redefinition or revitalization of the social. Although the authors in this collection have all been profoundly influenced by the cultural turn, they have refused to accept the obliteration of the social that is implied by the most radical forms of culturalism or poststructuralism. The status or meaning of the social may be in question, affecting both social history and historical sociology, but life without it has proved impossible.[3]

"Impossible for whom," I might ask. There are many anthropologists who never saw much use for an analytic distinction between the social and the cultural. This is especially so for many of us in the Boasian tradition (which, though not without its positivist strands and Marxist practitioners, is neither positivist nor Marxist). And some of us Boasians (myself included) argue that the distinction between the social and the cultural is not only unnecessary, it is theoretically pernicious. It misleads us into thinking that the social is somehow closer to "the ground" or to "concrete practice"—in sum, "more real"—than culture, which, as symbols, meanings, and ideas, is some kind of second-order phenomenon that comments on an already-constituted social-practical domain. It is a rationalization of our ancient mind/body dualism, and although most or all of the contributors to *Beyond the Cultural Turn* would explicitly reject that dualism as the basis for their analytic categories, the editors' call to rehabilitate the social reproduces it.

Within twentieth-century Anglo-American anthropology, the battle between the social and the cultural has often come to life in the jealousies and rivalries between British social anthropology and American cultural anthropology. A key figure on the British side was A. R. Radcliffe-Brown, who propounded an ostensibly Durkheimian "social anthropology" by purging the semiotic side of Durkheim's social theory. "Let us consider," wrote Radcliffe-Brown in a famous essay,

> what are the concrete, observable facts with which the social anthropologist is concerned. If we set out to study, for example, the aboriginal inhabitants of a part of Australia, we find a certain number of individual human beings in a certain natural environment. We can observe the acts of behaviour of these individuals, including, of course, their acts of speech, and the material products of past actions. We do not observe a "culture," since that word denotes, not any concrete reality, but an abstraction . . . But direct observation does reveal

[2] Robert Brightman, "Forget Culture: Replacement, Transcendence, Relexification," *Cultural Anthropology* 10 (1995): 509–46.

[3] Victoria E. Bonnell and Lynn Hunt, introduction, *Beyond the Cultural Turn*, 11. Hunt articulated this position ten years earlier: "Where will we be when every practice, be it economic, intellectual, social, or political, has been shown to be culturally conditioned? To put it another way, can a history of culture work if it is shorn of all theoretical assumptions about culture's relationship to the social world?" Lynn Hunt, introduction, *The New Cultural History*, Hunt, ed. (Berkeley, Calif., 1989), 10.

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to us that these human beings are connected by a complex network of social relations. I use the term "social structure" to denote this network of actually existing relations.[4]

Radcliffe-Brown's premise, that we can "observe" the social but not the cultural, is flawed. We can indeed observe, see, talk to, and interact with people, but all such activities are semiotic, or, in a related jargon, culturally constructed. Such activities have no "concrete" existence prior to, or independent of, the semiotic processes in which they inhere. Nor can we, as social scientists or participants, study or learn about such activities without engaging "the natives" or "the actors" in a conversation about the meaning of their actions. Thus we can no more observe society, social structure, or social relations than we can culture, ideas, or ideology. As Claude Lévi-Strauss reminded us, back at the beginning of the present cultural turn, "the term 'social structure' has nothing to do with empirical reality but with models built up after it."[5] This argument is persuasive despite the fact that the natives themselves often have concepts about "the social." They may, for example, use such words as "family" or "lineage," but those concepts are not labels for empirically observable things. Rather, they are models people use to navigate their lives. As a great semiotician of an earlier cultural turn, Edward Sapir, put it: "The so-called culture of a group of human beings, as it is ordinarily treated by the cultural anthropologist, is essentially a systematic list of all the socially inherited patterns of behavior which may be illustrated in the actual behavior of all or most of the individuals of the group. The true locus, however, of these processes which, when abstracted into a totality, constitute culture is not in a theoretical community of human beings known as society, for the term 'society' is itself a cultural construct which is employed by individuals who stand in significant relations to each other in order to help them in the interpretation of certain aspects of their behavior."[6]

I will return to this passage below, but here I want to pursue the argument that the editors of *Beyond the Cultural Turn* implicitly buy into a mind-body dualism that leads them to give more credence to the society-culture duality than it deserves. This is most easily seen in their recourse to that naïvely oxymoronic term "material culture." "Surely it is no accident," Bonnell and Hunt remark, "that much exciting work . . . now focuses on material culture, one of the arenas in which culture and social life most obviously and significantly intersect, where culture takes concrete form and those concrete forms make cultural codes most explicit. Work on furniture, guns, or clothing . . . draws our attention to the material ways in which culture becomes part of everyday social experience."[7] The notion here is that culture is abstract, and the social, as epitomized in "material culture," is concrete. Yet why would anyone ever imagine that "material" things produced by human

[4] A. R. Radcliffe-Brown, *Structure and Function in Primitive Society* (New York, 1965), 189–90. For a quick sketch of the differences between British social and American cultural anthropology, see Robert F. Murphy, *The Dialectics of Social Life: Alarms and Excursions in Anthropological Theory* (New York, 1971), 17–35; and, more recently, Adam Kuper, *Culture: The Anthropologists' Account* (Cambridge, Mass., 1999), chap. 1. On the semiotic and positivist sides of Durkheim, see Marshall Sahlins, *Culture and Practical Reason* (Chicago, 1976), 106–25.

[5] Claude Lévi-Strauss, *Structural Anthropology*, Claire Jacobson and Brooke Grundfest Schoepf, trans. (New York, 1963), 279.

[6] Edward Sapir, *Selected Writings of Edward Sapir in Language, Culture, and Personality*, David Mandelbaum, ed. (Berkeley, Calif., 1949), 515.

[7] Bonnell and Hunt, introduction, 11.

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beings are not fully cultural? Similarly, the most "ideal" of human products—a system of grammatical categories, let's say—is accessible to humans only in some material form, sound waves or lines on paper. From this perspective, all culture has a material dimension and all humanly tooled material has a cultural dimension. The term "material culture" is unnecessary, unless you believe, as the quoted passage suggests, that the distinction between an immaterial culture and a "concrete" social life is a useful one—a position that is a variation on Radcliffe-Brown's distinction between observable social relations and abstract culture.

This position sometimes underpins notions about "practice," a topic that both Biernacki and William H. Sewell review in the first two essays of the volume, the only two explicitly devoted to what anthropologists used to call "culture theory." Sewell describes the recent turn to "culture-as-practice" as a reaction to Geertz's and, especially, the anthropologist David Schneider's versions of "culture-as-systems-of-meanings" approaches. Schneider and Geertz used Talcott Parsons' grand theory—which posited personality, social, and cultural systems as analytically distinct components in a layer-cake model of social action—to revitalize the concept of culture within anthropology. Schneider in particular was outspoken about the need to study "the cultural system" abstracted from social action, but, as Sewell points out, that strategy obscured the necessary connection of culture and action, or "system" and "practice": "To engage in cultural practice means to utilize existing cultural symbols to accomplish some end. The employment of a symbol can be expected to accomplish a particular goal only because the symbols have more or less determinate meanings—meanings specified by their systematically structured relations to other symbols. Hence practice implies system. But it is equally true that the system has no existence apart from the succession of practices that instantiate . . . it. Hence system implies practice. System and practice constitute an indissoluble duality or dialectic."[8]

This "dialectic of social life" is a foundational concept in most modernist social theory. It can be figured, as Sewell does here, in terms of system and practice, structure and action, or, in the work of many second and third-generation Boasian anthropologists, as well as that of modernist poets and critics, as culture and personality or "tradition and the individual talent." "No individual," wrote Ruth Benedict, "can arrive even at the threshold of his potentialities without a culture," and "no civilization has in it any element which in the last analysis is not the contribution of an individual."[9] Or, as Edward Sapir put it, in the sequel to the passage quoted above: "The true locus of culture is in the interactions of specific individuals and, on the subjective side, in the world of meanings which each one of these individuals may unconsciously abstract for himself from his participation in these interactions. Every individual is, then, in a very real sense, a representative of at least one sub-culture which may be abstracted from the generalized culture of the group of which he is a member."[10] For Sapir, culture exists in action, and both

[8] William H. Sewell, Jr., "The Concept(s) of Culture," in Bonnell and Hunt, *Beyond the Cultural Turn*, 46–47.

[9] Murphy, *Dialectics of Social Life*; T. S. Eliot, "Tradition and the Individual Talent," in *The Sacred Wood: Essays on Poetry and Criticism* (London, 1920), 47–59; Ruth Benedict, *Patterns of Culture* (Boston, 1934), 253.

[10] Sapir, *Selected Writings*, 515.

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anthropologists and actors abstract meanings and models from their interactions, even as meanings and models make action possible in the first place. Culture, we might say, ought to be conceptualized as a verb, not a noun—which is another way to say, as Sewell does, that system and practice are indissoluble.

I part company with Sewell, however, when he posits that "power relations or spatiality or resource distributions" are structuring "aspects" of practice and, as such, "relatively autonomous" from culture. "These dimensions of practice," he writes, "mutually shape and constrain each other . . . Hence, even if an action were almost entirely determined by, say, overwhelming disparities in economic resources, those disparities would still have to be rendered meaningful in action according to a semiotic logic."[11] From the perspective of an individual, like the "impoverished worker" Sewell offers as an example, economic inequality, residential segregation, and state power are indeed constraining. They cannot be wished away, or interpreted out of existence, although, as Sewell notes, most individuals will try to make sense of such implacable constraints. But from the perspective of those of us who analyze "history" or "system," such constraints are every bit as semiotic or cultural as a grammatical category or the sonnet form. They are institutionalized instantiations of cultural distinctions that people made in the past and continue to enact in the present. They are not, as Sewell suggests, non-cultural aspects of action to which people attach labels as they respond to them.

Biernacki sketches a more satisfactory conception of practice. As I noted at the outset, he is worried about the foundationalism of semiotic theories in general, but his particular bête noire is the model of culture as a text, a model made popular at least in part by Geertz. Biernacki maintains that when culture is modeled as a text (and only as such), theorists tend to equate the semiotic aspect of practice with referential assertion: in such theorizing, "to engage in practice is to utilize a semiotic code to stipulate something *about* the world." Biernacki urges us to go beyond these "semantic" models "to focus . . . on the implicit schemas employed *in* practice, rather than analyzing only representations *of* or *for* practice." Thus he lauds research that explores "bodily competencies," "style[s] of practice," and "pragmatic" meanings, or "the experienced import of practice."[12] In these approaches, the notion of practice as on-the-ground action (not merely as pointing to the world, or reference) does not lead back to the idea that it is material or social as opposed to ideal or cultural. Rather, the very materiality of practice is shown to be semiotic.

But what about Biernacki's attack on semiotic foundationalism? He argues that, "just as the old historians advanced their project by naturalizing concepts such as 'class' or 'social community,' so cultural historians construed their own counter notions, such as that of the 'sign,' as part of the natural furniture of the human world, rather than as something invented by the observer."[13] Without speaking for "cultural historians," I will admit that anthropological relativists often speak nonrelativistically about culture and semiosis, as in the assertion: all human knowledge is culturally constructed, or semiotically mediated, and hence relative to

[11] Sewell, "Concept(s) of Culture," 48.
[12] Biernacki, "Method and Metaphor," 74–75, 75–77.
[13] Biernacki, "Method and Metaphor," 63.

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the symbol system (language) in which it is conceptualized. This is a contradiction (of the "all Cretans are liars" variety), but one that makes sense. Language has a "metalinguistic" feature: people use language to talk about language. There is nothing impossible about the notion that people can recognize their dependence on language and the limitations it imposes and simultaneously use language to explore the world, to gain knowledge.

Cultural anthropologists' recognition of the primacy of language, culture, and semiotic mediation does not, however, necessarily lead us to "naturalize" those concepts, as Biernacki claims cultural historians have done. On this matter, it is instructive to return to Geertz, to one of the relatively unquoted essays in *The Interpretation of Culture*, "The Impact of the Concept of Culture on the Concept of Man." There Geertz argues that cultural particularity is the only human common denominator: what we share (our reliance on culture) is the very thing that makes us differ among ourselves. Moreover, there is no "human nature" manifested in cultural universals underpinned by natural (psychobiological) constants.[14] To extend Geertz's argument, "nature" is itself a cultural construction. It may be true, then, as Biernacki charges, that anthropologists accept culture as a foundational concept, but semiotic theories of culture do not naturalize it. Returning to Biernacki's argument, quoted at the outset, to accept "the actuality of culture as a general and necessary truth" does not preclude recognizing the term "as a useful construction." All theory, and all knowledge, is at once "abstract" (that is, semiotically mediated) and "local, situated, and conjured by convention."

Local theory has an analogue in what I like to call "particularized cross-cultural comparison." This is an old Boasian strategy (and we find it prefigured in such writers as Alexis de Tocqueville, Montesquieu, Jonathan Swift, and Montaigne as well). Ruth Benedict, for example, developed her critique of middle-class American culture by playing it off against Native American cultures of the Northwest Coast, Puritan New England, and Japan. Benjamin Lee Whorf explored the peculiarities of what he called "Standard Average European" grammars by comparing them to the grammars of Hopi and Shawnee.[15] Although one can criticize these works as essentializing (Benedict, for example, says the Kwakiutl are "megalomanical"), they are useful models of relativistic knowledge-making: analysis of the tenses of Hopi grammar makes it possible to see the myriad ways in which European grammars spatialize time. Presumably, comparisons to other grammatical systems would reveal other peculiarities of our own conceptual system. The point is not to define or characterize that system once and for all, but repeatedly to see it anew, cast into relief by the features of other systems, other cultures, other lived worlds.

The question of cross-cultural comparison occupies several of the authors in this volume, but they advance different comparative strategies. In general, one might imagine a typology of comparative approaches that range from positivistic, or universalizing, cross-cultural comparisons at one end to interpretive, or particularizing, comparisons at the other. What I am calling positivistic comparisons examine a range of cases to come up with universal "laws" of society or socio-cultural

[14] Clifford Geertz, *The Interpretation of Cultures: Selected Essays* (New York, 1973), 33–54.

[15] Benedict, *Patterns of Culture*, 246–50, 270–78; Benjamin Lee Whorf, *Language, Thought, and Reality* (Cambridge, Mass., 1956).

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evolution. A "law" in this tradition is generally understood to posit relations of causality. The analyst looks at a range of cases deemed by some set of criteria to be comparable ("tribal societies," "hunting-and-gathering bands," "chieftaincies," and so on), isolates differences, and looks for the causal mechanisms that might explain them. (For example, given a "hunting-and-gathering subsistence base," why do we find patrilineal lineages in one case, matrilineal in another?) None of the contributors to *Beyond the Cultural Turn* advocates anything so crudely evolutionary, but editors Bonnell and Hunt do not wish to abandon "the possibility of objective—that is, verifiable—comparable results"—whatever they may mean by "objective" and "verifiable" (they do not tell us).[16]

Margaret C. Jacob (in her essay "Science Studies after Social Construction") offers a more Weberian approach to comparison. Jacob argues that, in its extreme form, the cultural turn in science studies has led to a notion that science is nothing but cultural construction with no "objective" purchase on nature. Assuming this epistemological position (or dodging the question of nature altogether), scholars of science-making have become too exclusively focused on local cultures. The resultant "microhistories" of "local experiences and practices that are seen to affect the scientist" overlook, Jacob argues, the "big questions" concerning both global trends and the relationship of scientific knowledge to nature and truth.[17] Why has science flourished in some places and not others, why has science "after 1700" vanquished competing explanatory systems such as those associated with magic and alchemy, and what sense does it make in the current transnational world to continue to think of science as a uniquely Western phenomenon?[18] To address such questions, she urges a (re)turn to comparative studies. Microhistorical studies of the cultural (including political and institutional) factors that structure science can be used comparatively, according to Jacob, both to illuminate particular cases and to answer those larger questions. The approach is, loosely, "Weberian" because it depends on deep historical study of unique places and times to answer a "world-historical" question conceptualized in terms of an "ideal-type"—capitalism, in Weber's famous studies, or science, in the work that Jacob reviews.

For the record, I would quibble with Jacob's refusal to abandon a notion of "true science."[19] It seems to me that one can accept both cultural constructionism and the overwhelming evidence of "the pragmatic power of science to produce replicable, long-standing maxims about nature."[20] That "maxims about nature" can be "long-standing" and that scientific results are "replicable" does not mean that scientific knowledge is not culturally constructed. There is nothing in a semiotic theory of culture that says that symbols do not address the world and allow us to manipulate it. Our knowledge can be effective (as well as longstanding) without being "objective" in the sense of absolutely true. Nonetheless, Jacob does well to keep open the question of the relationship between science and nature, and to point out that scholars of science-making who are "realists" when they conceptualize the

[16] Bonnell and Hunt, introduction, 14.
[17] Margaret C. Jacob, "Science Studies after Social Construction: The Turn toward the Comparative and the Global," in Bonnell and Hunt, *Beyond the Cultural Turn*, 97, 115.
[18] Jacob, "Science Studies after Social Construction," 109, 115.
[19] Jacob, "Science Studies after Social Construction," 115.
[20] Jacob, "Science Studies after Social Construction," 98.

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effects of society on science might profit from extending a similar realism to their analysis of the links between science and nature.[21]

Biernacki, like Jacob, advocates a turn from the microhistorical to the comparative. He is less interested, however, in realism than in hermeneutic illumination. Biernacki argues that historical analysis cannot reveal the "ultimate constituents" of social reality, nor should it be judged in terms of an "ideal of verisimilitude." But comparison "between historical cases" and between competing theoretical perspectives allows us to "unmask the suppositional character of our own terms and 'natural' observations." Through comparison, we construct our "explanations" and even our data: "Comparison highlights the inventive but disciplined moment of evidence making. For it affirms that what we recognize as significant about practices varies with the comparisons we conjure."[22] But comparison also, for Biernacki (as for Jacob), gives analysts some purchase on historical causality, in particular, on the ways in which cultural practices can "account for differential features" between cases that are in other respects similar. Biernacki admits, however, that it is difficult to know what "causality" is in historical study: "The riddle of . . . how to distinguish causal claims from interpretive ones has vexed the best minds in philosophy for more than a century."[23]

If Bonnell, Hunt, Jacob, and Biernacki present a range of approaches to cross-cultural (and transhistorical) comparison, Steven Feierman's splendid essay, "Colonizers, Scholars, and the Creation of Invisible Histories," argues that disjunctive narrative frameworks can make cross-cultural understanding all but impossible. Like Jacob, Feierman is worried by the gap between local and global histories, but his particular problem, as an Africanist, is that Africa seems perpetually consigned to the local—unworthy, apparently, of yielding macrohistorical narratives that can compete with those concerning "the West." Focusing on the practice of mediums and "public healing in the great lakes region of eastern Africa," Feierman argues that historians' (and colonialists') inability to see healing as anything but "irrational" has meant that they have been able to write about it only as local, "traditional," and exotic. Healing "as a form of practical reason" cannot be seen as efficacious and meaningful within Western macrohistories structured in terms of the categories "religion" and "politics." "The way to redress the balance," Feierman writes, "is to give full attention to the missing term: a larger historical narrative grounded in Africa." He recognizes that such a narrative will be flawed in the same ways that macrohistorical accounts of capitalism (or of science, for that matter) are flawed: their generalizations will "do violence to" the details and meanings of local situations. But placing such phenomena as mediumship and healing within this sort of "alternative macrohistory" will, in a sense, level the playing field for comparative purposes.[24]

[21] Jacob, "Science Studies after Social Construction," 113–14.

[22] Biernacki, "Method and Metaphor," 79–80, 82.

[23] Biernacki, "Method and Metaphor," 82, 73.

[24] Steven Feierman, "Colonizers, Scholars, and the Creation of Invisible Histories," in Bonnell and Hunt, *Beyond the Cultural Turn*, 182–83, 202, 206–07. Feierman's program seems consonant with Joseph C. Miller's recent discussion of an Africa "poised" to take its place among "the world's longer-established historical regions." Like Feierman, Miller predicts that the historiographical transformation of Africa will have a profound impact on European history itself. Miller, "History and Africa/Africa and History," *AHR* 104 (February 1999): 31.

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It is tempting to say that a semiotic conception of culture presupposes that all theoretical constructs, all comparative perspectives, and all narrative conventions "do violence to" local realities, or to "the facts" themselves. But to phrase the matter negatively creates the expectation that an adequate set of tools would "get it right," not violate the truth. In his afterword to the present volume, Hayden White suggests that historians (and, I would add, anthropologists) have a difficult time relinquishing this expectation. History, according to White, remains "oblivious to the 'fictionality' of what it takes to be its 'data.'" But we should all know better: "it is not as if history provides a . . . zero-degree of factuality against which one can measure distortions in the representation of reality."[25] The easiest way out of this bind, it seems to me, is to accept semiosis as a condition of possibility for the creation of any kind of knowledge at all. The theoretical tools we use *do* make a difference—they influence our choices of questions, our culling of available "data" ("evidence"), they inflect our narrative styles, and, ultimately, they shape the stories we tell. But without such "tools," we could tell no stories at all.

IN THE END, THEN, there can be no methodological return to "the social" that is not both cultural (a disciplined way of interpreting human activities) and about culture (about symbolic action in the world). And, to be fair, the kinds of evidence, activities, and institutions that some people think of under the rubric "social"—census data, schooling, the division of labor in society—are well worth the attention of any anthropologist or historian who takes an interest in them and has good questions to ask of them. But there is no beyond "beyond the cultural turn," nor is there any non-cultural social domain on the near side of culture. "The real is as imagined as the imaginary," Geertz reminds us, and, we might add, "the imaginary is as real as the real."[26]

[25] Hayden White, "Afterword," in Bonnell and Hunt, *Beyond the Cultural Turn*, 322.
[26] Clifford Geertz, *Negara: The Theater State in Nineteenth-Century Bali* (Princeton, N.J., 1980), 136.

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Reviews of Books

METHODS/THEORY

RONALD INDEN, JONATHAN WALTERS, and DAUD ALI. *Querying the Medieval: Texts and the History of Practices in South Asia*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2000. Pp. 235. $45.00.

The "classical" and "medieval" texts of South Asia—Buddhist, Hindu, and Jain—seem somehow so authoritative, so carefully edited and translated to produce a "pure" text as close to the "original" as possible, purged of later interpolations. These texts, in hefty bound sets, have been presented as South Asia's contribution to the wisdom of the world. The texts have, as presented, been unsatisfactory to historians; they float in a timeless never-never land without context, history, politics, or power, thereby avoiding basic questions. Who wrote them: where, when, why? Who was the patron, and who was the audience? What were the reasons for their production? How do they differ in viewpoint from others of their type, and what do those changes suggest about changes in society? At best, these texts have been attributed to the genius of a single author or—lacking a plausible author—to the impetus of a larger concept such as "Hindu society" or "Aryan sensibility" or "medieval spirituality."

The issues surrounding the "timeless" presentation of South Asian "classical" or "medieval" texts are major. They have generally been presented as typical of a "medieval" mentality or spirituality that separates previous centuries from colonial and current ones. In this now-dominant formulation, all earlier centuries are rendered functionally "dead" and inconsequential. Only the colonial centuries matter for the present.

In the past fifteen years, several scholars began rethinking both uses of the texts and methods for analyzing them. Thomas R. Trautmann studied the eighteenth and nineteenth-century politics of the "discovery" of the texts by the British colonial government. Paula Richmond has called into question an "authoritative" text and shown that many different *Ramayanas* are valid and valued among different audiences. Cynthia Talbot examined South Indian inscriptions for patterns of power. Ronald Inden produced a broad-brush critique of standard Indian textual studies in *Imagining India* (2000).

Inden, Jonathan Walters, and Daud Ali have done a sterling job of addressing the challenges that Inden issued in *Imagining India*: to analyze texts differently and more productively, to return them to a place and time, to immerse them in politics and power, and to show their importance for the relevant patrons and authors. The introduction outlines a new methodology based on the work of R. G. Collingwood and V. N. Volosinov. The central idea is Collingwood's "scale of texts." As this volume's authors use the concept, they mean that any given text knowingly refers to earlier versions of the same text, texts were generally produced within "disciplinary orders," revisions, elisions, and shifts in emphasis reflect very real politics among orders and their royal or noble patrons, and promotion of a particular version of a text had important consequences both for the order and its patron. The remaining three chapters are applications of this new methodology to important "medieval" South Asian texts.

Inden opens with analysis of the *Vishnudharmamottarapurana*, one of many texts that Indologists refer to collectively as "puranas," which have typically been analyzed for their insights into a supposed "pure" Hinduism that predates the text or as reflections of society at the time that they were written. Both uses ignore an internal logic of this purana that connects cosmology, history, worship, and patronage in teleology. Inden comes to the conclusion that the *Vishnudharmamottarapurana* was (to put it baldly) a text of self-promotion by an order of Pancaratra adepts of Kashmir. The "audience" for the text was a particular king of Kashmir who harbored world-conquering pretensions; the text offered him spiritual and moral assistance on his quest. "Encompassing" of earlier texts for authority, shifts in emphasis, and elisions all point to the order positioning itself to take considerable credit for, and benefits from, his success.

In the next chapter, Walters analyzes the Sri Lankan Pali *Vamsas*, long considered relatively straightforward early (fourth through tenth centuries) "histories" of the island. He finds that later *vamsa* generally "embedded" large sections of earlier histories. Using Collingwood's "scale of texts" approach, Walters analyzes revisions, changes in emphasis, and new interpretations within this series of texts and commentaries. His

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basic conclusion is that the texts make sense only as the result of intense competition between two orders of monks. Victory by one order gave them hegemony over the portrayal of Sri Lanka's past plus very real benefits in patronage to their order. One result is a selective portrayal of recent past/present as "like" previous cycles of the untouchably distant past that fed the ambitions of a particular king for world conquest. A second result is the "erasure" of Mahayana Buddhism's early presence in Sri Lanka and South India and its continued presence until the eighth or ninth centuries.

The final chapter, by Ali, reconsiders an important donative copper-plate document from the eleventh-century Chola kingdom of south India. Like the other texts examined in this volume, copper-plate grants have mainly been used to establish "facts" about kings and reigns. A "scale of texts" analysis focuses on the political viewpoint asserted in the opening "history" section of the grant; claims of paramountcy and legitimacy connected the grants to the much older "encompassing" or "world-explaining" texts of the puranas and extended them into the present of the grants. All of these claims operated within a shared understanding of the acts and accomplishments necessary for a king to bring the world "under his umbrella."

This volume is an important, groundbreaking work challenging how we read and understand texts; it presents a methodology that connects texts to indigenous change, politics, and power. The "scale of texts" method lends itself to textual analysis far beyond South Asia. This is must reading for those engaged in the struggle to understand the deeper past or disheartened by radical deconstruction of texts to the point that signifiers "float," meaning everything and nothing.

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ROGER D. MARKWICK. *Rewriting History in the Soviet Russia: The Politics of Revisionist Historiography, 1956–1974*. Foreword by DONALD J. RALEIGH. New York: Palgrave. 2001. Pp.xx, 327.

As is well known, perestroika and the collapse of the USSR swept away decades of dogma in Soviet history writing. Roger D. Markwick's densely argued monograph looks at the harbinger of that profound crisis in Russian historical scholarship. It examines the relationship between "revisionist" trends in Soviet history writing that were beginning to appear a few years after Joseph Stalin's death and the rise of a new generation of the Russian intelligentsia in the 1960s. What happened, avers the author, is that the two began to merge: revisionist historians became not only advocates of new (and sometimes not so new) historiographical theories but also the embodiment of an intelligentsia tradition that proclaimed itself the conscience of the nation by adopting a critical stance to the status quo. In situating revisionist historians squarely within the context of the intelligentsia, Markwick suggests that revisionism represented a kind of legalized (if not legitimized) dissent—a form of dissent that, by challenging established readings of the past, ultimately threatened the legitimacy of the party elite. The political elite's crushing of this revisionist-intelligentsia cohort under Leonid Brezhnev contributed to the explosion of discontent and disillusionment in the 1980s and the subsequent collapse of the party-state.

This book is therefore primarily an inquiry into the politics of knowledge. What Markwick does is use the story of historical revisionism in the USSR between 1956 and 1974 as a way of mapping changes in the social, political, and philosophical stances of Soviet historians and investigating the self-perception of Soviet historians as intellectuals. In particular, he explores various implications and consequences of the revisionist challenge to the ruling ideologies of Soviet historical production over twenty-odd years, from the convocation of the Twentieth Congress of the Communist Party of February 1956, when Nikita Khrushchev made his famous denunciation of Stalin, to the onset of the "era of stagnation" under Brezhnev that, by the early 1970s, was shutting down debates about the Russian and Soviet past.

This kind of study is not new, but it does deepen our knowledge of what was going on in Soviet Russia. Markwick has had access to archives not available to earlier scholars. In addition, he has been able to draw on oral testimonies of many of the people involved in the dramas of the 1960s and 1970s. His treatment of the "Burdzhalov Affair" is especially interesting. In higher education institutes across the USSR, Khrushchev's speech to the Twentieth Party Congress stimulated discussion on a whole range of issues connected with the Soviet experience, but given that the General Secretary had pointedly drawn a distinction between a pre- and post-1934 Stalin (if the latter was a despotic violator of Leninist norms, Khrushchev insisted, the pre-1934 Stalin had been an honest fighter for socialism), many preferred to wait and see what would happen next. When, in the prestigious journal *Questions of History*, historians Eduard Burdzhalov and Anna Pankratova set about chronicling Stalin's shortcomings from as far back as 1917, they soon came into conflict with the state and within a year had been virtually silenced.

As Markwick shows in a section devoted to a case study of a research group based in the Institute of History of the Soviet Academy of Sciences, other revisionist or "new direction" historians suffered a similar fate. When, in the early 1960s, the young Viktor Danilov and his team of agrarian historians tried to suggest that V. I. Lenin's thoughts on peasant cooperation might have provided an alternative to Stalin's policy of forced collectivization, they quickly found themselves censured and isolated. Danilov's major works remained unpublished for years. And there were more victims. As Brezhnev and his associates consolidated their hold over the party-state machine, post-Stalinist historians in the Institute's Sector for Methodology found creative work to be almost impossible. The institute was finally brought to heel in 1974 when its director, Pavel Volobuev, was dismissed

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for "incorrect interpretations" of the Revolution of 1917.

This carefully researched monograph will be of interest to students of the politics of knowledge in general and the history of the Soviet intelligentsia in particular.

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PAUL K. LONGMORE and LAURI UMANSKY, editors. *The New Disability History: American Perspectives*. (The History of Disability Series.) New York: New York University Press. 2001. Pp. vi, 416. Cloth $65.00, paper $23.95.

Historians treat disability "merely as personal tragedy or an insult to be deplored . . . rather than a cultural construct to be questioned and explored," Douglas Baynton charges in this collection of essays (p. 52). By contrast, Brad Byrom and K. Walter Hickel show that for over 100 years, public policy makers and disabled Americans have known that social and medical conceptions of disability coexist and are contested. Overall the contributors challenge the broad sweep of Baynton's indictment. After decades of disability activism, this superb volume shows. some historians recognize that culture and social context define disability and interpret its meaning. Editors Paul K. Longmore and Lauri Umansky want more, however. They seek to convince historians that disability belongs with race, class, and gender as a "standard analytical tool" of historical analysis (p. 15). This task is not easy, but their effort has uncovered some very good history, including one article—Baynton's—that suggests how and why historians might need to grant disability interpretive power.

Most of the essays address specific issues rather than attempting a theoretical justification for placing disability at the core of historical study. Nearly half focus on people with a particular disability and demonstrate the intersection of their lives with larger themes in American history. In a beautifully written narrative, for instance, Hannah Joyner chronicles the struggle of deaf North Carolinian David Tillinghast to break free from his family's stifling definition of a southerner and from social constructions of disability as dependency. The social chaos of the Civil War offered Tillinghast this opportunity, and he used it to maximum advantage. In defiance of his family, he spent the war at the New York School for the Deaf, becoming a teacher and marrying a deaf woman. He returned to his native North Carolina after the war, "a proud and independent man commanding the respect of his family" (p. 102).

While Tillinghast's story is a straightforward account of a deaf man realizing his potential at a critical period in our past, Catherine Kudlick looks at two periodicals concerned with blindness to show the complexity of disability issues in historical analysis and their frequent intertwining with gender issues. She writes that blindness, and disability generally, "undermined the rigid [gender] roles [of] Victorian culture" (p. 191). Disabled women were considered unfit to marry and have children, pushing them into the work force, but disability often moved men out of the work force and into a dependent—feminine—cultural role. "Blindness undermined manhood and redefined womanhood in unsettling ways," Kudlick argues.

Kudlick also discusses some of the complexities disabled Americans confront. One is the paradox created by the culture's reification of individual achievement. Disabled people claim a right to independence and autonomy, but they often need assistance from public policy makers and philanthropists to assure that they are not discriminated against and that society adjusts to their needs. As she writes, "if blind people came off [in their publications] as competent and self sufficient, why give the organizations helping them money?" Kudlick shows, too, that the meaning of cultural roles for disabled and nondisabled people have not necessarily been the same. Writing about the Progressive era, she argues that "championing marriage and child-rearing for blind women was a radical act in terms of disability," but it was a conservative act in terms of womanhood (pp. 206–207).

Kim Nielsen's perceptive "Helen Keller and the Politics of Civic Fitness" and John Williams-Searle's "Cold Charity: Manhood, Brotherhood, and the Transformation of Disability" demonstrate similar complexity. The nondisabled public often thinks of Keller as a hero, a paragon. Yet Keller herself, for reasons that Nielsen carefully discusses, did not have disabled friends or associate with other disabled people. Her statements about the value of speech for deaf people were in direct conflict with the position of contemporary deaf organizations, and for most of her life she worked for the American Foundation for the Blind, an organization whose politics Nielsen terms "conservative," "patronizing," and "sometimes repugnant," assuming "disability to be inherently debilitating" (p. 281). Williams-Searle's research shows that late nineteenth-century labor organizations, which might have embraced disabled workers in their struggle against the capitalist transformation of the workplace, instead "derided the manliness, prudence, and competence" of workers who became disabled (p. 163). "[C]apitalism had transformed disabled men into useless men," he concludes, "[and] the railroad brotherhoods facilitated this process by viewing their disabled members as less than men" (p. 181). Such careful and perceptive analyses, while welcome, complicate the historical picture: the high ground is difficult to find.

The variability of disability itself challenges historians who would use it as an analytic category. Janice Brockley, in a powerfully disturbing article, "Martyred Mothers and Merciful Fathers," discusses two children with severe mental and physical disabilities who required full-time care; one child also had repeated, painful convulsions. By contrast, Susan Burch discusses politically astute and tenacious deaf leaders in

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"Reading Between the Signs." Both articles enlighten important social issues, but the theoretical framework embracing their divergent subjects is not addressed.

Historians' disinclination to treat disability seriously may have social sources, as well. Longmore and Umansky suggest that disability evokes "'existential anxiety'" (p. 6). Nondisabled historians perceive disability as "embodying that which Americans fear most: loss of independence, of autonomy, of control" (p. 7). Nielsen applies this anxiety to the political realm by arguing that disability conflicts with the ideology of liberal individualism. The "grounding of citizenship" in a liberal republic is "what the self can do for the self" (p. 285). Nielsen quotes from disability theorist Rosemarie Garland Thomson, who also has an essay in this collection, to explain the ideological discomfort created by studying disability: "'Disability's indisputably random and unpredictable character translates as appalling disorder and persistent menace in a social order predicated on self-government . . . physical instability is the bodily manifestation of political anarchy'" (p. 286).

The essay that comes closest to achieving the editors' goal of using disability as a core analytical tool is Baynton's "Disability and the Justification of Inequality in American History." He writes that disability was central to debates over woman's suffrage, civil rights for African Americans, and immigration. Proponents of inequality depicted ethnic minorities, women, and immigrants as "disabled" in order to justify their exclusion from full participation in American life. These oppressed groups have expended (and still expend, in some cases) considerable effort in an attempt to prove that they are not disabled, that they have all the attributes supposedly necessary for full citizenship. Other historians have recognized that labeling groups with terms like "dependent," "weak," or "defective" has been a useful tool in legitimizing denial of full citizenship. Baynton's insight comes from challenging the premise that disability, a culturally mediated attribute, can be used to justify hierarchical relations. Arguments over inequality in America have focused on whether particular groups had characteristics that can be termed disabling, not whether those characteristics themselves justified inequality.

Historians may find this book unsettling, in part, as Thomson has written, because disability is "indisputably random and unpredictable," and in part because the book is an implied indictment of our profession. For this reason alone, the collection is worth reading and assigning to students, but the insights contained in several essays suggest how we can ask new questions to write better history.

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BRUCE MAZLISH. *The Uncertain Sciences*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1998. Pp. viii, 328. $35.00.

At numerous places in this work, Bruce Mazlish insists that it is not a history of the human sciences, nor is it a rigorous philosophical analysis of the character of the human sciences. Instead, it is an extended and historically grounded meditation on the present condition and future prospects for scientific knowledge of humans and their societies by a distinguished senior intellectual historian. The book is intended for the general public, so it eschews details at virtually every opportunity in favor of a grand synthetic view. Mazlish is generally enthusiastic about the results accumulated to date by the human sciences. Furthermore, he is guardedly optimistic regarding the future of the human sciences; but his optimism seems often to be in spite of his central arguments rather than because of them.

Although Mazlish draws from an amazing range of sources, he starts from a Comtean understanding that downplays the importance of psychology and of quantification in the human sciences. With Auguste Comte, he also insists that there is a core of method—grounded in observation and experiment, the construction of general laws and theories, the use of reason to infer consequences, and the testing of generalizations against experience—that unifies the sciences. That core is, however, modified in each science to be appropriate to its particular subject matter. Thus, "each science develops by a logic proper to itself, a logic that is revealed only by the historical study of that science" (p. 52). Morover, although he acknowledges recent work on the complex historical interactions between scientific and religious practices and ideas, like Comte, Mazlish believes that science and religion are ultimately incompatible with one another and that science seeks "to substitute scientific method for religious conviction" (p. 211).

Mazlish grafts his neopositivist perspective onto a Habermasian notion of truth communities, such that for any science the appropriate methodology is embodied in a community that shares a language and set of common convictions that allows truth—i.e. "rational consensus"—to be achieved. Thus he abandons hope for "absolute" objectivity in favor of a social constructionist notion of truth, but he insists that truth communities that incorporate scientific methods as guidelines are capable of approaching objectivity asymptotically. Finally, Mazlish argues that hermeneutic methods, which grew up initially in connection with the interpretation of the Bible, constitute the core of the appropriate method for the human sciences. History—especially the history of consciousness—and such interpretive schemas as those of Max Weber, Karl Marx, and Sigmund Freud, in spite of their imperfections, thus stand as the most impressive attempts at establishing human sciences to date.

Because the human sciences deal with phenomena that are intrinsically emergent (i.e. phenomena associated with complex systems that cannot be understood as the linear consequences of combinations of the previously known behaviors of the component sub-

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systems), many behaviors of humans and human groups must inevitably have both unintended and unanticipated consequences. This means that the human sciences cannot be strongly predictive. They can only seek to understand the past, not anticipate the future, and this severely limits their usefulness for policy purposes. Furthermore, because the interpretations that constitute the human sciences must always to some degree incorporate the attitudes and aspirations of the scientific community within which they develop, Mazlish suggests that two extremely important consequences follow. First, the human sciences must always be significantly prescriptive rather than purely descriptive. On this score, Mazlish's analysis of the prescriptive character and largely unfortunate consequences of neoclassical economics is excellent. Second, given their prescriptive character, it would seem that the human sciences could only be successful to the extent that members of the human group to which they were applied also accepted their prescriptive elements. If, then, any of the human sciences should seek to offer universal knowledge, it would have to be accepted by all of humanity (p. 205). Mazlish considers the possibility that globalization might be producing the conditions for such a universal acceptance but ultimately rejects the idea.He then offers the possibility that the growth of a common historical consciousness might function in lieu of humanity as a whole as an appropriate scientific community for the human sciences. In this context, he argues, "We have all become Marxists and Freudians, even when we are anti-Marx and anti-Freud, for we believe within their mental categories" (p. 227).

At this point, it seems to me that Mazlish's argument has finally succumbed to an endemic Eurocentrism and intellectual elitism, for a huge fraction of the earth's population is quite innocent of both Marxist and Freudian concepts and analyses, and his hope for some common historical consciousness seems utopian in the extreme. There are many valuable insights to be found here, both in the narrative and in the extensive interpretive endnotes. Moreover the annotated bibliography is likely to be very valuable for nonspecialists, but Mazlish's arguments left me feeling much more pessimistic about the prospects for the human sciences than he is.

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COMPARATIVE/WORLD

SCOTT GORDON. *Controlling the State: Constitutionalism from Ancient Athens to Today*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1999. Pp. x, 395. $59.95.

Much recent writing on constitutionalism tends toward hermeneutical abstraction or ideological posturing. Scott Gordon's book stands in refreshing contrast: a lucid, incisive, tightly constructed work that analyzes political ideas and institutions in their historical context and in the intellectual tradition of Western constitutional thought.

Unlike scholars who emphasize the complexity of constitutionalism, taking into account the wide range of conflicting identities, interests, goods, and values in modern political society, Gordon adopts a simple and straightforward approach to his subject. "The plain fact," he writes, "is that all government is, unavoidably, the exercise of coercive power" (p. 6). The "central issue of constitutionalism" therefore is "the problem of *controlling* the power to coerce" (p. 7). Among various means of constraining power that have been tried throughout history, including appeals to virtue, morality, legality, and natural law, Gordon says the only effective way "lies in recognizing the fact that *power can only be controlled by power*" (p. 15).

As a complement and alternative to the model of hierarchical order based on sovereignty and command, Gordon focuses on what he calls the "countervailance model" of political organization. In traditional constitutional theory, this is the system of checks and balances. In contemporary social science, it is the political equivalent of the idea of general equilibrium in market competition between groups and individuals, as expounded in microeconomic theory. The concept of constitutional countervailance posits independent public and private entities interacting with each other in a system in which there exists no supreme authority. Gordon deploys this pluralist model as a descriptive and normative tool for the analysis of constitutional polities in Western political history.

Gordon establishes the intellectual context for his study in a chapter on the history of the doctrine of sovereignty from the early masters Jean Bodin and Thomas Hobbes to Walter Bagehot and Albert Venn Dicey in the nineteenth century. Modern political thought unfolded under the spell of this unbelievable yet seemingly irresistible doctrine—the rationale and justification in a desanctified world of the hierarchical organization that appears the most obvious feature of government. While acknowledging the existence of hierarchy and its importance for administrative efficiency in the political orders he examines, Gordon's critique of sovereignty serves as a foil for his survey of constitutionalism.

Gordon's select list of power-constraining polities, and political writers who ensured their historical significance by theorizing about them, includes Athenian democracy, the Roman Republic, late medieval Europe, the Republic of Venice, the Dutch Republic, seventeenth-century England, the American Constitution, and modern Britain. Gordon is encouraged by his findings. The thesis of the book is that examples of political countervailance existed in ancient and medieval times, and that since the achievement of limited government in seventeenth-century England, systematic development of constitutionalism has been continuous. Although governmental absolutism has not disappeared, "constitutional government is clearly the ascendant political doctrine of our time" (p. 224).

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From this perspective, Gordon observes, the Bodinian doctrine of absolute and indivisible sovereignty "was merely a hiatus in the long evolution of the theory of constitutionalism" (p. 118).

Gordon is a libertarian-minded economist and philosopher who brings to his subject the discipline of an unsentimental yet judicious social scientist. He does not, for example, confuse the rhetoric of democracy with the reality of limited government. "The United States today is clearly not a majoritarian democracy," he writes, "nor is any other state; nor can they be; nor ought they to be . . . 'democracy' often serves as a mantra, generating an aphasic trance that is impervious to critical reason and empirical evidence" (p. 360).

In this work, Gordon essays intellectual-constitutional history with scholarly precision, thoroughness, and restraint. Historians in particular will appreciate his concern to establish the social and cultural context in which pluralistic, check-and-balance political orders were created. Gordon's well-researched, cogent account warrants the attention of scholars of constitutional thought and institutions.

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JAMES C. RILEY. *Rising Life Expectancy: A Global History*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2001. Pp. xii, 243. Cloth $49.95, paper $16.95.

The decline of mortality that accompanies social and economic development has long attracted the attention of historians and epidemiologists. In 1971, Abdel Omran described it as an "epidemiological transition," the fundamental feature of which was a shift in the distribution of causes of death away from infectious diseases in favor of cancer and cardiovascular diseases. Although geographically wide-ranging, Omran's model was concerned largely with *how* declines in specific causes of death impinged on human mortality experience. A few years later, Thomas McKeown presented the final version of his account of *why* mortality from infectious diseases fell in historical Europe. In McKeown's account, improved nutrition consequent on a rising standard of living was accorded the lion's share of the credit, whereas advances in medicine were regarded as relatively insignificant.

Since the 1970s, research into the improvement in mortality has increasingly recognized that the ways human beings manage their lives, at both individual and societal levels, are crucial in determining the chance that those lives will be long and healthy. The decline in mortality is viewed as a *health transition*, in which, as James C. Riley says, "the key factor . . . is not disease but the actions that diminish it, reducing mortality or morbidity" (p. 26). Riley's book is the first general survey of the mortality decline (in the tradition of Omran and McKeown) to adopt this perspective.

Riley begins by tracing the history of ideas about declining mortality and charting the empirical evidence for the sustained increase in life expectancy throughout the world since the eighteenth century. He acknowledges that this increase has recently been partially reversed by economic dislocation in the former Soviet Union and HIV/AIDS in Africa. However, quite lengthy reverses have occurred in the past, notably during the phases of most rapid urbanization in Europe when urban infrastructures could not keep pace with the increase in city populations. Provided that the causes of such hiatuses are clearly identifiable and temporary, they need detract little from the global picture of great progress.

Riley then classifies the actions humans have taken that might effectively reduce mortality into six groups. Four of these—"medicine," "public health" (which includes, for example, improvements in sanitation and disease surveillance), "famine, malnutrition and diet," and "wealth, income and economic development"—will be familiar to readers of McKeown's work. The other two relate to the behavior of individuals and households at the microlevel (including personal hygiene, the care of infants, and the taking of personal responsibility for health) and to the effect of improved education. The importance of education has emerged as a result of studies of mortality declines in developing countries over the last few decades. Its inclusion reflects one of the great strengths of Riley's book: that it combines insights from across the globe and links together two often rather disparate streams of research, one dealing with the historical experience of Europe and North America, and the other the recent experience of Africa and Asia.

Riley considers the role that each of these groups has played in increasing the human life span during the past two or three centuries. He takes the view that all have played some part, so that the interesting questions are about how their relative importance has varied over time and from place to place. Thus he concludes that public health measures played a particularly significant part in reducing deaths from waterborne diseases in nineteenth-century Europe. Education and literacy had rather limited value at that time but have played a much more significant part since the mid-twentieth century. He is, I think rightly, unconvinced by explanations of the European mortality decline in terms of the disappearance of chronic nutritional deficiency. The crucial dietary change was an improvement in quality (a reduction in mineral deficiencies) rather than simply more food. In a chapter of considerable originality, he argues that the rise of the "well-ordered bourgeois model of family life" (p. 199), associated with the "specialization of women as householders" (p. 197), has led to an increased awareness of the role that individuals and households can play in promoting health-seeking behavior. This includes not only actions like regular hand washing but also knowledge of the potential long-term consequences of activities such as tobacco use.

This book is little over 200 pages long and is written in a fluent and readable style, which will make it

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accessible to nonspecialists. Riley draws on many diverse research traditions, including medicine, social and economic history, and demography. He has produced a very useful and balanced summary of what is currently known about the health transition.

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DAVID A. GERBER, editor. *Disabled Veterans in History*. (Corporealities: Discourses of Disability.) Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press. 2000. Pp. viii, 348. $49.50.

Like the practitioners of the world's oldest profession, disabled veterans have been a part of society since time immemorial. Unlike prostitutes, however, little has been written about them. This volume of essays is designed to provide an overview of the place of disabled veterans in Western societies. Although generally muted, awareness of the presence of disabled veterans has been continuous since ancient times. The level of awareness has grown greatly in the past two centuries, especially in the twentieth, with its wars of industrial mass destruction and the emergence of mass politics. The modern warfare state produced the modern welfare state, and veterans have been a key component of its development. In a thoughtful and useful introduction, editor David A. Gerber traces the evolution of policies affecting disabled veterans, describes the conceptual foundations of the book, and introduces the individual essays.

The book's discussion is shaped by three broad analytical categories: representation, public policy, and the experience of disability. These categories frequently overlap. Historically, two of the main tropes of representation have been pity and fear. Observers feel pity at the plight of the war-disabled, while at the same time fearing that the horrific experience of war and mutilation will make the disabled veteran prone to violence and incapable of reassimilation into civil society. As Gerber notes, the perception and treatment of veterans has been a gendered discourse. Disability subverts the masculine ideal of the warrior by producing dependence, which traditionally has been associated with femininity. A major goal of veterans' policies has been to regain independence and the capacity to work—traditional markers of masculinity—and thus to avoid the twin dangers of infantilization and feminization.

Discernible public policies only began to emerge with the growth of the centralized early modern state. The need for the state to deal with disabled veterans was neither perceived nor would it have been possible during the feudal period with its inchoate states and essentially private military forces. This changed with the emergence of the early modern state and the creation of standing armies. The numbers of disabled veterans increased, as did their capacity to become an organized, disruptive force. Fear of veterans' disruptive potential was also coupled with a sense of obligation to provide for those injured in defense of the state. As a consequence, pension programs and veterans' homes were developed. Early programs were unsystematic and riddled with provisions that privileged regular army veterans and aristocratic officers. A harbinger of the future treatment of disabled veterans, as well as the nature of warfare itself, was provided by the American Civil War and its aftermath. Unprecedented casualties, combined with democratic politics and the rise of interest groups, have shaped the contours of disabled veterans' legislation and political activity in the twentieth century. During World War I, the traditional ways of conceiving of the future of disabled veterans—pensions and warehousing—began to be challenged by a counterdiscourse in all belligerent societies that envisioned aggressive normalization through physical restoration and vocational training.

The essays are arranged according to the three categories developed in the introduction. The first section, representation, is the shortest and most chronologically and geographically skewed, containing one essay on ancient Greece and two on the twentieth-century United States. Martha Edwards analyzes the West's original myth of the disabled veteran, the Philoctetes narrative. She finds that because disabled veterans in the ancient world lacked military, social, or economic status, they had an unstable identity that evoked emotions of pity and fear. Gerber discovers that these emotions were still very much alive in the United States after World War II. In his analysis of the award-winning film, *The Best Years of Our Lives* (1946), he shows how the narrative elements closely followed expert discourse on "the veterans problem." The angry disabled protagonist of the film finds peace and is reintegrated into society through the caring love of his understanding girlfriend, a formula that reflected the postwar reaffirmation of traditional gender roles. Martin Norden employs the metaphor of the prodigal son to analyze film depictions of Vietnam veterans. Disabled veterans are portrayed as lonely, embittered substance abusers who after an epiphany redirect their anger toward a redeeming larger purpose.

The second group of essays, on public policy, is the longest and most comprehensive section of the book, largely because more has been written on this aspect of the disabled veterans' experience. Geoffrey Hudson describes and analyzes the introduction of a pension system for disabled veterans in early modern England. He finds that while the structure presaged modern systems, the motives of policy makers were distinctly premodern and aristocratic in nature. Pensions were awarded not to citizens but to members of a fraternity of honor. Isser Woloch reprises arguments presented in his earlier works, describing the changes in veterans' policies introduced by the French Revolution and tracing their fate during the various phases of the revolution and the Napoleonic era. Robert Goler and Michael Rhode provide a history of the early years of the American Medical Museum founded at the start of the Civil War. During the war, field surgeons sent

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thousands of amputated limbs to the museum. However, it was more than a macabre repository and became a center for development of programs of medical treatment as well as the documentation of war disability, prefiguring the record-keeping assessment bureaucracies that are the backbone of modern disability programs. Jeffrey Reznick describes the development of new programs of work therapy developed in Great Britain during World War I that were designed to combine physical and mental rehabilitation. These programs aimed to prepare disabled soldiers for the postwar labor market and, not coincidentally, also sought to harness reclaimed labor for the war effort.

The last essays in this section deal with the disabled of lost or unpopular wars. R. B. Rosenburg looks at the treatment of disabled Confederate soldiers. Denied care by the national government, they had to rely on programs put in place by state governments of the former Confederacy. The states made impressive efforts, but since they were poor, the results were meager and benefits lagged far behind those received by Union veterans. (Interestingly, when efforts were later made to bring Confederate soldiers into the national system, many Southern veterans resisted out of pride.) As Gregory Weeks shows, Austrian veterans' efforts to get pensions after 1945 were hampered not only by financial problems but by the fact that postwar Austrian leaders and the public wanted to forget that Austria had fought on the side of Germany; such an acknowledgment clashed with the myth that Austria had been the first victim of the Third Reich. Ethel Dunn contrasts the treatment of Soviet veterans after World War II with those of Cold War campaigns. While veterans of the Great Patriotic War received (at least by Soviet standards) extraordinary privileges, those of later conflicts in general, and Afghanistan in particular, received little. Here again one is reminded that Afghanistan was the Soviet analogue to Vietnam.

The final section, living with disability, consists of three essays. James Marten shows that although many Union veterans enjoyed physically comfortable lives in homes, their purposelessness and isolation from families and society frequently led to alcohol abuse. Deborah Cohen contrasts post-World War I pension systems in Germany and Britain and seeks to discover why, although German disabled veterans received better benefits than their British counterparts, they became alienated from state and society while the latter did not. That disabled veterans can be agents and not just subjects of state policies is shown by Mary Tremblay's account of John Counsell and the activities of the Canadian Paraplegic Association.

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MEREDITH BALDWIN WEDDLE. *Walking in the Way of Peace: Quaker Pacifism in the Seventeenth Century*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2001. Pp. xiv, 348. $49.95.

The Quaker commitment to nonviolence was more nuanced and complex, Meredith Baldwin Weddle demonstrates here, than scholars have appreciated. The reigning interpretation holds that in 1660 Quaker leaders framed their peace testimony, the "Declaration," as a defensive response to the Restoration of Stuart monarchy, hoping to forestall further persecution by advertising the Quaker's peaceable intentions and easing the minds of royal officials fearful of sectarian uprisings. But Weddle objects to this interpretation's emphasis on political over religious motivation and collective over individual attitudes and behavior. She finds that Quaker apprehensions about violence preexisted the official 1660 declaration, and she demonstrates that Quakers retained and acted on those sensibilities in the New World under very different social and political circumstances. For Weddle, Quaker nonviolence represented a positive and personal spiritual choice, not a desperate last resort. At the same time, Weddle rejects the naïve assumption that Quakers monolithically adhered to uniform rules of nonviolence, showing instead that Quaker communities and individuals creatively balanced, and often reconciled, their religious principles with military or defensive needs.

Weddle first examines how Quakers in England worked out the meaning of the peace testimony in their writings and in daily life. Those individuals who abstained from violence did so, she demonstrates, not because they sympathized with its potential victims or sought humane treatment for all, but rather because they believed the use of violence might disturb their relationship with God, betraying a lack of faith in God's deliverance, an unwillingness to suffer in this world, or a shameful surrender to the ungodly lusts that fueled war and violence. While most Quakers seemed to accept the notion that violence conflicted with godliness, not all acted on that belief, and those who did modified their behavior in highly divergent ways.

In the second part of the book, Weddle explores how the Quaker peace testimony fared in the New World, focusing particularly on Rhode Island's response to King Philip's War. The Quaker magistrates who dominated the Rhode Island Assembly in this period behaved in a partisan manner, Weddle finds, allying themselves with their fellow Englishmen against the Wampanoags despite longstanding animosity toward Puritans. In 1673, however, the assembly passed a law exempting from fighting or training all men who expressed religious scruples against warlike activities, and exacted no fine or penalty even from those who found themselves unable to perform the civil service prescribed as an alternative to military duty. Quakers did not agree on what actions should specifically be avoided. Nonetheless, Quaker leaders valued nonviolence and tried to make it easier for coreligionists to fulfill their subjectively defined spiritual obligations in a hostile world.

Weddle skillfully conveys the complexities that must

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attend any attempt to understand pacifism; because violence itself is multifaceted, she argues, efforts to thwart its baleful influence must similarly assume different, seemingly self-contradictory, forms. Weddle explains clearly and convincingly how the different social and political contexts of England and the New World influenced Quaker beliefs and shaped adherents' ability to act on those beliefs.

Most engrossing are Weddle's descriptions of the angst-ridden process by which specific individuals made choices concerning how much violence they could safely admit into their lives; these Quakers had to decide whether it was sufficient simply to eschew the wielding of deadly weapons in combat, or whether they must avoid supporting more indirect props of violence. Provocative, too, is Weddle's final meditation on what lessons the Quaker example might offer secular pacifists. Whereas people in the twenty-first century do not expect to change the violent impulses considered innate to human nature, Quakers believed in human perfectibility and could not be shaken in their convictions even when their efforts failed to yield positive earthly results.

It is disappointing that Weddle does not examine the broader context of King Philip's War. One would welcome, for example, a deeper analysis of why Quaker leaders so unhesitatingly aligned themselves against the Indians, or the extent to which various colonial constituencies used their performance in King Philip's War to jockey for position within the empire. But, on the whole, this well-researched study makes an important contribution to our understanding of the dynamics of Quaker belief in the Atlantic world, and it deserves a wide readership among students of early American religious history.

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Peter Linebaugh and Marcus Rediker. *The Many-Headed Hydra: Sailors, Slaves, Commoners, and the Hidden History of the Revolutionary Atlantic*. Boston, Mass.: Beacon. 2000. Pp. 433. $30.00.

Peter Linebaugh and Marcus Rediker analyze episodes of challenge to the emergence of British capitalist domination of the North Atlantic trade in human beings, manufactures, and New World goods. The authors situate their selection of chapter subjects in the observations of seventeenth and eighteenth-century British elites in which the dangerous and disorderly laborers of the developing transatlantic economies were cast repeatedly as threatening manifestations of the mythological hydra. Such observations eloquently demonstrate that those who confronted English and Irish proletarians, religious dissenters, and radicals, as well as those who sought to dominate New World and African peoples, understood well that the task of profitably controlling polyglot, multiethnic, multiracial workers on the high seas, and on the lands of three continents, was comparable to that of Hercules facing the many-headed beast.

The tale of the hydra serves another purpose here, as Hercules did not know in advance that he would succeed in beheading the monster. In retelling various contests of Diggers, Levellers, religious dissenters (Antinomians, Anabaptists), English Revolutionaries and counterrevolutionaries, Linebaugh and Rediker purposefully focus on the resistance of those whom the earliest capitalists would tolerate only as "hewers of wood and drawers of water," arguing explicitly that on the eve of the English revolution of 1640, the Herculean victories of expropriation and exploitation of the commoners and the masterless (defined globally to include the slave trade and New World colonies) were neither inevitable nor fully secured.

Recovering the voices and actions of those who were viewed as components of the hydra is one unifying task of the authors in this monograph. Within the two and one-half centuries periodized here, Linebaugh and Rediker also address the following questions: who in England opposed slavery? When and how were these opponents silenced such that English capitalists could freely enter into, embrace, and rise to dominance in the trade of Africans to the New World? For answers, the authors first examine the 1609 shipwreck of a Virginia Company vessel, the Sea Venture, and the survivors' experiences in the subsequent ten months on the island of Bermuda. During this time, the sailors and passengers (laborers bound for almost certain death in the unwholesome colony of Virginia) mutinied and repeatedly rebelled against their leaders, evincing "democratic, antinomian, and communist ideas from below" (p. 29). Sailors and indentured servants both vigorously opposed their own enslavement.

In subsequent chapters, Linebaugh and Rediker revisit contemporary justifications for the transport of indentured servants to the New World as well as scourging criticisms of the Antinomian and Anabaptist heretics. According to Francis Bacon, Thomas Edwards, and numerous others, these monstrous radicals favored communism, opposed government, and supported emancipation of all slaves through mistaken interpretations of God's glory and the biblical jubilee. Oliver Cromwell and his supporters used terror to silence the proponents of such ideas and, according to the authors, surviving Protestant dissenters then deradicalized and suppressed Antinomian thought in their movements.

Although the Antinomian and Leveller opponents of slavery such as Thomas Rainsborough did not survive the English Revolution, Linebaugh and Rediker link the antislavery rhetoric of these early dissenters with that of later abolitionists. They also stress the Antinomian aspect of social rebellions such as Nathaniel Bacon's in Virginia (1675–1676) as well as in the multiracial, multiethnic democracies of pirate ships that threatened the English slave trade in the early eighteenth century. Although such piracy was

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crushed by the 1720s, a broader maritime radicalism persisted, making sailors the vectors of strikes, urban revolts, slave revolts, and revolution throughout the Atlantic world. Through the recurrent metaphor of the hydra, the circulation of subversive tars in commercial ports, and the reemergence of a liberating Antinomian theology in the Great Awakening, Linebaugh and Rediker observe continuities in such geographically dispersed events as the New York Conspiracy of 1741, the Maroon Wars in Jamaica and Suriname, the Stamp Act Riots, and the Boston Massacre.

Linebaugh and Rediker also attempt to offer a multiracial, alternative history, and to do so they discuss noteworthy examples of interracial love, friendship, and revolutionary cooperation (Edward and Catherine Despard; John Wedderburn and Elizabeth Campbell; Olaudah Equiano as friend of Lydia and Thomas Hardy). The authors' anglocentric sources are, for the most part, better suited to their investigation of antinomianism in the age of revolution than to their search for a pan-racial revolutionary past in the Atlantic world.

KATHLEEN J. HIGGINS
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BLAIR A. RUBLE. *Second Metropolis: Pragmatic Pluralism in Gilded Age Chicago, Silver Age Moscow, and Meiji Osaka*. (Woodrow Wilson Center Series.) New York: Cambridge University Press. Washington, D.C.: Woodrow Wilson Center. 2001. Pp. xvii, 464. $34.95.

This, the third volume of Blair A. Ruble's trilogy of Russian and Soviet urban studies, shows the same theoretical innovation as the two that preceded it. Conceptually influenced by sociologist Lewis Mumford, who was among the first to analyze "urbanism as a way of life," the book borrows from the turn-of-the-century moniker for Mumford's laboratory, Chicago, so called to distinguish it from New York. Ruble uses the Windy City as a counterpoint to Moscow in this era; in addition, he adds the Japanese city of Osaka into what turns out to be a comparative study of three cities caught in the maelstrom of industrialization and in-migration at the end of the nineteenth century. The Russianist in Ruble raises questions about "Russian exceptionalism," but the urban historian takes over to tell three fascinating tales of city officials trying to negotiate between national governments and local populations to manage the upheavals and provide services for the changing needs of myriad groups from bankers to beggars. These three cities were selected because of commonalities of experience, shared by the role each played in connecting national to international economies, especially as centers for processing basics, foodstuffs, and textiles. Each was a commercial center, distanced from the national capital and hence able to build its own political network, or machine, in the case of Chicago. Similarities include in-migration of racial groups unpopular with the majorities, such as African Americans to Chicago and Koreans to Osaka. Differences include a Moscow public highly supportive of mass education, contrasted to Chicagoans who distrusted such policies.

Tying the three together by arguing that their respective governments used a "pragmatic pluralism" to meet the demands of urbanization, Ruble then embarks on a series of case studies that elucidate operations in practice. In the first three of the four parts into which the book is divided, Ruble provides each city with its own chapter, though each is peppered with references to the other two in order to keep the comparative frame intact. Part one describes the impact of industrialization; part two highlights administrative successes; and part three exposes failures, resulting in riots and revolutions. In the concluding fourth part, Ruble pulls the three together, and then gives Moscow its own, final chapter.

Successful in the short-term, pragmatic pluralism reflected the political viewpoint necessary to accommodate the multiple populations crowding into each city's limits. The commercial entrepreneurs who transformed the cities economically, not surprisingly, recognized that pragmatism was also key in politics. Moscow's Alekseev family, important as merchants, city managers, and champions of cultural growth, played a dynamic role, as did the Carter Harrisons, Sr. and Jr., in Chicago, and Seki Hajimi, among others, in Osaka. Whereas the Russians and the Japanese ultimately fell victim to national politics that drew them into war and imperialistic ventures, Mayor Harrison, Sr., fell to an assassin.

By keeping his focus clear on three distinctive places in the same time period, Ruble avoids making claims that exceed his evidence. Although he points out that his lack of Japanese language skills prevented him from accessing primary sources relevant to Osaka, this study does not rely on analyzing new sources. Indeed, Ruble acknowledges the substantive secondary literature for all three cities in his copious footnotes. The most exciting parts of the book come in his descriptions of the growth of the cities as commercial boomtowns: Chicago as "porkopolis," Moscow's "calico heart," and the development of the rice exchange that ultimately made Osakans culturally different, more like the "crass" Muscovites and Chicagoans than the aristocrats in Tokyo and Kyoto. Failures ultimately resulted from "the widening breach between formal capacities of administrative and political structures on the one hand, and the complex realities of metropolitan life on the other" (p. 233). But, as Mumford pointed out, this was to be expected from cities, which operate as social organisms and are hence affected by the larger environment.

A comparative work such as this helps to undercut the historiography of "exceptionalism" that still plagues Russian studies. On one level, as Ruble argues against emphasizing Moscow's differences from Chicago and Osaka, he supplies considerable documentation of each city's distinctive identity. Herein lies a

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particular strength of the book; instead of trapping his three cities in a world-systems analysis that would threaten the identity of each by essentializing common denominators, Ruble presents the cities in such a way that they reflect and refract each other, as in his demonstration of how each application of pragmatic pluralism depended on local circumstances. Ultimately, Ruble argues, Moscow becomes the "exceptional" one because of its enhanced geopolitical role in Europe and Central Asia in the twenty-first century. Its rise to "first metropolis," however, derived from changing global politics rather than a cultural uniqueness to Russia, and is not the tale told here.

LOUISE MCREYNOLDS
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JONATHAN S. MCMURRAY. *Distant Ties: Germany, the Ottoman Empire, and the Construction of the Baghdad Railway*. Westport, Conn.: Praeger. 2001. Pp. x, 155. $64.00.

Within the tight bounds of barely one hundred pages of text, this monograph attempts to untangle the complexities surrounding the construction of what has traditionally been called the Berlin-Baghdad Railway. In some respects, Jonathan S. McMurray does a competent job by making good use of unpublished German documents, personal memoirs, and travel accounts. But his task is hugely complicated by the necessity of dealing simultaneously with four different scenarios, which he does with wavering dexterity.

First, diplomacy. An incredible amount of scholarly toil has been invested in an effort to analyze the involvement of the Ottoman Empire in European affairs. Apart from Germany's infamous *Weltpolitik* under Wilhelm II, there were English designs to protect claims in the Persian Gulf, French banking interests, Russia's drive to penetrate the Dardanelles, a war with Italy, several Balkan conflicts, the guerrilla campaign by Lawrence of Arabia, and so on. McMurray tries gamely to unfurl this gigantic backdrop, but its intrinsic confusion is all too well reflected in his fitful rendition. The explanatory value of Ulrich Trumpener's *Germany and the Ottoman Empire, 1914–1918* (1968) thus remains intact.

Second, politics. In his introduction, McMurray flatly accuses previous researchers of having ignored "the internal dynamics of the Ottoman Empire in their analyses" (p. 3). But the limitations of his own account in that regard are self-evident. As noted, his deployment of German sources is laudable, but not a single reference to Ottoman archives is cited. Accordingly, much of his portrayal of Turkish political motivation and behavior is sheer conjecture. Two brief examples must suffice. After the eruption in 1908 of the Young Turks, who did not share Sultan Abdulhamid's pro-German leanings, workers on the Baghdad Railway raised sharp complaints about low wages and severe conditions. When no response was forthcoming from German management, they went on strike. McMurray then comments: "More impressive than the strike itself, however, was how quickly the group developed a social consciousness and the courage to assemble freely and protest loudly against injustice" (p. 75). The source for this is the *Schwäbischer Merkblatt*. Similarly, in 1910, the Young Turks accepted the German offer of a subsidy, whereupon, the author surmises, they gained "a renewed respect for Germany" (p. 83). No original source is indicated. Unfortunately, this style of narrative strongly resembles those old-fashioned colonial histories of Africa in which "natives" were invariably portrayed through dispatches from European administrators, much like representations of criminality based exclusively on police reports.

Third, technology. McMurray's finest pages are devoted to the actual construction of the railway. He capably relates how its route was explored and surveyed, and the many difficulties encountered: the bitter climate, rugged terrain, communicable diseases, banditry, lack of building materials, labor shortages, and ethnic strife among workers. Too often neglected in studies of the railway industry, these aspects might well have been amplified, specifically by including legible maps that would enable the reader to follow successive stages of construction.

Finally, the military. From the beginning, a German interest in the possible strategic value of a rail link to the Middle East was manifest. But McMurray leaves no doubt, if there ever was one, that this hope was vain and that, in fact, the Baghdad Railway (not completed until 1940) proved to be of little military importance in World War I. It thereby symbolized the ultimate failure in Turko-German relations to put into place a cultural bridge between two disparate and mutually uncomprehending societies. Such appears to be the appropriate conclusion to draw from this brief work, rather than McMurray's puzzling assertion that his story confirms Turkey's rise to an equal status among the powers of Europe.

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TAMI DAVIS BIDDLE. *Rhetoric and Reality in Air Warfare: The Evolution of British and American Ideas about Strategic Bombing, 1914–1945*. (Princeton Studies in International History and Politics.) Princeton: Princeton University Press. 2002. Pp. viii, 406. $45.00.

Almost since the advent of the airplane, air-minded military officers have touted its ability to win wars quickly and cheaply. As Tami Davis Biddle demonstrates, however, the gap between the rhetoric of those advocates and the reality of air power's performance has been vast. In this book, she is interested in explaining how the gap evolved and, more importantly, how it continued to exist even as the limits of air power became manifest. In doing so, she has set air power into its widest historical contexts yet and, while many of her arguments are not entirely new, has advanced

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the field considerably with a well-researched and carefully thought-out book.

The horrors of World War I's trench warfare led military planners to search for alternative ways to fight. To some, the airplane seemed the obvious answer. Between the world wars, the influential Italian writer Giulio Douhet and the British air power pioneer Hugh Trenchard envisioned an air war that would literally soar over the enemy's front defenses and directly attack civilian centers behind the lines. This kind of war, while surely more costly in civilian terms, would be quicker and cheaper than the world war just concluded. It would be won, Trenchard believed, by the nation best able both to deal a decisive blow of its own and to withstand a similar blow delivered by its enemies.

Most American planners were uncomfortable with such an approach and developed an "industrial fabric" theory of bombardment that promised victory through attacks on key "bottleneck" industries like oil refineries and ball bearing factories. The American plan, its proponents argued, could destroy the enemy's ability to wage war while sparing massive civilian casualties. It is a method that the Americans have held to ever since and one that required a great deal more accuracy than the British "area bombardment" schemes. The inability of Americans to develop technologies that could operationalize these ideas frustrated aviators throughout the interwar period and World War II.

While such ideas, with their promises of quick, relatively clean wars, were easy to sell, the inability of air force generals to make good on them caused considerable turmoil. During World War II, bombers were rarely able to hit their targets with any sustainable degree of accuracy. The prewar belief that bombers could fly unaccompanied deep into enemy air space also proved to be erroneous. Thus American pilots found it much easier to fire-bomb Japanese cities than to hit specific factories in cloud-covered and heavily defended northern Europe. There was a disparity between the "rhetoric" and the "reality" of air warfare. Air force generals solved this dilemma by moving away from precision and employing area bombing as a way to demoralize and "dehouse" the enemy.

Biddle adds two new dimensions to this already well-told tale. First, she sets the air power debate within the contexts of planners' concerns about the nature of their own societies. Especially in Britain, concerns about the durability of the English working class led many, like Trenchard, to worry about his own society cracking underneath the weight of an enemy air attack. He therefore argued for a massive air attack on his enemy's civilian population at the outbreak of hostilities in order to give England a fighting chance. His rhetoric influenced a generation of planners, including Arthur "Bomber" Harris, the Royal Air Force's most outspoken advocate of attacking civilians.

Second, she argues against functionality as the prime determinant of air power policy. Planners were looking less for what worked than for what they could sell. Cognizant of battles to retain or achieve independence from the army and navy, air force generals sought a doctrine that could claim a primary role in national defense planning. They ignored all obvious evidence to the contrary, preferring not to see the manifest problems in their own thinking. Such blindness led to massive casualties among air crews until the 1944 introduction of the P-51D Mustang long-range escort fighter, a move that many air power enthusiasts had long denied would be necessary. Furthermore, the discomfort that Americans and Britons felt (and continue to feel) about the civilian casualties that their air forces inflicted surprised and disappointed the airmen who risked their lives to make a substantial contribution to the air war. These two arguments should help to push the debate on air power forward as America and Britain fight a new air war, fraught with the same concerns about accuracy, civilian casualties, and the efficacy of air power.

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YEVETTE RICHARDS. *Maida Springer: Pan-Africanist and International Labor Leader.* Pittsburgh, Pa.: University of Pittsburgh Press. 2000. Pp. xv, 366. $29.95.

Yevette Richards offers a sensitive and compassionate portrayal of the life of Maida Springer, from her early life in Panama, to her formative years as an immigrant in pan-African New York City, through her entry into the American labor movement and deep involvement in the tumultuous world of the Cold War, anticolonialism and African labor. Richards provides an admirably nuanced portrait of Springer's early life and her rise in the labor movement, illuminating the historical intersections of labor, gender, race, and immigration. Having established herself as an indefatigable organizer and advocate of women's rights in the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, at the end of World War II, Springer became the first black woman to represent American labor abroad.

Arguing that historians need to transcend the simplistic divisions of the Cold War, Richards explores the conflicts between American advocates for African labor such as Springer, George McCray, and A. Philip Randolph on the one hand, and those who put the interests of former colonial powers or American investment above the needs of African workers on the other. Richards also details Springer's conflicts with such Cold Warrior associates in the American Federation of Labor-Congress of Industrial Organization (AFL-CIO) as Jay Lovestone and Irving Brown. Springer, Richards argues, "was among those who sought to put the Cold War in service of civil rights and anticolonialism, instead of allowing the prevailing political climate to undermine struggles for equality" (p. 108). Yet, as Richards makes clear, Springer was not a doctrinaire Cold Warrior and often found herself frustrated with U.S. policy as she sought to promote an antiracist and democratic agenda both within the

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United States and internationally. Richards has done a great service to historians through her nuanced explorations of Springer's productive working and personal relationships with such African labor and political figures as Tom Mboya of Kenya and the Tanganyikan nationalist leader and later president of Tanzania, Julius Nyerere, along with a host of lesser-known African labor activists. Richards examines the tensions between European and U.S. labor as Springer faced constant harassment by colonial governments threatened by her work in Africa.

While Richards demonstrates that Springer was frequently at odds with American foreign policy, the book is sometimes sketchy on the contours and ramifications of that foreign policy, resulting in a disjointed and confusing narration of such crises as those in the Belgian Congo and Ghana. Richards's general reliance on internal labor memoranda throughout the text, the lack of primary U.S. government sources, and the paucity of secondary sources on African politics and U.S. policy make it difficult to follow the U.S. policy and actions that increasingly alienated and angered many African leaders and activists. For example, we learn that Springer made contact with African labor in the Belgian Congo but then learn in passing of the assassination of Prime Minister Patrice Lumumba. Exploring additional sources, including the extensive documentation of U.S. involvement in Lumumba's assassination and the far-ranging response in Africa (as well as by African Americans) would give the reader more understanding of this "low point" in Springer's career (p. 180). Without this missing political context, it is more difficult to understand the mounting tensions that eventually made Springer's work in Africa untenable, leading to her resignation from the AFL-CIO's Department of International Affairs in 1966.

Richards hastily dismisses scholars who have raised legitimate questions about Springer's role in the close ties between the AFL-CIO and the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) and other U.S. government agencies. Springer worked closely with Lovestone and Brown, whose relationships to CIA-sponsored labor activities are well documented. Despite Richards's careful documentation of her conflicts with them, Springer reported to them and worked within parameters largely set by them. Richards's rejection of historians questions as "not consistent" with available evidence of the clear trust and mutual regard between Springer and many African leaders and trade unionists misses a chance to probe the contradictions that Springer struggled with so unhappily. For example, what was it that made nonalignment seem "extreme" to Springer (p. 177), and, later, what was her rationale for supporting the anti-African National Congress forces in South Africa? By the last sections of the book, such revelations as Springer's failure to oppose the AFL-CIO granting its George Meany Human Rights Award to Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Gatsha Buthelezi require explanation. Perhaps there was a greater conformity on Springer's part with AFL-CIO policy and more like mindedness with her labor colleagues than Richards's focus on their conflicts has allowed us to understand.

Still, Richards has given us a fascinating treatment of an important champion of African freedom and justice that will help to change scholars' understanding of the intersections of African-American, labor, international, and gender histories.

PENNY VON ESCHEN
University of Michigan

ERIC T. JENNINGS. *Vichy in the Tropics: Pétain's National Revolution in Madagascar, Guadeloupe, and Indochina, 1940–1944*. Stanford: Stanford University Press. 2001. Pp. vii, 311. $55.00.

The influence of the Vichy regime in modern French history was slow to emerge. Even as more work was done on this period, which many would have preferred to forget or downplay, little work was done on how Vichy affected the French empire. This excellent book by Eric T. Jennings opens up a field that has received scant attention even from French scholars of empire who tend to dismiss it, particularly in terms of its significance for any understanding of French decolonization. Yet this book has more to offer than a detailed understanding of the Vichy regime's impact in various parts of the empire.

Vichy's imperial program was significant because it took place away from the influence or direct control of the Nazi conquerors and cannot therefore be ascribed to the alleged necessity of trying to deal with or even fend off the dictates of the regime in Berlin. This undermines the argument that collaboration was sometimes geared to avoiding the worst excesses of the Nazi occupier and did not involve enthusiasm for the right wing or even fascist ideas adopted by the Vichy regime. Refuting this is perhaps the key argument of the book, which looks at the reasons for and consequences of the policies followed by the colonial authorities in Guadelope, Indochina, and Madagascar. The National Revolution was not only carried out enthusiastically by officials in Paris and in the overseas territories but adapted to fit with existing cultures in a form of "association," meaning the separation of indigenous and metropolitan traditions, as opposed to the republican rhetoric of "assimilation."

Vichy officials in France and overseas, it is argued, eagerly adopted antidemocratic ideas as well as the cult of Marshal Pétain and the values of work, patriotism, and family. The ideal of the simple life in the fields and the rearing of children could sit easily in the racist environment of the empire where inequality and economic exploitation were manifest. More important, Vichy provided an opportunity for those who despised the republic, and in particular the values and limited colonial reforms of the Popular Front. France and its empire could be reborn now that the Nazis had removed the republican regime that, along with the

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Jews and freemasons, had so enfeebled the true France. According to Jennings's convincing and meticulously researched account, the impact of such ideas was considerable, with possible long-term consequences that have been largely ignored.

In Madagascar, the ideas of the National Revolution had a subversive impact on French rule and contributed to the emerging Malagasy nationalism and the formation of national resistance. They therefore partly affected the outbreak of the revolt of 1947, which resulted in such an enormous loss of life. The harsh economic conditions with the British blockade also contributed, but so did the increased use of forced labor. The way this was linked to social control and the adoption of a work ethic was part of the regime's ideology. The emphasis on authority and hierarchy appealed to colonists and supporters of a French imperialism based on "association" and crude exploitation. It could be grafted onto the old traditional dominance of the Merina people but would also thereby facilitate resistance to both ancient and modern oppression.

In Guadeloupe, one of the "old" colonies, the republican tradition and the ideas of liberty, equality, and fraternity had made more impact than in most parts of the empire. Representation in Paris through universal male suffrage and the existence of local elected assemblies were features of Guadeloupe's colonial status. Yet Guadeloupe saw its political and judicial systems, with their republican history that was so anathema to Governor Constant Sorin and Minister of the Colonies Admiral Réné-Charles Platon, destroyed or undermined, while racism under Vichy increased. The attack on the achievements of the Third Republic and the removal of electoral assemblies represented a different form of Vichy authoritarianism.

In Indochina, which, it is argued, the Japanese largely left under French control until March 1945, the main emphasis was the linkage to a Vietnamese past, often reinvented, which was likely to promote a sense of national identity. With the Vichy administration keen to establish close links with conservative Annamite notables and abolishing elected municipal councils, nationalism was both encouraged and suppressed.

In indicating how Vichy colonial policy may have had significant short and long term effects, this book breaks new ground. The particular circumstances in different colonies will be of interest to colonial historians and regionalists, but there are broader conclusions to be drawn. The reassertion of authority and the destruction of republican institutions reveal the extent to which the forces of the right were keen to eradicate Popular Front reforms and ideology even through ideas provided by European fascism. The hatred of the left reveals not only the enormous divisions among French elites but the extent to which such forces were significant in relation to the Cold War and the final battles over the loss of the French Empire.

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PHILLIP C. NAYLOR. *France and Algeria: A History of Decolonization and Transformation*. Gainesville: University Press of Florida. 2000. Pp. xviii, 457. $49.95.

This book is a timely reminder that France's involvement with Algeria did not end with the Evian Accords in 1962. When the war was over, Algeria was no longer French, but it was also not completely independent. Philip C. Naylor's work is a considerable contribution to our understanding of this ambiguity, a subject already explored in other ways by René Gallissot, Claude Liauzu, André Nouschi, Kristin Ross, and Benjamin Stora, among others. Naylor argues that this relationship can be characterized by two constantly recycled postures of regard: an "essentialist perspective" on the part of the French, who since 1830 have used Algeria as a mirror to reflect their own self-image as a powerful nation on the world stage; and an ongoing "existential" crisis on the part of Algerians, whose confrontations with colonialisms both past and neo have provoked a primal anxiety about what the term "Algerian" could possibly mean.

The virtues of Naylor's book are the broad scope of his account and the informative detail of his narrative, which begins with Charles de Gaulle's return in 1958. Naylor shows how the Evian Accords—inconclusive and quickly revisited—served to displace French colonial practices onto a new plane even while they perpetuated the French presence in Algeria. The accords's incomplete nature suited both the French government and the new FLN (National Liberation Front) regime, because both de Gaulle and Ahmed Ben Bella could claim that the essential had been accomplished—for the French a guarantee of continued influence and for the Algerians an independent state—even while the details of this new relationship remained to be determined. Naylor characterizes the Ben Bella regime as "independence with interdependence" and emphasizes the practical and political consequences of the policy of "association" that the two countries continued to observe. De Gaulle himself noticed the contradiction; Ben Bella expressed satisfaction at the flight of the *pieds noirs* in 1962 but was equally content in the same year to observe the continued presence of 25,000 French cultural and technical specialists—the so-called *coopérants* who were the personification of the new relationship. Naylor notes that Ben Bella's attempt to create a new national identity around the use of the Arabic language and Islam was a necessary counterpoint to offset criticism from the Algerian Left, which held that his continued cooperation with the French, especially with the French petroleum industry, amounted to neocolonial interference. Houari Boumedienne, Ben Bella's successor, proved much less compliant. In 1971, he

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nationalized Algeria's natural gas industry and unilaterally set the prices that Algeria would demand in order to continue supplying France with oil. If the Evian Accords marked the end of political colonization, says Naylor, Boumedienne's nationalization policies ended economic colonization and dispensed with the privileged relationship that Algeria had had with France since the end of the war.

Naylor devotes almost the entire second half of his book to the tragic history of French-Algerian relations since the onset of the present Algerian crisis in the late 1980s. He shows how successive governments under François Mitterrand endorsed a *tiermondiste* policy that supported and even celebrated the accomplishments of the FLN's socialist regime, even as the Algerian government was restricting public liberties and tightening its control over civil society. The climax of this increasing authoritarianism came in October 1988 when the FLN regime fired on rioting youth in cities throughout the country, killing many and revealing the abyss that had opened up between the government and the population. Chadli Bendjedid's belated attempt to create a more open society in Algeria between 1989 and 1992 offered a brief window of hope to some outside observers, but as Naylor shows, this experiment in democratic reform came too late to benefit anybody except the growing Islamic movement in Algeria, and the resulting civil war in the 1990s reopened the brutal divisions that the first Algerian revolution in the 1950s had never succeeded in effacing. Successive French governments (both right and left) have found no better policy than continued support for the discredited and clannish military regime that currently rules the country, because letting go of this historic connection would be to admit that the entire project of postcolonial "association" has failed.

The danger, of course, in Naylor's characterization of the Algerian's ongoing "existential" crisis and the eternal "essentialism" of the French is that it might lead one to assume that French national identity is more "real" or coherent than that of Algerians. A study that relied less on the personality of figures like de Gaulle, Mitterrand, Ben Bella, or Boumedienne might come up with a more nuanced account of what these terms might have meant to less well-known Algerian and French citizens. Such a book, however, was never Naylor's intention, and this work will be necessary reading for anybody interested in twentieth-century France and Algeria or the history of decolonization.

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WYATT WELLS. *Antitrust and the Formation of the Postwar World*. (Columbia Studies in Contemporary American History.) New York: Columbia University Press. 2002. Pp. x, 276. $32.50.

Antitrust, a distinctive expression of American values, is often likened to a national religion. In this book, Wyatt Wells explores the ways in which this religion was exported during the immediate postwar period. The first several chapters provide an engaging discussion of competing theoretical interpretations of cartels, the emergence of cartels in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, the tension between the ideals of antitrust and the realities of corporate organization, and the evolution of antitrust during the Progressive era and the New Deal. Despite the rhetorical support for antitrust, it was approached with ambivalence given the contributions that large enterprises made to economic growth and rising consumption opportunities. International cartels were of limited concern given the insulation of the United States to international markets. This status of antitrust was particularly unresolved in the 1930s, as conflicts raged among factions in the New Deal and Franklin D. Roosevelt's recovery initiatives rarely sent a consistent message. In this chaotic context, Wells skillfully recounts how Thurman Arnold transformed the Antitrust Division and embarked on a vigorous crusade against a variety of business practices, thereby extending the reach of antitrust.

As the nation became embroiled in war, the antitrust reform agenda became difficult to reconcile with the demands of mobilization. Roosevelt could fight but one war at a time, and military success forced a rapprochement with big business. Ever the political entrepreneur, Arnold redirected the Antitrust Division's attention to international cartels and patents. Arnold and others argued that participation in international cartels imposed restrictions on U.S. firms and compromised their capacity to support the war effort. Moreover, many observers suggested that fascism could be linked causally to economic structure, arguing that German cartels had supported Adolf Hitler, promoted militarism, and opposed political liberalization.

Although Arnold was removed by FDR in 1943, when the war ended, the United States was committed to the proposition that decartelization and deconcentration were essential components of German and Japanese reconstruction. In the remainder of the volume, Wells provides a fascinating examination of the difficulties associated with promoting antitrust abroad. He provides some important insights into the ways in which the dismal economic conditions in Japan and Germany, uneven commitments among the Allies, a lack of administrative tools, and information scarcity affected the rapidity and extent of reform. Although decartelization was largely a success, by 1948, the threat of the Cold War forced Washington to sacrifice reform for industrial recovery. The United States was successful in pressuring many—but not all—nations to strengthen their competition laws and restrict cartelization. "America's attack on cartels succeeded when it constituted part of a broader program of liberalization, and it failed where liberalization did not take hold" (p. 212). Thus, Japan discarded antitrust restrictions after

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1953, whereas they became institutionalized in Europe as nations pressed toward economic integration.

While largely a success, this volume has its limitations. Some are relatively trivial (e.g. despite the lengthy discussion of antitrust during World War II mobilization, there is no examination of how reconversion explicitly favored large firms and starved smaller enterprises for resources, despite the implications for industrial concentration and the alleged support for antitrust). Others are of greater consequence. The author places an emphasis on antitrust, yet more should be done to explain why antitrust lost out whenever it came into conflict with other goals (e.g. economic recovery, war mobilization, the Cold War). Indeed, despite the book's title, one questions whether the importance of antitrust in the formation of the postwar world might be overstated when it is compared with trade liberalization, Bretton Woods, and the demands of the Cold War. Finally, the book devotes scant attention to the last half century, an odd decision given the trend toward globalization, the growing frequency of international cooperation in antitrust enforcement, and the harmonization of competition policies in the European Union. A careful examination of the contemporary era might allow Wells to judge better the importance of antitrust in the postwar system. Despite these limitations, he has written a carefully crafted volume that should be of great interest to students of business and political history.

MARC ALLEN EISNER
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LARA V. MARKS. *Sexual Chemistry: A History of the Contraceptive Pill*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 2001. Pp. xi, 372. $29.95.

This book represents scholarship of comparative modern history at its finest. Lara V. Marks presents a detailed and judicious account of the development and use of oral contraception in the United States and Europe following World War II. Based on extensive archival research in the United States and England, as well as over fifty interviews with key figures, this book is the most authoritative work to date on the history of oral contraception.

Marks shows that the primary impetus for the development of the birth control pill in the post-World War II period was the fear of global overpopulation, but the scientific origins of the pill can be traced to research in the late nineteenth century that led, in 1934, to the discovery of progesterone, an effective suppressant of ovulation. Parallel research beginning at the turn of the century also led to the isolation of estrogen as another ovulation suppressant. Also, in the prewar years, the contraceptive properties of plants were explored by scientists, including flowers used by the Shoshone to prevent pregnancy. A turning point in this research came in the postwar years when Katherine Dexter McCormick, at the recommendation of Margaret Sanger, began supporting the contraceptive research of Gregory Pincus at the Worcester Foundation in Massachusetts in 1952.

A major barrier to this research was finding inexpensive hormones necessary for the development of a hormonal contraceptive pill. The chief source of sex hormones was animal organs and by-products, which produced only miniscule amounts of hormones. For example, in 1930, the ovaries of 80,000 sows were required to extract a tiny fraction of estrogen. By the late 1930s, scientists were developing synthetic sex hormones from other raw materials, most notably cholesterol, which was found in plentiful supply in fish oils, animal fats, and the brains and spinal cords of cattle. The need for cheap sex hormones triggered an international race among pharmaceutical companies in Europe and the United States. A Mexican pharmaceutical company, Syntex, was the first to synthesize norethisterone, the first compound capable of being used as an oral contraceptive. Within months of Syntex's success, an American pharmaceutical company had produced norethnodreal, an equally active oral progestogen. This compound allowed Pincus and medical doctor John Rock to develop the first oral contraceptive pill.

The first tests of the pill involved fifteen psychotic women in the Worcester State Hospital. Large-scale testing then began in Puerto Rico, using female prisoners and female sugar cane workers. Feminists in the 1970s accused scientists and medical practitioners of treating these women as "guinea pigs," ignoring possible links between estrogens and cancer (already noted in the 1930s) and thrombotic complications of the pill. Marks argues that, in retrospect, there was very little to alert suspicion about these connections in the late 1950s.

The introduction of the pill, Marks observes, increased physicians' contact with contraception, but it also promoted a new form of preventative medicine. At the same time, the introduction of the pill posed questions about the relationship between oral contraceptives and women's health, especially links between the pill and thrombosis and cervical cancer. She reveals that American doctors continued to prescribe pills that were restricted in Britain. She accounts for this difference for a number of reasons, including a better monitoring of drugs in Britain's centralized health care system and American doctors' tendency, fearing litigation, to underreport side effects of the pill.

Use of the pill remains highest in Europe and the United States and least popular in Japan, China, and India. In Japan, for example, only an estimated one percent of women use the pill because feminist groups oppose it as invasive, destroying the natural rhythm of the female body. Moreover, in Western countries, the condom is once again replacing the pill as a preferred method of contraception because of the AIDS epidemic and greater health awareness. This changing pattern is especially interesting when viewed in rela-

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tion to the changing balance of power between women and men over contraception.

This book makes a genuine contribution to scholarship. Marks's general conclusion recommends itself as a significant lesson of modern history: social panacea is not found in a quick technological fix, even one as potent as the contraceptive pill.

DONALD T. CRITCHLOW
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ASIA

ALAN J. BERKOWITZ. *Patterns of Disengagement: The Practice and Portrayal of Reclusion in Early Medieval China*. Stanford: Stanford University Press. 2000. Pp. xii, 296. $55.00.

The study of the individual in the making of Chinese history and civilization has in recent years experienced renewed vigor in the world of Chinese studies in this country. Although the main focus of the recent research trend has been on the well-established research domains of the individual and society, the individual and the state, and the life and life history of the individual, the methodological approaches have been much refined and broadened and the interpretive frameworks expanded to include interdisciplinary perspective. For instance, psychoanalytic techniques and dream analysis have been added to produce new insights into character, personality, and behavioral patterns. Equally important is the use of social-mobility theory, class theory, and collective-action theory to examine and interpret the roles of certain individuals in critical political, social, and intellectual movements. The author of the book under review, however, has chosen to follow more traditional paths. Alan J. Berkowitz seeks to trace the formulation and portrayal of the practice of reclusion in China from the earliest times through the sixth century.

In essence, this is a study of the types and distinctive characteristics of those men in early and early medieval China who eschewed official appointments in favor of pursuing personal ideals. They did so in a society that took its long-established, customary path to achievement through service to the state. Regardless of individual motivations and peculiar situational circumstances, these men stood out; they received approbation for maintaining their resolve, their integrity, and their moral and personal values in the face of adversity, threats, or temptation. History has treated them with admiration and praise, and their examples became paragons for later generations to emulate. My preliminary estimate shows that there are at least over 1,500 specialized primary and secondary accounts of such men, real or legendary, of varying lengths and degrees of depth. The two most recent scholarly monographs in English are Aat Vervoorn, *Men of the Cliffs and Caves: The Development of Chinese Eremitic Tradition to the End of the Han Dynasty* (1990), and Berkowitz's book. They treat the same subject matter but are slightly different in scope: Vervoorn's book stops at the third century, while the Berkowitz volume continues to the sixth century.

This book consists of an introduction, a conclusion, and seven chapters. The main chapters cover four major topics in the evolution of the tradition of reclusion in ancient China: the origins and early development of "disengagement" in ancient China to the third century B.C.; the development of reclusion as a way of life in Chinese society from the third century B.C. to the third century A.D.; the rise of "substantive reclusion" (reclusion actualized as a chosen way of life) in the later Han period; and the nature and portrayal of substantive reclusion from the third to sixth centuries. Within each chapter and in the introduction and the conclusion, Berkowitz surveys and analyzes historical and literary materials bearing on the nature and portrayal of reclusion.

The book's inclusion of so many Chinese characters in the character list and in the large number of bibliographical entries makes it exceptional. In spite of the many mistakes in these characters, the author and the publisher should be commended for their contribution to the world of scholarship on China in this country.

CHUN-SHU CHANG
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RANDALL A. DODGEN. *Controlling the Dragon: Confucian Engineers and the Yellow River in Late Imperial China*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press. 2001. Pp. ix, 243. $29.95.

Randall A. Dodgen's book explores the relationships among nature, technology, and political culture in late imperial China. Well researched and filled with judicious analysis, this environmental history examines the ways imperial policy, bureaucratic management, and fiscal realities both altered and were altered by the flood-prone, silt-laden Yellow River of north China. Providing insight into the bureaucratic and geological problems of river conservancy in imperial China, this study argues that, far from discouraging technological innovation and independent thought, Qing rulers welcomed new ideas that were practical and compatible with political realities. Ultimately, imperial management projects failed because the river itself had been altered by successful previous policies into a condition of increased sedimentation and meander activity that could no longer be controlled by the standard bureaucratic solutions of more extensive dikes, locks, spillways, and drainage canals.

At the heart of his argument, Dodgen places a political culture that granted highest governmental office and prestige to scholars of literary achievement and consequently tended to give technical experts and their knowledge only secondary consideration. River officials Li Yumei and Linqing both operated in this context. They gained their expertise through on-site

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experience and training outside of the regular channels of upward mobility, the literary examination system. As a consequence, Dodgen demonstrates, engineers' work was subject to censors and civilian bureaucrats who had no technical understanding and were generally skeptical of innovations that could be costly or work a hardship on the general population. In this political climate, the emperor himself was often crucial in gaining support for engineering innovations that addressed such problems as inadequate materials for dike construction or remedies for fiscal shortages. Dodgen finds that, by the nineteenth century, when many fiscal and political problems beset China, the Yellow River network of dikes and canals had already outgrown the government's minimalist fiscal and management methods.

Dodgen is clear that strategies that became the limitations of nineteenth-century administration had significant success prior to this period. The system was not in decline, Dodgen argues, so much as in need of a new paradigm given the evolution of the river and its conservancy networks. As annual expenditures for the maintenance of the Yellow River grew to exceed ten percent of total state revenues, the government's ability to respond to natural and social problems was reaching a limit. War indemnities owed to foreign intruders and fiscal strains generated by rebel suppression campaigns accentuated stress points in China's conservation policies. The government battled the Yellow River in 1841–1842 after the flood of Xiangfu inundated the Henan provincial capital of Kaifeng, and again in 1842–1845 when a break in the dikes at Taoyuan and Zhongmou in northern Jiangsu province resulted in disaster that overwhelmed existing bureaucratic approaches. Fiscal conservatism produced delay and ineffectiveness that impeded the problem-solving process.

The use of the term "Confucian" engineers in the title of this work and throughout the text is problematic. If Confucian is code for the classical canon, then the works of Kong Zi were only a part of what had evolved by the late Qing as imperial political philosophy and practice. These engineers would not have identified themselves as Confucian. Dodgen's interpretation of "Confucian" political culture as characterized by a divide between expert and generalist is useful to a point, but it also sets up a simplified dichotomy that leads too easily to the conclusion that, in the end, China needed and was not about to develop the scientific construction and management strategies that emerged with industrial society. The implicit assumption that greater expertise means movement toward industrial technologies blocks full consideration of two important questions: what would have been the social and environmental costs of greater reliance on scientific expertise, and what alternative technologies might have emerged if military industrialism had not set the pace for nineteenth and twentieth-century China? We do know that the eventual application of industrial technologies to control and develop the Yellow River and surrounding areas caused the river to run dry for the first time in its history in 1972. Discharge of toxins from cities and factories has made river water unfit for irrigation and human consumption along much of its route. According to the United Nations, eighty percent of China's major rivers are so polluted that they no longer support fish.

Dodgen's study brings China's history into discussions of both environmental history and the history of science and technology through specific issues of river conservancy along one of the world's major rivers. It also raises important questions about the relationship of technical expertise to political policy making and about the possibility of alternative technologies and environmental practices arising from different political systems.

ROXANN PRAZNIAK
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PHILIP C. C. HUANG. *Code, Custom, and Legal Practice in China: The Qing and the Republic Compared*. (Law, Society, and Culture in China.) Stanford: Stanford University Press. 2001. Pp. ix, 246. Cloth $49.50, paper $19.95.

Philip C. C. Huang's *Civil Justice in China: Representation and Practice in the Qing* (1996) was a major contribution to scholarly understanding of late imperial Chinese history and society. Using 628 newly available cases spanning the years 1760–1909 from three rural county archives, a careful reading of the Qing Code itself, local magistrate handbooks, and the South Manchurian Railway Company's surveys of local customs, Huang quite handily overturned much of the conventional appreciation of the role of law and its employment by the village population in Qing China. The Qing Code, of course, was in form exclusively a criminal code, its statutes throughout stated as prohibitions and restrictions, the violation of which was subject to a range of punishments by a "legalist" state. In practice, however, large sections of the code and its substatutes dealt with matters that we would properly characterize as "civil law" (e.g. conditional transfers of land, debt, inheritance and old age support, and aspects of marriage and divorce). And the populace made extensive use (perhaps a third of the total case load) of the local magistrates courts to bring suits or threaten to sue on a whole range of civil disputes, characterized as "minor matters" in the Qing Code. Moreover, in practice, magistrates frequently tempered the application of the code by taking prevalent local custom into account in their decisions, and complaints that were filed were often settled among the parties themselves, before they received a formal court hearing but under the influence of probable action by the court.

The book reviewed here is, in a sense, a continuation and extension of Huang's earlier work. Because it can assume the broader conclusions and logical-theoretical

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argument of the earlier book, it is perhaps not as innovative as its predecessor. Still, it will be of substantial interest to historians and legal scholars of modern China. To the sources noted above, Huang has added 247 Republican-era cases from four rural counties covering the period 1916–1949; the revised Qing Criminal Code of the last years of the dynasty, which remained the law of the various Peking Governments; successive drafts of the Guomindang Civil Code that replaced it in 1929–1930; and Supreme Court and Judicial Yuan explanations and interpretations for 1912–1946. These sources permit him to present (in part one, "From Qing to Guomindang Law") what is, to my knowledge, the best account yet of the transition from late imperial to Republican "civil justice" regimes. The relationship of the formal codes to their vastly different philosophical-logical foundations is nicely handled, as is Huang's finding that "legal institutions changed well in advance of codified law during the transitional period of 1900–1930" (p. 48).

In keeping with the book's title, part two, "Qing and Guomindang Civil Justice Compared," examines and compares the interaction of formal statutes and substatutes with local custom in actual legal practice in the late Qing empire and the Guomindang-era republic. Huang finds much change but also substantial continuity as he considers in turn and in much detail cases from rural China concerned with the conditional sale of land (*dian*), topsoil ownership or "permanent tenancy," repayment of debt, and old-age support for one's parents. The tension was greater in the Guomindang years than it had been in the Qing between the code and practice on the one hand and local custom on the other, but there remained nevertheless a degree of realistic accommodation. In two interesting chapters, Huang also suggests the pluses and minuses that might have been confronted by women in the matter of choices under Qing and then Republican law in such matters as marriage, divorce, illicit sex, and adultery (formally governed by "criminal" rather than "civil" codes).

While of course not modern "developed" economies, both late Qing and Guomindang China were highly commercialized with a significant urban population and extensive domestic markets. If most economic transactions, and thus potential civil disputes arising out of them, involved transfers of land rights, many surely did not. China's tumultuous modern history has not been kind to local archival records, and Huang is to be praised for gaining access to the rural county case files of which he made such good use. How interesting and valuable it would be if perhaps among China's 1,500–2,000 local jurisdictions there yet remained some nineteenth and twentieth-century court records from urban areas where the contours of pre-People's Republic Chinese "civil justice" more specifically related to commerce, markets, handicraft manufacture, prices, shipping, and the like might be as clearly revealed as those matters studied by Huang. To close with a lesser quibble: the typesetting and proofreading of romanized Chinese terms that are hyphenated at the ends of lines are in places distractingly sloppy.

ALBERT FEUERWERKER
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NEIL J. DIAMANT. *Revolutionizing the Family: Politics, Love, and Divorce in Urban and Rural China, 1949–1968*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 2000. Pp. xviii, 440. $55.00.

Neil J. Diamant's path-breaking study, based on years of dissertation research, raises important questions on the relationship between state and society that will be of interest not just to those in the China field, and not just to those studying the relatively narrow issues of marriage and divorce. Indeed, as he suggests early on, his major question—"To what extent can states change family structure, family relations, and conceptions of 'proper' family behavior?" (p. 2)—has also been taken up by American politicians, religious leaders, and others concerned with the regulation of morality. While Diamant's research and evidence is drawn from the Chinese case, in virtually every chapter he attempts to put Chinese events into a comparative perspective, substantially increasing the value of the book to those outside the China field.

The book is organized chronologically and geographically and is structured around several key questions. The author is interested in the effect of the Marriage Law of 1950 on family dynamics; he is interested in discovering which groups were more willing and able to use the new laws and institutions to change their family situations; and he is interested in whether people considered political categories in selecting spouses, friends, and lovers (p. 17). Diamant contrasts his own findings, based almost entirely on archival sources in China, with those of other scholars who have adopted a variety of now-familiar perspectives, including those he characterizes as "academic feminist," "modernization," "law and social change," and "strong state" (p. 18). Critical of much of the conventional wisdom concerning family and gender politics in urban and rural China, he calls for concepts, metaphors, and models to account for the "mess" of Chinese politics, not just its patterns (p. 316). As a political scientist, he finds such familiar approaches as rational choice, patron-client, or principal-agent too elegant or structured to capture policy implementation in a country with the complications and contradictions of China. State policy often results in unintended or unanticipated outcomes, and the "state" consists of multiple levels with "interests" that are far from uniform. He therefore takes a disaggregated or "bottom-up" approach to both state and society. One cannot assume, for example, that male officials at all levels will make decisions that reinforce "patriarchy" (a term he finds not particularly helpful) or that rural Chinese women have little agency vis-à-vis the state.

Diamant's findings are often surprising and will no

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doubt stimulate much new research. For example, he discovers that the Marriage Law continued to influence family dynamics throughout the 1950s and 1960s, and that its greatest effect was in the rural areas and on "rural-educated" people in the cities. In contrast to those who argue that conservative Confucian sexual morality had an enduring influence on both rural society and the state, he demonstrates that the peasants' sexual culture was remarkably open. It was the intellectuals who were in fact far more prudish and concerned with social order, thus making it more difficult for them to take advantage of the new law. He also suggests, again in contrast to previous studies, that in selecting or divorcing marriage partners, in friendship, and in sex, political class was important primarily to intellectuals. Even the standard periodization of post-1949 Chinese political history, which conveniently uses political/economic campaigns such as the First Five Year Plan, the Anti-Rightist Movement, or the Great Leap Forward as the key policy-driven timelines, proves to be less useful in looking at the politics of everyday life as seen through family dynamics.

As a pioneer in using the new archival sources, Diamant has written an outstanding book, allowing us to hear the voices of those less literate and presenting a much more lively and disorderly China than officials and intellectuals have offered in the sanitized state media. While fully acknowledging his achievement and the importance of the volume, I nevertheless come away with some nagging doubts about those same sources. Do these internal reports, written by officials and intended for other officials, exaggerate those behaviors seen as deviant in the same way that openly published accounts, intended for propaganda purposes, exaggerate compliant behaviors? The Chinese internal press, often used to express state concerns with the society it is governing, has its own selection bias. To his credit, Diamant is aware of this problem and does address it. In the end, I would agree with him that these new archival sources, despite some obvious limitations, are extremely valuable in compelling scholars to challenge what has become, in the absence of such detailed material, received conventional wisdom.

STANLEY ROSEN
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BARBARA J. BROOKS. *Japan's Imperial Diplomacy: Consuls, Treaty Ports, and War in China 1895–1938.* (Studies of East Asian Institute, Columbia University.) Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press. 2000. Pp. xi, 296. Cloth $55.00, paper $27.95.

This is a splendid study with the wrong title: it is much more about Japan's "China hands" and their ultimately unsuccessful struggle to fashion a not-so-imperial diplomacy toward China. In that struggle they had unsympathetic superiors in the Foreign Ministry in Tokyo and outright (and outrageous) adversaries in the Imperial Army throughout China. But they used what tools they had, including, somewhat ironically, a Chinese treaty system that many of them wished to revise.

Barbara J. Brooks's story begins with the rise of the Foreign Ministry as a professional, and therefore autonomous, bureaucracy within the Japanese government. This is not a novel story, but it is an important one that reminds us that the Foreign Ministry did not enjoy an easy path. The army contested control of the conduct of Japan's foreign relations from the beginning of the Meiji years. The South Manchurian Railway, a much later creation, proved to be a formidable competitor in its base region. Nor were the rising political parties themselves naturally allies of the Foreign Ministry, although on this intriguing and important score Brooks's account suffers from lack of reference to Frederick R. Dickinson's *War and National Reinvention: Japan in the Great War, 1914–1919* (1999).

By the 1920s, Japan had a professional bureaucracy of diplomats, the great majority of them graduates of Tokyo Imperial University. That was, however, a problem rather than a strength for Japan's China policy. The professional diplomats were not China hands, and the China hands were not professional diplomats. This perspective leads Brooks to a novel evaluation of Japan's overall diplomacy during this decade. Standard interpretations have Baron Shidehara Kijuro sponsoring a set of pro-Western policies, challenged only intermittently by the army and other hardliners. Brooks, or rather her China hands, often saw Shidehara as part of the problem in Japan's relations with China. The hands argued that Chiang Kai-shek and his Nationalist Party might represent a real opportunity for a unified China friendly to Japan. Shidehara seldom supported them.

Shidehara and the rest of the Foreign Ministry leaders in Tokyo also seldom understood the realities of life in China. One of the real strengths of Brooks's work is to make clear just how much of a frontier China was, especially its Manchurian provinces. The migration of Koreans into Manchuria, and the sometimes nefarious dealings of Taiwanese throughout China, posed severe challenges to the diplomatic and judicial skills alike of Japan's consuls there. The treaty institution of extraterritoriality fit poorly over the permanent settlement of Koreans in the north, and it interposed a most unfortunate legal protection for Taiwanese drug-running in the south.

Dealing with these problems would have been difficult enough, but Japan's China hands also had to contend with other Japanese, especially from the army. The army's objectives in Manchuria have been thoroughly treated in other studies. Brooks's work makes clear how thoroughly outrageous the army's behavior was in 1931—to Japanese diplomats, not just the hapless Chinese.

Brooks's focus on Japanese diplomats in China also allows her to illuminate more complex reasons behind the two chief reform initiatives within the Foreign

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Ministry during the early twentieth century. Scholars heretofore have concentrated on the second, centered in the mid-1930s, that saw "reform bureaucrats" such as Shiratori Toshio embrace "Imperial Way diplomacy" that closely echoed the army's disdain for the West and its hope that Japan would create an anti-Western Asian bloc. This view is correct, but it ignores the desire of both movements for more vigorous leadership from the ministry's leaders. Shiratori and his colleagues despised Shidehara even more for his reliance on foreign pressure (*gai'atsu*) from the West in his dealings with the army than for his overall pro-Western attitudes. Brooks is also persuasive in her discussion of the first movement, arising from similar difficulties during and immediately after World War I.

Shiratori's reforms grandly backfired, with the result that the Foreign Ministry was out of the diplomacy business with China by 1937 and with the West by 1942. But the China hands remained, and Brooks's final chapters detail their frustrating and fruitless efforts to avert what they clearly saw as a disaster in the making.

The study's chief shortcoming (title aside) is its curious reluctance not to focus on the China hands and their reform initiatives throughout. Its cover photograph, of a pained Ishii Itaro (a leading hand) looking on as the Foreign Ministry loses its jurisdiction over China, points the reader to the fascinating story that often does emerge in these pages. But a more tightly focused effort, start to finish, would have made this fine work a real classic.

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LEO T. S. CHING. *Becoming "Japanese": Colonial Taiwan and the Politics of Identity Formation*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 2001. Pp. xii, 251. $18.95.

Students of East Asia have discovered what critics of the West have long known: colonial society is gold for those panning for complexities in modern life and identity. Just as cultural theory owes much to observations of British and French imperialism, the Japanese Empire has seized the attention of a new generation of East Asian culture watchers. Leo T. S. Ching joins a growing number of authors whose studies over the last decade have exposed the ironies of a supposedly homogeneous Japanese nation constructing a multiethnic empire.

This volume has all the elements of a winning cultural critique: comparative context (Ching urges an end to the "ghettoization" of Japanese colonial studies in Euro-American academia); complexity (the author describes Taiwanese identity as a "triple consciousness"); identification and analysis of a handful of "canonical" literary texts; and passionate concern for the "postcolonial" discourse (in both Japan and Taiwan). For students of Japanese imperialism, Ching offers an interesting new glimpse of the transformation of Japanese colonial policy, from the perspective of both the colonized and the colonizer. As Japan hands are aware, Japanese aims took a strident turn after the formal outbreak of war with China in July 1937, from attempted assimilation (*dōka*, or wholesale export of Japanese institutions to Taiwan and Korea) to aggressive efforts to eradicate all signs of indigenous culture (*kōminka*, destroying ancestral altars and temples, dissolving private associations, enforcing the use of Japanese, and replacing indigenous names with Japanese ones).

Ching adds a new dimension to our understanding of Japanese policy shifts by documenting a change in perception in Tokyo. He locates that change in the original and illuminating arena of Japanese literary conceptions of Taiwan's aborigines. As the most distant culturally from the metropole, aboriginal tribes presented the greatest challenge to Japanese assimilation efforts. But by comparing Japanese literary coverage of this group in the 1940s with that of the 1910s, Ching reveals a dramatic change in Japanese consciousness accompanying the aggressive policy shift. Even people who had hitherto been considered mere "savages" appeared in Japanese literature by 1943 as "national subjects."

If Japanese policies and attitudes vis-à-vis their subject peoples went through a metamorphosis, so, too, did the views of the colonized themselves. According to Ching, the postwar debate over literary production in colonial Taiwan has mistakenly described Taiwanese consciousness as either the appendage of a larger Han Chinese ethnic identity or the autonomous historical product of Japanese colonialism. This reflects the postwar political battle between champions of Taiwanese reunification with mainland China and advocates of Taiwanese independence. Ching hopes to replace the essentialism and binarism of this debate with a story of change over time and multifarious identity. The change, he argues, accompanied the Japanese policy shift and was marked by the disappearance in colonial literature of any expression of hope for cultural autonomy. Writing under *kōminka* no longer embodied anticolonial resistance but reflected acceptance of an irreducible, triple identity: colonial (Japan), national (China), and local (Taiwan).

These points, and the literature that Ching presents to substantiate them, should engage anyone interested in Japanese imperialism and/or Taiwanese identity. Unfortunately, the book focuses less on substantive exposition than on theoretical calisthenics. The author's overriding concern with staking out a claim within postcolonial discourse not only makes it difficult to extract the important intellectual and cultural lessons; it distorts the historical record. While Ching painstakingly describes the variegated nature of Taiwanese "consciousness," for example, his vision of official Japanese policy after 1937 remains quite uniform. "*Kōminka*" was not, as Ching holds, articulated and implemented as official policy "in conjunction with

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mass mobilization in 1937" (p. 126). Like "mass mobilization," it comprised a long series of measures between 1935 and 1945 aimed at tapping colonial resources and was hardly in force when the novel, *A Town of Papaya Trees*, won a Japanese literary prize in 1937. That this text marks for Ching the beginning of a "radical shift" in Taiwanese consciousness integrally tied to new "official colonial policy," then, raises serious questions about both the supposedly tight correspondence between Japanese policy and Taiwanese identity and the purportedly sudden nature of change in colonial consciousness. As for the colonizers, the change from "*seiban*" (raw savages) to "*takasagozoku*" (Taiwan tribal peoples) in colonial government references to aborigines more than two years before the outbreak of war with China confirms that Japanese "consciousness," too, was a many-headed beast that defies simple categorization across an artificial 1937 divide.

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E. TAYLOR ATKINS. *Blue Nippon: Authenticating Jazz in Japan*. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. 2001. Pp. xiv, 366. Cloth $64.95, paper $21.95.

To write the history of jazz in North America is a daunting task; to write it for countries like France, Germany, and Russia may be even more daunting. Jazz has been called the only true American art form ever, what with its roots in the cotton fields of the South and bordellos of the North, the Jews of New York or Chicago, or the Boston Irish. The multiethnic and multicultural mix of the United States at the beginning of the twentieth century gave rise to jazz as we know it. It was the archetype and never had to worry about copying other music forms, such as the serious, classical genre (although a symbiosis was often enough tried: *vide* Paul Whiteman, George Gershwin, or Gunther Schuller). Internal politics passed it by or organically influenced it, often indirectly, such as jazz being played in the speakeasies of the 1920s because of Prohibition dictated by a narrow political class.

Jazz imported into France in the 1920s became a somewhat different product because aesthetics changed, even though politics seems to have had little or no bearing on it. In the Soviet Union, jazz, even if played felicitously as an art form, easily could turn into an elitist instrument of political dissidence, which threatened its existence. In Germany, the situation was similar after the Nazis took power in 1933; but it was also more complicated and even compromising, to the extent that the Nazi regime elected to make use of jazz music for purposes of inside and outside propaganda.

E. Taylor Atkins's fascinating book on jazz in Japan makes the point early on that existing studies of jazz in Nazi Germany and Communist Russia have been concerned more with politics than aesthetics. It is true, for instance, that German jazz musicians never seriously attempted—before or after the Nazi period—to integrate home-grown folk music into the genre. For Japan, the situation was different. Atkins shows that, on one hand, Japanese society and culture were diametrically opposed to American society and culture, so that something as specifically American as jazz really could not fit into the hallowed Japanese tradition. On the other hand, however, he presents the well-known Japanese phenomenon of imitation, adaptation, integration, which in the end made jazz in Japan something of a success story. But only in a very qualified manner. The main theme of Atkins's beautifully written and fact-studded book is the constant struggle between pro-Western Japanese curiosity, which opened the door to jazz, and a generic hesitancy on the part of Japanese musicians to be "Western" and let it all hang out, the way a Dizzie Gillespie or Charlie Parker would. This brings us to the question of skill, since in the history of U.S. jazz there were never, ever any musicians technically more skilled than "Dizz" and "Bird." Atkins amazes his readers by pointing to (eventually) extremely high levels of technical accomplishment among Japanese jazz musicians, especially in our time, some of whom, like Toshiko Akiyoshi and Makoto Ozone, were distinguished graduates of the renowned Boston-based Berklee School of Music, the Harvard of jazz instruction. But he also says that, try as they might, Japanese jazz musicians always found it difficult to play Japanese jazz as American jazz, a situation that eventually turned off as accomplished a pianist as Toshiko and prompted her to stay in the United States indefinitely. In seriously attempting to incorporate traditional Japanese elements into their American jazz musicianship, Japanese players were betraying to themselves and others a bad conscience, which rendered them, in the end, something close to failures.

Atkins describes other aspects of jazz in Japan that are no less important for comprehending the existence of the art form in that country, such as big dance-band commercialism, substance abuse, or the various sexual or erotic phenomena notoriously associated with jazz in other places, America included. These things are good to read about, for they shaped jazz and its audiences peculiarly in France, Germany, and the Soviet Union. But as much as Atkins deplores the lack of an aesthetic treatment of jazz in those countries, he himself could have said more about the issue of jazz, its existence or nonexistence, in Japan within the *political* landscape before and, especially, during World War II. This was the time when jazz in Nazi Germany, for example, became truly interesting, because the United States were the Nazis' cultural enemy. But what happened in Japan, apart from official proscription? Did jazz become an element of internal opposition to the imperial government? Why was jazz so easily resurrected in Japan after 1945; was it really just because of the occupying (and often jazz-performing) U.S. troops? A subsequent sweeping postwar Americanization of Japanese life, including business and culture, would be too facile an answer. To

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have thrown a little more light on this critical side of jazz in Japan would have made this a perfect book for me.

MICHAEL H. KATER
York University

MICHAEL SALMAN. *The Embarrassment of Slavery: Controversies over Bondage and Nationalism in the American Colonial Philippines*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 2001. Pp. xi, 335. $45.00.

The American colonial Philippines—the period of formal U.S. political rule over the islands from the Philippine-American War (1899–1902) to 1946—has long been a neglected field of historical research in both the Philippines and United States. For Filipino historians, U.S. rule, which relied heavily on elite Filipino collaboration, confounded narratives of the rise of independence-based Filipino nationalism. For U.S. historians, colonial rule in the Philippines was obscured by national-exceptionalist claims that the United States was not a colonial empire and by the inattention of military and diplomatic historians cleaving to U.S. metropolitan actors and archives. Along with other recent work, Michael Salman's revealing study of discourses of slavery and emancipation in the early twentieth-century Philippines suggests that this topic is beginning to attract the scholarly attention it deserves.

Salman identifies slavery and emancipation as the central means by which both U.S. and Filipino actors came to comprehend U.S. colonialism in the Philippines. Slavery and emancipation, as he puts it, "became points of social, cultural, and political conflict in a series of intertwined American and Philippine histories" (p. 20). In locating these points, Salman's work simultaneously contributes to three different but related areas of historical inquiry. First, it provocatively extends to Southeast Asia historical debates about the politics of emancipation that have heretofore been firmly and almost exclusively anchored in the Atlantic world. Second, it undertakes a cultural history of U.S. colonial rule that highlights competing definitions of and negotiations between ruler and ruled, whereas most prior studies have focusd primarily on more conventional political and administrative history. Third, implicitly but perhaps most significantly, it puts the Muslims of the southern archipelago, and the animists of northern Luzon, at the center of Philippine history. These regions, Salman argues, with their "non-Christian" peoples, were the crucibles in which notions of what it was to be "Filipino," and what it was to be "colonial," were forged.

The book is organized chronologically, from the Battle of Manila Bay in 1898 through the 1916 Jones Act, which "Filipinized" the colonial state and promised eventual independence. Even before the advent of a colonial state, Salman argues, "[a]ntislavery ideology and the history of abolition shaped Americans' debate on U.S. colonial rule in the Philippines" (p. 28). Drawing on earlier works, he shows how the ranks of anti-imperialist leadership included abolitionists and how these figures made public sense of U.S. colonialism in light of questions of slavery and freedom. When, in 1899, the United States negotiated the Bates Treaty with Moro *datus* in the southern islands, promising nonintervention with "slavery," it further fueled anti-imperialist arguments that colonialism was contrary to progress, freedom, and morality. Salman then provides a nuanced social history of slavery within the political structures of the southern Philippines; in the interests of indirect rule, U.S. officials represented these systems as "mild," to be eliminated gradually through promises of compensation and U.S. protection for runaways. "The problem," Salman notes astutely, "lay in resolving the contradiction between antislavery commitments and the imperative of colonial order so that one did not fully negate the other" (p. 115). As the U.S. colonial state consolidated, its officials increasingly redrew slavery as "harsh," passing "anti-slavery" laws that touched off ten years of Moro-U.S. warfare.

In his final section, Salman reveals how "slavery" emerged as one of the central tropes in U.S.-Filipino colonial politics through what he calls "the metaphorics of slavery and nation" (p. 123). He begins by exploring the meanings of "slavery" within Tagalog political culture, isolating antislavery tropes within the larger fabric of late-nineteenth-century Tagalog millennarian revolutionary thought. Slavery was also an organizing theme for the elite Filipino nationalists who collaborated and contended with U.S. proconsuls. U.S. colonialism might itself be cast as "slavery," as Spanish colonialism had been, although "official" nationalists' own interests in the existing order suggested other rhetorical routes. Indeed, as Salman adeptly shows, the enslavement of "non-Christians" in northern Luzon by Christians was used by U.S. colonial officials as an argument against Filipino capacities for self-government. In response, nationalists denied the existence of slavery in the islands in both present and past. Turning the tide of the "slavery" controversies, Salman argues, was essential to the maintenance of U.S. control. "The meanings of slavery emerged as an embarrassment," he observes, "first for American advocates of colonialism and the colonial state in the Philippines, and then for American anti-imperialists and Filipino nationalists" (p. 20).

Despite the book's many strengths, Salman's careful tracking of languages of slavery and emancipation is carried out in isolation from other discourses, leaving readers the mistaken impression that such themes were the primary or even exclusive ground of Philippine-American colonial politics. While highly significant, "anti-slavery" politics were far from the only languages of Philippine-American colonial politics, which involved equally charged exchanges over the meanings of race, republicanism, education, civilization, and family that intersected with, rather than being subsumed within, "anti-slavery." The presence

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or absence of slavery was far from the only criteria for "self-government," progress or civilization for the Philippines' resourceful American rulers. Salman's argument for the predominance of "anti-slavery" is achieved in part by effacing important boundaries between discourses. He blurs the lines between distinct tropes of colonial difference: for example, fusing at one point "slavery, head-hunting and other 'barbaric practices'" (p. 144). Confronted with the absence of slavery and emancipation in William McKinley's 1898 "Benevolent Assimilation" proclamation, Salman reduces its many tropes—among them "high mission," "good and stable government," "individual rights and liberties," as well as "benevolence" and "assimilation"—to those of slavery and emancipation, arguing that McKinley's terms "resonate strongly with an American repertoire of binary oppositions between individual freedom and slavery" (p. 29).

These criticisms aside, this book persuasively makes the case that, for both Filipinos and Americans, slavery and freedom were core perceptual and political tools in colonial political struggles. It furthermore points toward comparative and transnational perspectives: as Salman notes, the marking of "slavery" and efforts at "emancipation" were projects the United States had in common with other colonial states. This book both greatly enriches our knowledge of the early twentieth-century Philippines and opens the way for further research in a field that has long merited it.

PAUL A. KRAMER
Johns Hopkins University

CANADA AND THE UNITED STATES

BRUCE CURTIS. *The Politics of Population: State Formation, Statistics, and the Census of Canada, 1840–1875.* Buffalo, N.Y.: University of Toronto Press. 2001. Pp. x, 385. $60.00.

Even scholars who appreciate the charm of statistical representation and the quantitative impulse as topics of historical inquiry may feel that thirty-five years of the Canadian census makes a rather narrow topic for a book. Yet there are good reasons not to disdain this one. Excellent archival records survive from the mid-nineteenth-century Canadian censuses, and they enable Bruce Curtis to depict in unexampled detail the complex social process of surveying, compiling, and standardizing. The author draws two main conclusions from his story. First is a word to the wise to quantitative historians, who should never take official numbers for granted, without asking where they came from. It is tempting to say that a quantitative history must always be also a cultural history, involving not only patterns of numbers but also unstable categorizations of ethnicity, religion, disease, property, and occupation, and motives to conceal or to exaggerate whenever the results are associated with a public purpose. In the case at hand, the process of gathering data was hilariously unsystematic until 1871. This leads to Curtis's other main point: that a successful census is a striking institutional achievement, associated with ominous bureaucratic modes of rationalization and even domination.

The author's reflections on Michel Foucault's "governmentality," developed at the beginning and end of his book, are pertinent and of some interest. But the heart of the study is made up of material gathered from archives and from evanescent contemporary publications about the censuses of 1851 and 1861, both fascinating failures, and 1871, which was executed with relative competence. As in the United States during this period, there was no permanent census office but only a temporary staff assembled on rather short notice and chosen, through 1861, mainly for patronage reasons. The enumerators, a haphazard lot, were given forms, often in inadequate numbers, sometimes in the wrong language, with ambiguous categories and egregious misprints, and sent out into the Canadian winter to locate and interview the inhabitants of Upper and Lower Canada. Their mission was not only to count the population but also to gather myriad data about religious faith, ethnicity, education, wealth, and manner of earning a living. Despite the many obstacles, the enumerators succeeded in registering many more people than actually lived in Canada, a 110 percent effort that we can credit mainly to the piece-rate system of compensation. They also produced a superlative result for Canadian literacy in 1861, merely by ignoring in many cases the troublesome item: "Persons over 20 years of age not knowing how to read or write." Often they had little idea how to handle questions about race or occupation, and the guidance they received from the census office was often absent or even contradictory.

The bumbling inadequacies of these early censuses, organized mainly by Walter Cavendish Crofton and then William Hutton, contrast sharply with Joseph-Charles Taché's meticulous effort in 1871. Curtis links Taché's systematic approach to his ultramontane Catholicism, a marriage, he proposes, of backward-looking religious severity with the "totalizing" purposes of the modern state. At the same time, he suggests that Taché's choice to tally the inhabitants on the basis of legal residence rather than where they happened to be on census day, and to identify ethnicity with (Old World) country of origin, reflected a special form of population politics. Taché wanted to show a large and flourishing population of pure-blood French Catholics.

Not only in retrospect but in its own time, the Canadian census was deeply controversial. The great questions were the ratio of French to British population and of Catholics to Protestants. Also at issue was the rate of demographic growth, a question that was itself suffused with ethnic politics with and rivalry against its large and boastful southern neighbor. Ironically, the relatively competent 1871 census was the most contested, because it seemed to indicate a radical slowing of population growth. In retrospect, it can be read as illustrating how, even where enumeration is

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supposed to be complete (no sampling), the actual quantitative results will depend on how the people are located, classified, and recorded. To tally and classify a population is, in a way, to construct it, out of the infinite ambiguities that a massive process of gathering information about people must necessarily entail.

THEODORE M. PORTER
University of California,

MARGARET DERRY. *Ontario's Cattle Kingdom: Purebred Breeders and Their World, 1870–1920.* Buffalo, N.Y.: University of Toronto Press. 2001. Pp. xv, 221. $50.00.

Margaret Derry treats a subject often overlooked even by agricultural historians. A professional historian who raises purebred cattle in Ontario, Derry explores a wide array of issues connected with or affecting the world of purebred breeders during the half century after 1870. In doing so, the author eschews a social history approach in favor of a focus on the scientific-genetic element of the purebred cattle industry, a strategy that relies heavily on primary research in breeder journals and technical reports and one that "tend(s) to focus on the herds . . . as much as on the people who created them" (pp. vii-viii).

The development of purebred beef breeding in Ontario did not take place in a vacuum. Spurred on by market forces and demands in the United States and by purebred precedent in and exchange of livestock with Great Britain, by 1900, according to Derry, there were three distinct groups of purebred livestock raisers in the province: wealthy amateurs who displayed their British counterparts' "hobbyist attitude towards purebred stock" (p. 16); farmer-experts who dominated technical and genetic discussion within the industry; and a larger group of general farmers who owned one or two purebreds (usually bulls) for the purpose of herd improvement. Although wealthy hobby farmers tended to dominate the breed associations in the early years of Derry's study, by the early twentieth century the farmer-experts had begun to join or replace the hobbyists as the elite of the purebred world. Whereas the farmer-experts—professional farmers trying to make a living in the beef cattle business—depended heavily upon sales of their stock within the purebred community before 1900 (and especially to wealthy hobby farmers), the twentieth century witnessed an expanding market as more and more commercial, or general, farmers purchased purebred livestock. Nevertheless, most commercial farmers shied away from buying purebred stock due to higher costs as well as the perceived and actual elitism of purebred breeders; the same farmers avoided the ubiquitous livestock show, which was viewed as the symbol and creation of the elitist purebred world.

Derry wisely analyzes the interconnectedness of the dairy industry and the development of purebred breeding. Due to a variety of reasons, including government influence and technological advances, after 1890 dairy farming became much more popular than beef farming in Ontario. The results were increased emphasis on purebred dairy breeding and the concomitant introduction of dairy qualities into beef herds. As Derry points out, purebred raising gained a wider acceptance among commercial farming only when linked to both dairy and beef cattle improvement, and by World War I most farmers viewed beef as a by-product of the dairy industry.

The purebred world intersected with various other historical and agricultural developments of the era in question, some expected and some not. The author ably highlights the influence of government initiatives (registration, promotion, disease eradication) in an industry generally considered as close to free market as any in the agricultural world. Derry draws a tenuous connection between purebred cattle breeding and the rise of the eugenics movement. She also highlights some of the more irrational aspects of purebred raising, such as the exorbitant prices paid by some hobby farmers and the influence of animal color on prices. Derry argues that, despite scholarly attention on western Canada's increasing role in the export market, Ontario remained the chief supplier of export cattle in the early twentieth century.

This book is not exactly riveting reading. (I have yet to pick up any work on the cattle industry that so qualifies.) It is probably a little esoteric for the general reader of history, perhaps even for many students of Ontario and agricultural history. Although a brief book, Derry's work probably would have benefited from even more brevity, or at least a more focused approach spread over a longer historical era. The forays into seemingly tangential areas such as the development of the Toronto meat industry and the analysis of a beef export market that was only minimally affected by purebred sales tends to detract from the book's more solid treatment of the inner workings and interconnectedness of the purebred community, the government, and the general beef and dairy industries.

BROOKS BLEVINS
Lyon College

KENNETH MICHAEL SYLVESTER. *The Limits of Rural Capitalism: Family, Culture, and Markets in Montcalm, Manitoba, 1870–1940.* Buffalo, N.Y.: University of Toronto Press. 2001. Pp. xii, 280. Cloth $60.00, paper $24.95.

Kenneth Michael Sylvester's study of the largely Franco-Canadian settlement of Montcalm, Manitoba, is a social history organized around economic development and economic history that decenters capitalism by focusing on the priorities and ambitions of the farm family. Sylvester shifts the historical lens to view settlement from the perspective of the household rather than of governments and railway companies. The result challenges a staple of western Canadian history that casts the prairies as a vast untapped market. By foregrounding capitalism's "Others"—do-

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mestic and subsistence economies—Sylvester exposes the development of agribusiness to social processes, showing the complex ways in which farm families made an economy and how that economy in turn shaped farm families.

Sylvester's primary question is deceptively simple. He asks how and when the lives of homesteader families became commoditized and costed by the calculus of the market. In doing so, he joins a still small group of western Canadian rural historians who are mapping the development of prairie communities. But his approaches will be more familiar to American readers. By drawing on a blend of *annaliste*, environmentalist, and phenomenological approaches, Sylvester alters the ground upon which such histories can be traced in Canada. Rather than documenting the integration of the West into a preexisting staples political economy, Sylvester probes the pace at which farm families adopted market principles and methods and how this in turn "modernized" homesteading families.

At the center of this study is the local reality of hundreds of families on the move, each calculating their life chances in relation to farm succession while adjusting to the imperatives of commercial agriculture. As we learn, in Montcalm family strategies could support rural development and also delay market integration. For example, the tendency among Francophone *Montcalmois* to have large families meant that they were slower than their Anglophone counterparts to rely on the general labor market. By drawing on the unpaid labor of kin and neighbors, independent farm families were able to make a living from the land. By the beginning of the twentieth century, however, the demands of a large-scale wheat economy had already begun to transform the family farm from subsistence to agribusiness. Sylvester shows that change was gradual. The expansion of rural capitalism was at odds with succession, which remained a primary strategy of most farm families. But the more thoroughly farmers adopted market practices, the greater became the likelihood that their children would be excluded from farm succession.

This is an important new study in the development of rural economy that will be of interest to all students of the prairie West. But the book is itself limited by a serious weakness in the author's methodology. By failing to analyze the farm family with the same detail and complexity that he applies to the rural economy, Sylvester tends to replace one unity (capitalism) with another (family). He does pay attention to women's place in the informal economy of the family farm. But as market forces penetrate the farm economy, women's labor tends to become increasingly obscured. Sylvester takes up topics such as age at first marriage, elevated fertility rates following migration, fertility control, infant death and birth cycles, together with the division of labor within the farm household, as well as gender differences in inheritance practices. But he tends to accept a male-dominant model without probing the implications of that model for farm men's mothers, wives, daughters, and sisters. For example, in his final chapter, "Leaving Rural Life," Sylvester fails to take the opportunity to explore differences in the patterns of leaving between farmers' sons and daughters when he notes that most of those who took up wage labor in Winnipeg worked on the railway or in one of the city's manufacturing establishments, such as Ogilvie Flour or Vulcan Iron Works; these were industries that characteristically offered few, if any, opportunities to women.

Clearly, Sylvester's city-bound job seekers are young men. It would be interesting to know what happened to Montcalm's young women. He concludes that as *Montcalmois* embraced market economies, the likelihood that more children would be excluded from farm succession increased. Once again, the "children" he refers to are sons, not daughters. Sylvester's own evidence shows that women rarely inherited property, nor were they equally compensated by the male heir or heirs, yet he does not probe these differences.

Listening to regular reports on the current plight of the family farm makes this book seem urgent reading beyond academic circles. Sylvester's study suffers because it does not incorporate a fully developed gender analysis, but it is important for the history of change that it does record.

CATHERINE CAVANAUGH
Athabasca University

MIRIAM WRIGHT. *A Fishery for Modern Times: The State and the Industrialization of the Newfoundland Fishery, 1934–1968*. (The Canadian Social History Series.) New York: Oxford University Press. 2001. Pp. viii, 196. $19.95.

One of the most devastating environmental disasters of the last quarter of the twentieth century was the collapse of cod stocks in the North Atlantic. The dramatic depletion of stocks resulted in the Canadian government placing a moratorium on cod fishing in its territorial waters in the early 1990s. It was in Newfoundland where the moratorium had the greatest impact, as 30,000 fishers and plant workers were displaced, shattering the economy of the island province. Miriam Wright provides a compelling political economy of the Newfoundland fisheries in the period from the 1930s to 1970s. In particular, Wright chronicles the importance of government policies informed by the "modernization" ideology of the period, the expansion of international fishing fleets, and the introduction of new technologies as factors contributing to the contemporary crisis.

The book begins in the 1930s, when the traditional salt fish trade, which had sustained the island for centuries, collapsed and Newfoundland lost its status as an independent nation. Newfoundland was ruled by a British-appointed, six-member Commission of Government from 1934 to 1949, when it became a province of Canada. By the early 1940s, the British administra-

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tors responsible for fisheries had come to view the decentralized salt fish trade as archaic and inefficient. As a result, the Commission of Government shifted its policies away from cooperative initiatives designed to rebuild the rural outport economy from the bottom up and toward providing support for the emerging frozen fish sector. This industrial vision of development, which put faith in large-scale private capital, technology, and the state as agents for modernizing the Newfoundland fishery, was well on the way to becoming a hegemonic ideology by the time Newfoundland became a Canadian province. It was readily adopted by Joseph Smallwood, who served as premier of Newfoundland from 1949 to the early 1970s, and by the Canadian Department of Fisheries.

As Wright notes, the modernization program of the federal and provincial governments set off a continuous cycle of loans, grants, and other subsidies given to the few integrated frozen fish firms that came to dominate the Newfoundland fishery. Conversely, the development of an offshore trawler fleet (both Canadian and international) and centralized processing had a negative impact on scores of outport communities dependent upon the cod fishery. Most notably, as the catch of the offshore fleet continued to increase in the 1950s and 1960s, there was a marked decrease in the amount of fish caught by inshore fishers utilizing small boats and traditional technologies. The Canadian federal government responded in the 1960s with an ill-conceived and disastrous resettlement scheme, which reflected the prevailing belief that the depopulation of rural outports was not only inevitable but also desirable. Ultimately, the promotion of an ever larger trawler fleet, employing increasingly advanced technology, contributed to a downward spiral in fish stocks by the 1970s.

Wright provides a nuanced analysis of fisheries development in Newfoundland that takes into consideration such factors as international competition, the North American market for frozen fish, technological development, the international politics of boundary waters treaties, and the decisions of individual entrepreneurs, politicians, and state administrators. Wright is convincing in her main argument that the industrialization of the Newfoundland fisheries after 1930 was neither natural nor inevitable. That is, it was not the invisible hand of the market but rather the actions of state planners with an affinity for modernization theory that determined the course of development. Also convincing is Wright's examination of alternative views of fisheries development throughout the period, within both the various levels of government and the fishing communities of Newfoundland. The inshore fishers in the outport communities knew that the expanding trawler fleet was destroying the resource by the early 1960s, but their concerns went unheeded. This book is a first-rate case study on the failures of the modernization program of the Canadian federal government in the 1950s and 1960s. It is a cautionary tale that deserves a large audience within both the academic and policy-making communities.

BILL PARENTEAU
University of New Brunswick

JOHN SEELYE. *Memory's Nation: The Place of Plymouth Rock*. 1998. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. Pp. xv. 699. $39.95.

The *Mayflower* could have sailed across the Atlantic nine times in the period it took to complete this review. A comprehensive narrative of the rise and fall of Plymouth Rock in American historical consciousness over the course of a century and a half (1769–1920), with 645 pages of text, looks as formidable as the ancient boulder on which the Pilgrims supposedly landed in December 1620. That appearance is not entirely deceiving. John Seelye delights in the oddities and ironies in the saga of the famous rock and of the region it came to symbolize, so much so that even inveterate lovers of New England may regret that the author has not picked up a little Yankee reticence along with his learning and wit. Nonetheless, if readers are willing to book passage on Seelye's ship and trust in the captain's leisurely course, they will be rewarded with an absorbing account of how a rock indistinguishable from numerous others along the New England shore came to embody a region's ambitions and a nation's identity.

Today the Pilgrims are remembered chiefly on Thanksgiving, inextricably linked to roast turkey and cranberry sauce. That association is recent, dating back only to the 1890s. Before then, the passengers on the *Mayflower* were recalled on Forefathers' Day, held on December 22 to mark the putative date of the landing at Plymouth. That commemoration was inaugurated in 1769 by Plymouth's apolitical Old Colony Club, which honored "the memory of our brave and pious ancestors" (p. 26) with a nine-course banquet and a dozen toasts. It was soon taken over by the local Sons of Liberty and converted into an annual rally for the Patriot cause. Discontinued after 1780, the holiday was revived in the late 1790s by Federalists in Boston and Plymouth as a way to wage ideological war against radicalism at home and abroad; it declined with its sponsors. Forefathers' Day gained a new lease on life outside Plymouth only in 1820, the bicentennial of the *Mayflower*'s landing, when Daniel Webster unleashed his rhetorical powers and elevated the Pilgrims into founders of a free, prosperous people rapidly expanding across the continent. Thereafter Forefathers' Day was observed as a holiday not only in New England but wherever Yankees settled in large numbers. The many speeches delivered and printed on such occasions, along with commemorative paintings and fictional works, furnish Seelye with an abundant feast.

In the rhetorical make-over of the Pilgrims, the boulder on Plymouth's shore morphed into a "sacred Rock" (p. 78). In 1774, the Liberty Boys accidentally split the stone in two in a herculean effort to haul it

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from the beach into town; undaunted, they dragged the free half, on which the date "1620" was painted, to a site next to the liberty pole. Over the years, it accrued value as a Protestant relic from which pilgrims to Plymouth steadily chipped away fragments for souvenirs. The rock endured further damage through successive attempts to preserve it. In 1880, the two halves were rejoined on the waterfront, with "1620" chiseled on the face. Unfortunately, the "ancient stepping stone" (p. 538) was dwarfed by the elaborate granite canopy surrounding it. The more Americans venerated Plymouth Rock, the less imposing it became.

Such plainness made no difference to the many contenders for its ideological prize. The Pilgrims were enlisted as partisans in diverse causes, including Unitarianism and Trinitarianism in the 1820s, abolitionism in the antebellum era, the Gilded Age defense of business, nativist calls for immigration restriction, and the 1920s campaign to free Sacco and Vanzetti. Deployed as a "statist" (p. 1) symbol, Plymouth Rock legitimated the status quo as the guardian of the ancestral legacy of liberty, law, and self-government. But it also served the purposes of dissent, stirring radicals of various stripes to imitate the Pilgrims' sacrifices for principle.

Seelye's most engaging sections portray the heretics who refused to worship at the stone, such as William Apess, the Pequot Indian who thought December 22 should be a national day of mourning; Nathaniel Hawthorne, for whom the Pilgrims were equated with Puritans as sinners in the name of an angry God; and Mark Twain, who mocked the cult of the rock by calling for an auction to sell it off. Ironically, the special significance of the Pilgrims was stripped away by twentieth-century admirers. In the eyes of the writer Mary Antin, the passengers on the *Mayflower* were immigrants like herself and Plymouth Rock the original Ellis Island. In a multicultural nation, such praise proved cold comfort. Visitors flock to the immigrants' gateway in New York harbor; Plymouth Rock is now "something of a joke" (p. 2).

Seelye began this book with the simple aim of "dissipating a myth" (p. xiv), only to produce a monumental work of scholarship on the multiple meanings of a single national icon. "Sweet are the uses of adversity," William Shakespeare suggests in *As You Like It*, for they inspire "sermons in stone." Alas, Plymouth's settlers, who endured hardship in a spirit of humility, suffered the exaggerations of posterity's praise. In documenting that excess, Seelye has turned national epic into comedy for a postmodern stage.

ROBERT A. GROSS
College of William and Mary

ROBERT W. T. MARTIN. *The Free and Open Press: The Founding of American Democratic Press Liberty, 1640–1800*. New York: New York University Press. 2001. Pp. xi, 239. $40.00.

The Constitution of the United States says that Congress shall make "all laws" of the federal government and "no law" abridging freedom of the press. Those who have been unwilling to regard the liberty as absolute have looked for ways around this language. They have balanced the right against other rights, they have claimed that higher laws (such as survival in wartime) prevail over the press clause, and they have argued that freedom of expression was defined narrowly when the nation was founded.

Scholars who have examined eighteenth-century definitions of press freedom have identified two general directions. Leonard W. Levy has contended that the most prevalent viewpoint was that the press is free to publish without censorship but then is responsible legally for criticism of government and other offenses. Levy's critics have maintained that seditious libel and other official restraints were inconsistent with practice and with many pronouncements in early America. They portray the development of democratic press theory as consistent with the postrevolutionary reality of popular sovereignty.

Robert W. T. Martin claims that previous studies have failed to explain fully the "ambivalent legacy of suppression and liberation" (p. 9). His book sets out "to synthesize this disjointed literature" and "to reveal the central dynamic of the founding of American press liberty" (pp. 9–10). The dynamic, he says, involves the sometimes conflicting concepts of the free press as a bulwark against government tyranny and of the open press as a place where individuals are able to air sentiments in the first place.

Martin describes American journalism as dedicated to the ideal of the free and open press before the 1760s. He sees that press ideology breaking down in practice as the revolutionary crisis deepened and printers let their political opinions affect what they were willing to publish. Journalists had, of course, always used some editorial discretion. The newspapers they called "open" could not be open to everything, and their assertions of impartiality did not prevent them from favoring a side. The revolutionary conflict, the ratification debates, and the partisanship of the 1790s pushed printers into making clear commitments to a cause. As others have written, journalistic ideals could not stand up to the realities of political pressure.

Martin tries to recast the scholarly discourse by asserting that "a predominantly 'republican' stress on public liberty and the public good (free press doctrine) and a more nearly 'liberal' notion of individual rights (open press doctrine) coexisted in a single, ambivalent tradition throughout much of the eighteenth century" (p. 11). He concludes that tensions involving the public good and individual rights continue to exist in the mass media today. Past and present controversies about the role of the press in decision making and the need for access to media forums are inherent in democratic systems. The fundamental dynamic is that freedom involves risks and responsibilities. Ultimate authority to make media content decisions has to rest with

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government or be placed in private hands. The founders recognized the folly of relying on rulers to determine what the people should know and express. Much, therefore, has to depend on the judgment of journalists, who need to be as free as possible.

Martin uses a number of fresh quotations and a helpful arranging and packaging of many ideas on a momentous topic. However, he cannot reshape the most basic findings of earlier research. Levy has been criticized for inaccuracies and ahistorical interpretation, but he studied the powerful and found that they often sought suppression. Others have examined sources of popular sentiment and found definitions of press freedom fit for a democracy. No one was totally consistent and comprehensive, but Levy's oligarchs lost the revolutions of 1776 and 1800. The winners were able to write the First Amendment and to articulate its meaning. As Martin observes, they "crowned public opinion king" (p. 154) and developed a concept of press freedom to go with it.

JEFFERY A. SMITH
University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee

PHYLLIS WHITMAN HUNTER. *Purchasing Identity in the Atlantic World: Massachusetts Merchants, 1670–1780.* Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 2001. Pp. xii, 224. $42.50.

In the past two decades, historians of eighteenth-century Britain and America have delineated a vigorous world of commerce, consumption, and gentility. Phyllis Whitman Hunter explores how people responded to this flood of consumer goods by focusing on some of Massachusetts's most elite merchants in Boston and Salem during the period she refers to as their golden age, from 1660 to 1763, when colonial merchants were able to displace the old Puritan oligarchy, insert themselves in its place, and reconstruct the material world around them. In the seventeenth century, Massachusetts merchants could achieve social and political distinction to rival their economic accomplishments only if they possessed suitable genealogies and Congregational Church membership. By the middle of the eighteenth century, however, men previously marginalized from full participation in colonial society were able to move to the center by purchasing the accoutrements of gentility. Hunter suggests that Massachusetts was a place particularly receptive to these changes because of tensions within Puritanism that encouraged individual pursuit of prosperity yet sought an isolated community, two goals that put colonists engaged in an expansive Atlantic economy in a difficult position. Eighteenth-century gentility helped colonists escape these contradictions and define new standards of success and accomplishment.

Hunter charts these changes effectively through a biographical approach. In the seventeenth century, for example, Hunter points to the truncated social and political accomplishments of two merchants, Samuel Shrimpton in Boston and, in a particularly rich sketch, Philip English in Salem. Although a member of the Boston church, Shrimpton lacked the Puritan connections and educational background that would have secured his political success. Thus, while he was by the time of his death the richest merchant in Boston, he played a minor role in city affairs. Philip L'Anglois (or English) reached Salem as a migrant from the French-speaking channel island of Jersey. His marginal status was symbolized by his geographic residence outside the center of town. Despite his membership in the Anglican Church, his residence within the Salem community of Jersey French, and his attachment to a fishing community of uncertain morality, all signifiers of outsider status, English both held high political office and rivaled Salem's other merchants in his commercial accomplishments. Yet, Hunter insists, English occupied an ambiguous and troubling status, neither English nor French, and it was this liminal position that explains his ordeal during the Salem witch trials, a well-hashed subject on which Hunter is able to find something new to say.

By the eighteenth century, men who lacked the traditional markers of status in Massachusetts were nonetheless able to dominate that society because of a changing sensibility that permitted men to purchase the goods that delineated and defined success and accomplishment in a new kind of social marketplace. In contrast to Philip English's marginality, in the eighteenth century, the French Faneuils joined the Boston elite by aping English models of gentility. The Faneuils and other merchants rebuilt their urban environment, from wharves to private homes to thoroughfares, and their crystalization as a visible class accompanied growing class conflicts. The character of these port merchants challenges, Hunter argues, the shift that Richard L. Bushman famously characterized in *From Puritan to Yankee: Character and Social Order in Connecticut, 1690–1765* (1967). Instead, Hunter suggests that the port merchant was transformed into a Georgian gentleman, oriented not inland but east across the Atlantic. Only the turbulence of revolutionary and consumer protests altered this identity, as the age of homespun undermined the world of fashionable consumer goods and gentility. Material goods found new political uses in the revolutionary period, and those merchants who clung to Georgian gentility fared poorly.

Hunter's book is rich in its arguments and in its inventive use of sources, from seemingly opaque account books to architectural plans. Her insistence on seeing changes in Massachusetts society as a consequence of an Atlantic orientation is especially refreshing. In light of the implications of her argument, it is a shame that Hunter's study is constrained in its geographic focus to Massachusetts. The changes she explains seem singularly linked to one particular style of Puritanism in one particular place. How did Puritan merchants in more cosmopolitan places—London comes most immediately to mind—navigate the ten-

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sions Hunter highlights here between individual acquisition and communal obligations? How did these Massachusetts merchants compare to their diverse and cosmopolitan neighbors, partners, and kin immediately to the south in Rhode Island or much farther afield around the Atlantic? Indeed, in what ways might merchants have been shaped not only by English models from the lesser gentry but also by other merchants elsewhere, and how did merchants filter English models through individual prisms defined by geography, religion, or ethnicity? Hunter's book should encourage others to follow her lead and to help us answer these questions.

ALISON GAMES
Georgetown University

KIRSTEN FISCHER. *Suspect Relations: Sex, Race, and Resistance in Colonial North Carolina*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 2002. Pp. xii, 265. Cloth $45.00, paper $17.95.

Sexual relationships, liaisons, and transgressions, together with sexual coercion and violence, were profoundly bound up with the construction and reinforcement of racial categories in the eighteenth-century South. Such connections form the substance of Kirsten Fischer's study, which takes the lives of ordinary folk as its evidence. Unpublished lower court records from northeastern North Carolina, supplemented by travel narratives, are the principal sources, and Fischer uses them well: she quotes amply though judiciously, reads with care and caution, and notes where the historical record remains unyielding. By the end of the eighteenth century, Fischer argues, white colonists in North Carolina had come to understand "race" as a physical, natural, inherent, and largely immutable attribute. This idea then justified the subordination and enslavement of others.

Exploring a wealth of fascinating and at times heartbreaking stories, and always stressing the uneven and nonlinear nature of historical change, Fischer investigates public responses to the intimate actions of unruly women, including alternative gender systems among Quakers and Native Americans; relations between Indians and Europeans, including the meaning of liaisons between Native women and male colonists for Native communities; and the control and resistance of white and free black servant women, never losing site of the women's subordinate and vulnerable status. From the court cases she has unearthed, Fischer spins keen analysis from slim evidence, careful to note that what we interpret as resistance may not have been intended as overtly political action, even if that action retained a certain symbolic power.

Particularly forceful are the book's final two chapters. In slander suits, Fischer uncovers intriguing ambiguities. Even as biological notions of race became pervasive, white people were increasingly zealous in their actions to guard, and persuade others of, their own racial status—in part due to the fear that white women and men might somehow be physically tarnished by sex with a black person. The last chapter, on white violence, is most compelling for its imaginative analysis, demonstrating that the marks left by legally acceptable forms of violence served to distinguish black people from white people. Exposure of the body, scars of the lash, the brand of the master: all became visible embodiments of degradation. If Fischer illuminates the various symbolic meanings of violent actions, the literal, day-to-day meanings of those actions are often as convincing as her metaphoric readings. The sadism of white colonists is horrific, parallel to testimony given by African Americans against the post-Civil War Ku Klux Klan. (The violence extended beyond master and slave; one case tells the story of a group of white neighbor women torturing another white woman with a skillet of tar.) Ultimately, Fischer argues, the brutality was so extreme because, in order to justify racial slavery, white people needed to deny black humanity by way of intense degradation.

At certain points, the thread of Fischer's argument about racialization gets lost, and the arrangement of chapters has the effect of erasing Native Americans from the later history of the colony. Still, building on the work of Sharon Block, Kathleen Brown, Richard Godbeer, and Karen Ordahl Kupperman, among others, this book will aid in the deepening of historical understanding as well as in the ongoing restructuring of courses (from surveys to graduate seminars) to bring gender and sexuality into the main analytical contours of colonial America.

There is still, of course, a great deal we do not, and perhaps cannot, know. If Fischer beautifully mines the lives and sentiments of Native Americans and people of African descent, in the end their own views on matters of racial categorization remain obscure in the sources. This book deepens our understanding of the myriad ways in which race has been constructed in American history, most admirably in its attention to the treatment of human bodies as part and parcel of legal and intellectual constructions, and in its vision of the ways in which ordinary people have participated in the making of race and racism.

MARTHA HODES
New York University

JULIE WINCH. *A Gentleman of Color: The Life of James Forten*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2002. Pp. x, 501. $35.00.

In her thoroughly researched and well-written biography of James Forten, Julie Winch explores the multifaceted life of a prominent African American in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. She effectively places Forten within the changing social, economic, and political contexts of Philadelphia and examines, in considerable detail, his business, religious, and reform activities as well as his relationship with family members.

Winch argues that, when compared with the vast

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majority of his African-American contemporaries, Forten enjoyed significant advantages. He not only was born a free person but also acquired literacy and sailmaking skills at a time when most people of color were slaves, illiterate, and unskilled laborers. An ambitious and intelligent man who was mentored by both blacks and whites in his early years, he became a wealthy and respected sailmaker whose business employed a large, integrated work force. Winch also underscores the fact that, although most northern blacks were disfranchised, they were far from voiceless. Guided by revolutionary ideals, Forten and other African Americans devised a broad range of tactics to press their case for fundamental rights and opportunities.

Nevertheless, as Winch clearly indicates, Forten's skin color and ancestry were what mattered most to whites in Philadelphia and throughout the nation. From early childhood until his death in 1842, he was forced to endure a hostile racial environment in which whites refused to accept him as a citizen, or even as a man who deserved respect for his character and accomplishments. Especially during the first half of the nineteenth century, he and other people of color were despised and deemed expendable by most white Americans.

Winch's study joins a growing body of literature—including Patrick Rael's *Black Identity and Black Protest in the Antebellum North* (2002)—that deepens our understanding of African Americans' efforts to cope with the worsening racial situation and to define themselves as both African and American. In siding with the rebels in the American Revolution, in rejecting the agenda of the American Colonization Society, and in opposing the creation of all-black reform organizations, Forten clearly declared that America was his homeland. Yet, at the same time, Winch's treatment of Forten's eloquent defense of black Philadelphians against racist whites' physical and verbal assaults and his immersion in the social fabric of Philadelphia's black community lends support to recent studies that posit a close relationship between the northern black elite and working-class blacks. The author shows that deteriorating race relations gradually eroded Forten's optimism that blacks one day would enjoy rights and equality in America and even led him to support schemes for emigration to Haiti.

One wishes that Winch had connected Forten's views regarding race relations more directly to the escalating debate among African Americans on the nature of black identity from the 1830s until the Civil War. In addition, while the author closely scrutinizes Forten's mutually beneficial relationship with William Lloyd Garrison, the reader gets little sense of why Forten chose to stand with the radical abolitionists rather than the moderates and how he reacted to the growing tendency among white immediatists—evident as early as the mid-1830s—to focus more on white liberties than on discrimination against free blacks.

These and other omissions undoubtedly are in part the product of gaps in the historical record. The author frequently bemoans the fact that Forten's business records and other crucial evidence are missing. To her credit, she has made a valiant effort to mine the extant archival materials. Thanks to her creative and tireless detective work, many facets of Forten's life and times are illuminated. Where the evidence is simply not available, however, Winch all too often resorts to speculation concerning motives, relationships, and events. At times, this reader felt that she should have more consistently heeded her own admonition that conjecture is no substitute for solid documentation. Moreover, Winch sometimes provides so much information concerning people and events that impinged on Forten's life that one nearly loses sight of him. This is especially true of her lengthy final chapter, which examines the lives of Forten's wife and children following his death

Yet, in all, these relatively minor flaws do not detract substantially from the quality of this fine study. It will stand as the definitive biography of Forten and as one of the premier works on the antebellum African-American experience. Winch's richly textured portrait of Forten not only chronicles important changes in a major American city from the 1760s until the 1840s; it also sheds valuable light on what it was like to be an African American in an increasingly racist society and how, in the face of enormous odds, an extraordinary man sought to make the American Dream a reality for himself and other people of color.

HUGH DAVIS
Southern Connecticut State University

KEITH L. DOUGHERTY. *Collective Action under the Articles of Confederation*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2001. Pp. xii, 211. $49.95.

For as long as scholars have studied the American Revolution, they have been critical of the Articles of Confederation for their failure to give Congress the power to levy or collect taxes; it could only ask the states to contribute their appropriate share of federal expenses. Contemporaries and later scholars all agreed that without a coercive power, Congress's requisition system amounted to little. Even those like Merrill Jensen, who emphasized the strengths of the Articles, felt that the Confederation Congress needed the powers to tax and to regulate commerce.

Keith L. Dougherty looks at the Confederation from a wholly different perspective. Emulating the late William H. Riker's use of political science models and theories in rhetoric in his 1996 analysis of the debate over ratifying the Constitution, Dougherty uses the theory of pure private goods and the theory of joint products (derived from Mancur Olson's *The Logic of Collective Actions: Public Goods and the Theory of Groups* [1965]) to argue that in fact the states contributed more revenue than should have been reasonably expected. Simply put, after all of his analysis, Dougherty concludes that the states contributed to the cen-

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tral government whenever doing so produced local gains to themselves. Contributions were not made out of patriotism or civic duty. Carrying his assessment further, Dougherty also believes that it was the pursuit of local interests that spurred the movement for constitutional reform in 1786–1788, not the pursuit of mutual goals. Accepting the Progressive historians' "backlash" against John Fiske's *The Critical Period of American History, 1783–1789* (1888), but discounting the Progressives' argument of a counter revolution led by a handful of nationalists, Dougherty believes that many Americans came to the conclusion in the 1780s that a stronger central government was needed to satisfy their local needs while their fears of creating a new imperial despotic government dissipated. There was no economic or military crisis that stimulated constitutional reform, merely a realization that the Articles of Confederation were broken and needed fixing.

Dougherty's knowledge of the American Revolution and Confederation and his familiarity with the secondary literature is limited. It is hard to find in this work any historical interpretations beyond the last of the Progressives writing in the 1940s and 1950s. Many minute errors crop up throughout the book. For instance, Dougherty says that when state congressional delegations were evenly divided, their votes were recorded as abstentions (p. 29), when they actually were recorded as divided. He believes that the Paterson Plan was a product solely of William Paterson (p. 147). He says that the large states held a majority in the Constitutional Convention (p. 148) and that Congress called the Constitutional Convention at the behest and under the limitations set by New York (p. 157). He identifies John Witherspoon, the distinguished Presbyterian minister, revolutionary author, signer of the Declaration of Independence, and president of the College of New Jersey (Princeton), as "a preacher" (p. 133). More substantial errors also occur. Nowhere does Dougherty address the abuse of power and violation of property rights by the states as a reason for constitutional reform in the 1780s. In fact, he demeans this important motivation when he states that the Constitution created by the Framers "was a work of pragmatics, but it was also a work of improving the government's efficiency without infringing too heavily upon state sovereignty" (p. 161). He argues that state legislatures refused to approve Congress's request for troops and money to suppress Shays's Rebellion because most states were far away from Massachusetts and therefore saw no direct benefit in intervening (thus validating the theory of pure private goods). Nowhere, however, does he address the issue that Congress's deceptive method of trying to raise a legion to suppress Shays was a blatant unconstitutional act that the states rightly refused to sanction.

Dougherty does do a good job in discussing the coercive tax amendments to the Articles of Confederation drafted by Congress in 1786. Congress did not forward these amendments to the states for their approval because of the sectional animosity brought on by the Jay-Gardoqui negotiations over the navigation of the Mississippi River. Dougherty's handling of these amendments is deft and contributes in an area that is almost always ignored.

JOHN P. KAMINSKI
University of Wisconsin, Madison

SANDRA F. VANBURKLEO. *"Belonging to the World": Women's Rights and American Constitutional Culture.* (Bicentennial Essays on the Bill of Rights.) New York: Oxford University Press. 2001. Pp. xix, 409. $24.95.

Sandra F. VanBurkleo executes brilliantly the difficult task of synthesizing the history of women's quest for liberty in the United States. Focusing on women's agency, she discusses activities usually ignored by scholars who confine constitutional history to case law and doctrinal developments. Detailing the progress of women through social action and legal developments, she documents successes in voting, reproductive freedom, higher wages, and more educational access. The book addresses persistent problems: the wage gap, the absence of comparable worth, occupational segregation, and the reigning male imperative for women who enter jobs for the first time. It also traces the feminization and racialization of poverty and a continued pattern of socialization that reinforces the gender differences underlying disparities. VanBurkleo reminds us that despite the Nineteenth Amendment and assorted supreme court rulings, women are still second-class citizens and absent from basic constitutional texts.

The book uses the concepts of settlement and speech community as an interpretive framework. Settlement describes the legal developments that occur after a constitutional crisis. Speech community describes how citizenship and participation in a shared political culture extends beyond the state in a formal sense. Speech communities shared goals, fellowship, and the belief that through speech they could transform individuals as well as the republic. Speech communities tried to resolve social conflicts through voting.

The book first discusses the Anglo-American construction of the female subject and New World version of the sovereign head within family government and how women tried to create change by raising civil liberties and civil rights issues. Part two reconstructs the century surrounding the emergence of the first wave women's movement with the start of sustained criticism of the subjection of American women in the 1790s. VanBurkleo explains that male citizens' social compacts retarded women's movement into public life. But the American Revolution also produced the "Republican mother," and the Sons of Liberty feminized the soul of their revolution with the Daughters of Liberty.

Women asserted the right under republican consti-

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tutionalism to speak in public settings. They used revolutionary texts to make legal claims and to construct a feminized republican constitutionalism. The result was a new women's rights platform by 1850 that sought republican coequality, not gender neutrality or democratic equality. The author points out that the women's movement was more than a branch of abolitionism.

Part two concludes with a renegotiation of relations between the sexes, the Civil War settlement, including civil rights language in statutes and constitutional amendments. When Republican Party priorities and judicial interpretation affirmed the status quo for women, advocates legalized their agenda to emphasize standing, women's constitutional right not to be deprived of status as citizens, especially the right to act in public as voters, jurors, lawyers, and officeholders. By 1875, when suffragists saw that their speech communities had failed to gain citizenship rights, they decided to focus on the vote.

Part three describes the connections between social mothering and constitutional development, in the Gilded Age and Progressive era, and the support for protective legislation for women and children. After World War I and passage of the Nineteenth Amendment, disagreements over the sufficiency of ballots and the merits of sex-specific economic protection led to the emergence of "sameness and difference" feminism. After 1923, liberals sought to attend political conventions as delegates, professional education, improved reproductive control, rights of office holding and jury service, and fair wages—in some cases, based on gendered characteristics. Radical feminists pressed for cultural transformation, and the National Women's Party emphasized passage of the Equal Rights Amendment (ERA).

Liberal feminists looked to the courts for protection against the government, while looking to the government for responses to women's gendered needs. The ERA failed to pass and liberal feminist protection found some success in the courts. This civil rights settlement prevailed into the 1990s but has come under attack, on the one hand, on the ground that sexual equality requires undermining capitalism and, on the other, as undermining women's family and childcare responsibilities.

VanBurkleo mines the voluminous secondary literature concerning middle-class heterosexual white women, suffrage, and the struggle for economic equality and takes occasional note of black women's burdens and the plight of Chinese Americans. Someday another book will be written fully describing the agency of women of color, Asian-American, Latina, and African-American and Indian women, lesbians, and poor women in the struggle for liberty. It will also be unapologetic about including direct action in the quest for rights. But for now, VanBurkleo deftly ties together constitutional developments with women's history.

MARY FRANCES BERRY
University of Pennsylvania

KENNETH R. MAYER. *With the Stroke of the Pen: Executive Orders and Presidential Power*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 2001. Pp. xii, 293. $39.95.

Kenneth R. Mayer's book is a study of how presidents have used "their executive authority to make unilateral policy without interference from either Congress or the courts" (p. 4). The primary "tool" in a president's arsenal has been the executive order. The author is a political scientist and his book is replete with lists, tables, formulae, and discussions of margins of error. But if Mayer's study is not a history, it is well written and by no means too arcane even for the least analytical of historians.

Mayer's presidents differ from the image of the chief executive as someone whose primary attribute is the power to persuade. This book tempers, and to a degree challenges, Richard E. Neustadt's classic *Presidential Power: The Politics of Leadership* (1960). Mayer's chief executives are not presidents in "sneakers"; they are willing, able, and often eager to get things done. Because the executive is more easily held accountable than the other branches of government, that political accountability drives executive action and cushions it from both criticism and challenge. Through the use of executive orders, presidents have been able, in a de facto sense, to make their own law and have only rarely been successfully challenged.

Mayer's study of executive orders parallels the expansion of presidential power. Since 1789 all presidents have used comparable measures, although the official designation "executive order" dates only to 1936. Executive orders have allowed presidents to exercise their authority in three major areas of executive power: "constitutional vestments," "delegated powers," and "executive prerogatives." While the majority of executive orders have addressed the establishment or operations of the executive branch, "significant" executive orders are the focus of Mayer's work. Abraham Lincoln was the first president to issue "significant" executive decrees, especially during the opening months of the American Civil War; Franklin D. Roosevelt was the father of the modern executive order.

Mayer's detailed analysis of executive orders since 1936 reveals interesting and unexpected results. National Security-related executive orders have made up an increasing proportion of all executive orders. Democrat presidents collectively have had a greater propensity to resort to the use of executive orders than Republican chief executives. Executive orders are more likely to be issued at the very beginning or at the very end of an administration, especially following an election that results in party change. Surprisingly, the statistics revealed that presidents whose party con-

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trolled Congress were more likely to use executive orders than were presidents who faced a hostile Congress.

Since 1945, two major foci of executive orders have been national security policy and civil rights. In fact, the title of the book comes from the words of Martin Luther King, Jr., who argued that President John F. Kennedy "could give segregation its death blow through a stroke of the pen" (p. 8). Mayer details the use of executive orders by presidents to control the system of classification and clearance—that is control of and access to state secrets—as well as to advance "affirmative action."

He concludes that one of the effects of reliance on executive orders is that, while such decrees lack the legitimacy of Congressional legislation, they have nonetheless often committed presidents to the policies of their predecessors. Ronald Reagan opposed affirmative action but was unwilling to undo completely the existing structure of executive orders. While members of Congress can find political cover in their collectivity, the president remains fully visible and accountable.

Mayer contends that it is this very accountability that drives many chief executives. Presidents, compelled to act unilaterally to meet popular political expectations, have gained political "influence" over myriad federal responsibilities not necessarily assigned to the executive branch by the Constitution. As Mayer concludes: "it is the president who is better positioned to expand institutional boundaries and legal authority (as opposed to Congress), the inevitable result appears to be a steady concentration of power within the executive branch" (p. 220). Only political reality and "behavioral" factors, enumerated so well by Neustadt, check this trend.

No doubt analysts will continue to debate the nature of executive power, but Mayer has demonstrated convincingly that "executive orders matter." His book is well worth reading by anyone interested in the history of the presidency, the nature of governmental authority, or leadership in general.

MICHAEL A. PALMER
East Carolina University

STEPHEN F. KNOTT. *Alexander Hamilton and the Persistence of Myth*. (American Political Thought.) Lawrence: University Press of Kansas. 2002. Pp. x, 336. $34.95.

One of the enduring features of American historiography remains the discounted reputation of Alexander Hamilton. First Thomas Jefferson, and then his epigone and hagiographers, succeeded in painting the New Yorker as so deficient in patriotism, fidelity to the Revolution, and good breeding ("bastard brat of a Scotch pedlar") as to disqualify him from ever becoming the recipient of popular affection. The fact that Stephen F. Knott's study appears forty-two years after Merrill D. Peterson's classic *Jefferson Image in the American Mind* (1960) is altogether emblematic of the problem the author addresses. Yet Knott minces few words in showing how much Hamilton's reputation owes to others' inaccurate and sometimes knowingly dishonest use of evidence. He provides conclusive substantiation, for instance, that Hamilton never uttered the infamous statement that "your people, sir—your people is a great beast!" Knott bluntly states that its repeated invocation by historians and others reveals "a stunning disdain for the integrity of scholarship and journalism" (p. 215). No timid debater, this author, and one weeps at the utterances of some of the historians he cites.

Knott's title is a giveaway to his intent. After studying two centuries of statements others have made about Hamilton, he believes that many of them enshrine a myth, not the truth, about one of the greatest founders. "Never has such a resilient description of a political figure, based on so little evidence, been circulated and accepted by so many," he writes of the Jeffersonians' portrait of Hamilton (p. 26). And so the book is really two works in one: first, a history of Hamilton's reputation, and second, a muscular defense of the man himself and of his strategic genius. It succeeds somewhat better at the latter than the former objective. Hamilton was, in Knott's estimation, the figure who "made the twentieth century the American century" (p. 6). And if the two chapters that round out the book will not settle that matter, they surely compose the best existing concise presentation of the case for Hamilton's greatness and for his centrality to American history. If one cares to join this two-century-old battle between the partisans of Jefferson and Hamilton—even though it seems an unproductive kind of history—it will be best to be armed with Knott's arguments before entering it.

As a presentation of evidence about the changing fortunes of Hamilton's reputation, the book also succeeds entirely. After suffering for roughly seventy years through the presidencies of the great Virginians, the ever-sensitive Adamses, and then Andrew Jackson and his successors, Hamilton's repute began its rise during the Civil War and reached its apogee, its "golden age," around 1876 (p. 67). Since then, it has waxed and waned, never perhaps more curiously than under Franklin D. Roosevelt, who slept with the Hamiltonian wolves while running with the Jeffersonian sheep. But as it is today, Hamilton's reputation seems always dependent on Jefferson's, never independent of it. The end to such seesawing is not in sight, and Hamilton, in Knott's view, remains in a kind of permanent "internal exile" from which he never emerges (p. 214).

Knott's book suffers from two features, neither fatal but both significant. Much of it is a review of what most of the major figures who bothered to deliver themselves of views about Hamilton (and most did) had to say about the man. While this is useful in tracing the ups and downs of a reputation, it is wearying to read, however gracefully written and peppered with dry sardonic wit. That being said, historians in search of

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nuggets of information about a particular figure's views of Hamilton will find this book a gold mine—or at least a mine of much fool's gold. The book's second problem is that it lays out a body of evidence never before available in one place but does so insouciant of its relevance to the rising mountain of studies devoted to memory and to how people use the past in the present. That disregard of current scholarship makes the book something of a curiosity and fails to clarify where it takes us. One does not have to be a slave to scholarly fashion to regret that the work is married conceptually to its major predecessor, Peterson's *Jefferson Image*, without reflecting more recent understanding of the links between events and the form and content of their recall. Knott also scants the blockages (from culture, ideology, and partial memory) that stand in the way of acceptance of the full reality of the past—if that is ever possible. Such considerations would have enhanced the impact of an otherwise valuable work.

JAMES M. BANNER, JR.
Washington, D.C.

JAMES P. RONDA. *Finding the West: Explorations with Lewis and Clark*. (Histories of the American Frontier.) Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press. 2001. Pp. xxii, 138. $22.95.

In the twentieth and now the twenty-first century, perhaps no American historical subject, save Abraham Lincoln, has drawn as much scholarly and popular attention as the Lewis and Clark expedition (1804–1806) from Wood River in southern Illinois to the mouth of the Columbia River and back. But this has not always been the case. Narrowly viewed, President Thomas Jefferson's "Corps of Discovery" failed, in that it did not find the long-sought water passage through the West. At the urging of his attorney-general, the president, fortunately, had also instructed William Clark and Meriwether Lewis on the importance of collecting information about plants, animals, cultures, places, and languages. When they returned, James P. Ronda maintains, Jefferson tried to transcend failure by creatively redefining the mission. The enterprise had been about scientific information. In 1816, when Jefferson summed up what he thought were legal grounds for American rights on the Northwest Coast, he did not even mention Lewis and Clark.

During the twentieth century, however, their expedition came to represent triumphant American nationalism, but how that occurred is not Ronda's story. Rather, in this slim volume of seven essays, three of which have been previously published, the former president of the Western History Association asks us to contemplate the numerous ways by which we can understand the epic voyage and its many consequences, including moral ones. He shows Jefferson's fixation upon waterways as the economic backbone of the new republic and his belief that the West could provide constant renewal and fresh life for the American nation. As did Jefferson, many of his fellow citizens viewed the West as "empty, wild, clear, simple" (p. 34). On the day he left Fort Mandan, Lewis, who put himself in the tradition of Christopher Columbus and Captain James Cook, wrote that the corps was "about to penetrate a country . . . on which the foot of civilized man had never trodden" (p. 22). In this way, he erased the footprints of all those who for a long time had called the country ahead home. A British sailor along the Northwest Coast later noted that by virtue of the Lewis and Clark journey, "the whole of the western region is now laid open" (p. 126). But, as Ronda notes, the act of opening (to European Americans) was also the act of closing (to Native Americans), as is so graphically illustrated in detail by the story of the Clatsop man of influence, Coboway, who lived with his people at Point Adams.

The author provides seven maps and a birdseye view of other explorers who were also in the West in 1806, including the Spanish soldier, Facundo Melgardes, who may have tried to entice Pawnee warriors to ambush Lewis and Clark on the Missouri River.

Ronda is undoubtedly one of the country's foremost scholars of Lewis and Clark, as this fine study indicates. Well documented, it is written with grace and vivid imagery and is both thoughtful and stimulating. For example, it draws fertile comparisons between Jefferson and the American Philosophical Society on the one hand, and Sir Joseph Banks and the Royal Society on the other. Above all, it raises new questions for further speculation.

MARY LEE SPENCE
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JONATHAN D. SASSI. *A Republic of Righteousness: The Public Christianity of the Post-Revolutionary New England Clergy*. (Religion in America.) New York: Oxford University Press. 2001. Pp. viii, 298. $49.95.

For scholars studying religion at the turn of the nineteenth century, Jonathan D. Sassi's book on "the public Christianity of the post-revolutionary New England clergy" adds to an already crowded field. Part of the "Religion in America" series under the general editorship of Harry S. Stout, it ambitiously sets out to explore the "public Christianity" at the core of southern New England clerics' religious vision of America. As such, the book ultimately is a study of the ideology of a select group of religious leaders. Its great strength rests in its breadth and scope. In one work, Sassi examines the beliefs and values of both the ministers of the established churches as well as their dissenting opponents, which is quite a challenge in so far as these adversaries seemed to disagree on a great many issues related to "public Christianity." What is more, Sassi traces this complex story from the American Revolution through the fourth decade of the nineteenth century.

The author begins with the obligatory rejection of

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the old canards "that depict the Congregational clergy as in a steep decline in the post-Revolutionary period" (p. 20). The postrevolutionary era, which according to Sassi spans the years 1783–1833, was one of great change and uncertainty for southern New England's religious leaders, but it was not one that can be facilely described by sweeping generalizations such as status anxiety. Examining virtually all of the major thematic issues in the historiography of the past two generations (in two hundred pages), the author refines the claims of previous scholars (including Ruth H. Bloch, Jon Butler, Nathan O. Hatch, David W. Kling, and James R. Rohrer). The particular strength of his book lies in its generous consideration of previous as well as current scholarship and in its balanced attempt to offer correctives.

The heart of the work is Sassi's detailed analysis of his subjects' occasional (published) sermons in order to explicate what the author calls—but does not define as precisely as he might have—their "public Christianity." With this goal in mind, he parses his study into three sections, with an essentially Hegelian structure of Federalist thesis, Jeffersonian challenge, and early national synthesis. In the first period through the 1790s, southern New England's religious leaders both within the establishment and among dissenting sects embraced and espoused a fairly predictable constellation of beliefs "descended from the Puritans' national covenant" (p. 11) that integrated providential Protestantism with American revolutionary national destiny. Scholars have been familiar with most elements of this "corporate vision" of Christian nationhood for some time; Sassi's particular contribution rests in deftly demonstrating how on one level both dissenters and ministers of the Standing Order spoke in terms of what he calls a postrevolutionary vision of "two kingdoms in concert," with servants of God working in tandem with servants of the state. On another level, so long as the kingdom of mammon was safely in Federalist hands, Congregational ministers safely ignored dissenters' liberal ideology and its corrosive individualism. In southern New England, minister and magistrate existed "in a symbiotic relationship designed to foster social order and Christian virtue" (p. 82).

What neither eighteenth-century dissenters nor the French Revolution could achieve—the undermining of the Standing Order and its commitment to a Christian corporatist ethic—Jeffersonian electoral victories resoundingly did. The advent of democracy, or at least of Democratic-Republican regimes, propelled establishment ministers to charge—noisily and rather clumsily—their political opponents with various forms of impiety. When this political meddling backfired, Congregational ministers altered their "public Christianity" to accommodate the fact that, as Sassi styles it, Aaron was not supporting Moses. The orthodox Congregational party took the lead in forging the new synthesis, evidence of which Sassi found in his close examination of documents in Worcester County, Massachusetts, where orthodox ministers "transformed the commitment to the collective welfare of society through a new model of public Christianity that was rooted in . . . grassroots developments" (p. 129). Stressing "the sanctifying influence of church on society," orthodox Christians sought to save American society from its own government by establishing competing institutions, such as theological seminaries, western missions, tract societies, and myriad other reform agencies (p. 131). So successful was this transformation that, in the third decade of the nineteenth century, despite "the bad news emanating from American politics, 'the Christian world' produced encouraging results" (p. 132).

In the third and forth decades of the nineteenth century, orthodox Congregationalists, armed with a new conception of "public Christianity," "built bridges to some of the dissenting groups among their erstwhile opponents" (p. 144), bridges that provided the foundation for religious "renewal and realignment." Leaving behind only the Unitarians, who "maintained a traditional view on the societal and governmental need for religion" (p. 163), the balance of southern New England Christian leaders fashioned an "Evangelical united front," in Charles I. Foster's famous phrase. Sassi felicitously writes that the evangelicals enjoyed "a sort of religious analogue to the Era of Good Feelings in politics" (p. 179). The likes of Lyman Beecher of Boston and Samuel Austin of Worcester shelved the previous generation's claims for the transformative role of the U.S. government in favor of one in which "the American churches would renew the world" (p. 183). In conclusion, then, Sassi argues that in response to political liberalization, religious leaders united to effect the democratization of southern New England Christianity.

PETER S. FIELD
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WILLIAM F. HARTFORD. *Money, Morals, and Politics: Massachusetts in the Age of the Boston Associates*. Boston: Northeastern University Press. 2001. Pp. xiv, 286. $55.00.

This book is a study of the politics of the Boston Brahmins, and especially of the textile-manufacturing enclave of that elite from the turn of the century to 1860. William F. Hartford's study focuses on the travails and triumphs of the Boston upper class from the decline of Federalism to the death throes of Bay State Whiggery. His theater is commonwealth politics and his protagonists are the "lords of the loom" and their allies and enemies. The interpretive markers of this examination are ideology and interest, morality and manipulation, principles and practicalities, country and city, and elitism and equality. This analytic apparatus is employed to determine how Brahmin authority and its political vehicle—Whiggery—eroded.

In the opening decades of the nineteenth century, the Boston patriciate overcame economic and political

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challenges to consolidate and perpetuate its dominion over the city and state. The upper class successfully overcame internal conflicts over the transition from the sea to the factory and from Federalism to Whiggery. By the 1820s, it emerged as a wealthier, stronger, and more cohesive hegemonic group. This achievement symbiotically related to an ideology that stipulated an integrated society of harmonious group interests. Just as the Boston elite had consolidated its own ranks, so its leadership would unite the strata below it in interclass harmony. Lower orders—particularly the "middling class" or "middling interest" of shopkeepers, master artisans, farmers, and lower professionals—would defer to the values and policies of the Boston Associates because they accepted the moral legitimacy of their betters. By mid-century, this interclass bond had been frayed by divisions over slavery within the elite and between it and the lower ranks. Loss of moral legitimacy dissolved the connection between the classes and with it Brahmin cohesiveness and hegemony. After the Civil War, the Boston patriciate retained some residue of power in the city, especially over Harvard University and various cultural and charitable activities, but its political preeminence had passed into history.

The fundamental lineaments of Hartford's account of the rise and fall of Brahmin political dominion are well known. His book nonetheless enhances elite studies, although Hartford does not compare the Brahmin experience with that of other urban upper orders. Such comparison might have disclosed what was unique to the Boston bluebloods and what they had in common with their peers in other places. This study, however, contributes to knowledge about the Brahmins themselves and antebellum Massachusetts politics. The book's most valuable aspect is its treatment of the relation of the Brahmins to the middling groups in society. Too many scholars of elites, myself included, have been largely concerned with the internal dynamics of these groups and have not sufficiently delineated how their place, power, and prestige have proceeded from relations with the middle classes. Since the United States is a quintessentially bourgeois country, the relative scholarly neglect of the middle class, particularly in contrast to the attention given to elites and the working classes, has been a significant hindrance in understanding American history.

By no means the least virtue of this book is a virtual absence of conceptual, logical, and factual errors. I found only one such flaw. Hartford asserts that "the radicals' critique" of the Associates' hegemony, as expressed by organizers of workingmen, "rarely" excluded a "condemning [of] social unrest or denouncing class conflict" (p. 76). If these labor radicals disavowed social or class conflict, what was the basis of their radicalism? In fact, according to Hartford's own citation, they seemed to have done just what he claims they did not. The "workingmen's warfare is not with *individuals* but *systems*," wrote one labor journal editor, "which make the rich tyrannical, powerful, haughty, aristocratic, hardened and neglectful of their duties" to others "and the poor envious and contentious, or servile and obedient to the mandates of wealth, and those more favored" (p. 76).

It is worth mentioning, especially at a time when literary style is declining in the humanities, that Hartford writes with clarity and sometimes with wit and elegance. This book may not be the most innovative, profound, or comprehensive analysis of the Boston Brahmins, but it is a pleasurable read and an intelligent presentation of an important aspect of Boston upper-class leadership.

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JAMES W. COOK. *The Arts of Deception: Playing with Fraud in the Age of Barnum*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 2001. Pp. ix, 314. Cloth $45.00, paper $19.95.

BENJAMIN REISS. *The Showman and the Slave: Race, Death, and Memory in Barnum's America*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 2001. Pp. x, 267. $29.95.

In these books, James W. Cook and Benjamin Reiss write the history of entertainment exactly as it should be written: as a sophisticated interaction between presenters and observers that reveals much about the values of the age. Cook traces this dynamic before, during, and after Phineas T. Barnum's time, while Reiss uses one incident—the public career of Joice Heth—to examine attitudes about race and gender. Both authors focus on the antebellum North, and both relate Barnum and his shows to the changes in society occurring while Barnum was a showman. Cook and Reiss emphasize that Barnum masterfully sensed the mood and concerns of his customers and carefully crafted his exhibits to titillate ticket holders and, more importantly, to spark debate about those issues uppermost in the minds of Americans. Journalists enthusiastically engaged in the collaboration, sometimes accepting hoaxes, sometimes promoting them, but always selling bales of newspapers. Through this process, Barnum, his audiences, and the popular press produced spirited discussions that reveal much about attitudes concerning historical memory, race, gender, death, religion, science, and business.

Cook explains the Barnum phenomenon in the context of the tremendous intellectual and social changes occurring in the nineteenth-century antebellum North. When Barnum began his career in 1835, the age of Enlightenment, with its emphasis on gentlemen, science, and reason, was giving way to popular democracy, an emerging middle class, a market revolution, and technological innovations that were transforming everyday life. In this period of profound change, Americans often found it difficult to distinguish the real from the illusionary. Barnum sensed this and amassed a fortune by creating ambiguous attrac-

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tions and challenging audiences to separate the real from the unreal in them.

To illustrate the rise of the "arts of deception," Cook begins with a non-Barnum attraction called the Automaton Chess Player, then focuses most of the book on Barnum's career, and finally moves to the modern age where such phenomena as professional wrestling demonstrate that "humbug" is still alive and well. In discussing Barnum, Cook looks at a number of exhibits, including the Feejee Mermaid, a strange, small, and unsightly corpse (actually the top half of a monkey fused to the back half of a fish) that audiences found irresistible and speculated about endlessly. Why did Americans appreciate such a deception? According to Cook, Barnum reflected his nation's acceptance of the new market economy that tolerated anything in business, except for outright fraud and thievery. In a time when forces were at work that would produce a bumper crop of robber barons, Barnum's swashbuckling style tested the limits of deception in regard to ethics and legality in the world of business.

Cook further demonstrates that Barnum understood his age by examining the What Is It? exhibit that raised questions about evolution and race shortly after the appearance of Charles Darwin's *Origin of Species* (1859). About the exotically clothed black man displayed, Barnum asked: might this dark-skinned little fellow with a sloping forehead captured in the wilds of Africa be the missing link? Some observers thought so, but most white onlookers saw proof of the subhuman qualities of blacks and evidence that they were unfit for participation in northern society or politics.

In his book, Reiss concentrates on the attraction that launched Barnum's career, Joice Heth, whom the showman billed as a 161-year-old black woman who had served as a nurse to young George Washington. Reiss treats the Heth phenomenon as an unguarded moment that convincingly demonstrates that Barnum and his customers accepted the institution of slavery and viewed black Americans as inferior, sexual, and exotic creatures. Reiss also shows that all of the entities in the Heth affair—Barnum, Heth, and audiences—pursued different agendas. Barnum emerges as a money-grubbing, slave-owning northerner who purchased Heth and controlled her completely. To make her look older, he starved her and pulled her teeth. He instructed her to praise him and her former masters, to talk fondly about the first president, and to sing gospel songs to demonstrate her religiosity. The final indignity occurred when she died, and Barnum held a "scientific" public autopsy and charged an admission of fifty cents. Reiss suggests that Heth may have been a sophisticated player in an elaborate humbug; she elevated herself from slave status to that of a national treasure and adhered with amazing consistency to a complex script about her relationship with the Washington family. Reiss also hypothesizes that Heth may have originated the story of being Washington's nurse as a parody of her former master's braggadocio concerning his friendship with the first president. In viewing Heth, audiences reaffirmed what they wanted to believe. Her supposed link to Washington functioned as a cultural anchor during a time of profound change by providing a visible, direct, and reassuring bond to the revolutionary generation. She presented living proof that blacks were nonthreatening, religious, and content with their station in life.

Reiss reveals the sexual and exotic images of black women by discussing the Heth autopsy and a non-Barnum attraction, the Hottentot Venus. (In the latter case, the fee for admission included the right to poke and prod a black women's ample buttocks to be certain they were real.) Reiss also unmasks a disquieting side to white concepts of black abolitionists by asserting that they were often a freak show for racist white audiences. Apparently, many mainstream Americans who heard Frederick Douglass speak did not lend a sympathetic ear to his message but came to see an anomaly: a black man who could talk intelligently.

These are both superb books whose similarity of topics makes them complementary rather than repetitive. By taking variant approaches to their subject matter, Cook and Reiss deepen understanding of northern antebellum society. Both are valuable additions to the literature on Barnum because they relate the showman to his times and dispel the notion that Barnum simply hoodwinked masses of stupid and inert ticket holders. Instead, the authors demonstrate that the showman, audiences, and the emerging popular press crafted and interpreted the attractions in ways that reinforced what white Americans of the time wanted to believe. Cook and Reiss add considerably to social and intellectual history by focusing on that very complicated time when the Enlightenment gave way to Jacksonian democracy. Their books are required reading for those interested in the broad sweep of nineteenth-century social history as well as the history of entertainment, the popular press, science, race relations, slavery, abolitionism, business, gender studies, and historical memory.

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GREGG D. KIMBALL. *American City, Southern Place: A Cultural History of Antebellum Richmond*. Athens: University of Georgia Press. 2000. Pp. xxv, 345. $35.00.

Gregg Kimball's book is a brilliant and beautifully crafted study of the complex relationship among the concept of place, the construction of cultural identity, and, ultimately, the political choices people make. The setting for Kimball's study is antebellum Richmond, Virginia, from 1840 through the outbreak of the Civil War. The cultural identities Kimball reconstructs are those of four distinct groups of Richmonders: merchants and their families, members (free blacks and slaves) of the First African Baptist Church, ironworkers employed at Tredegar Iron Works, and a cross section of the city's militia units. As the secession crisis mounted and war appeared inevitable, the political

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choices these Richmonders confronted—whether to support the newly born Confederacy or remain loyal to the Union—would depend on how these "different groups of residents understood their world" (p. xv) and their place in it.

As the title suggests, Richmond defied easy classification; Kimball, however, is up to the task as he deftly sketches the city's dual persona in the first section of the book. Richmond's American identity, he argues, was reflected in a built environment that promoted the city as "heir to the political heritage of the Founding Fathers" (p. 4). This image, which first took shape in the late eighteenth century with the completion of the state capital building designed by Thomas Jefferson and the installation of the nation's first sculpture of George Washington, was woven into the fabric of public life and reached its zenith in 1858. That year, not only was a second monument to Washington erected in Capitol Square, along with statues of Jefferson and Patrick Henry, but city fathers also hosted a series of public events to mark the reburial of James Monroe's remains from their New York resting place to Hollywood Cemetery. (Kimball explains that this Richmond showcase was also part of a "larger American movement" that "idealized rural landscapes" within an urban setting; p. 38.)

There was more to Richmond's "Americanization" than the city fathers' conscious cultivation of the heritage of the American Revolution. Richmond shared many of the characteristics of other antebellum American cities: a heterogeneous population, a mixed economic base, and all the trappings of an emergent bourgeois culture. Richmond was home to a mix of native-born white southerners, transplanted northerners, immigrants from Western Europe, and African Americans. Ethnic cultural diversity was also reflected in the variety of religious institutions—Episcopalian, Roman Catholic, Baptist (white and black), Lutheran, and Jewish—that graced the downtown area. By the mid-1850s, Richmond boasted four railroad lines, six major industrial sites, a vibrant commercial sector closely linked to New York, fine hotels and eating establishments, militia companies, fraternal organizations and reform societies, and a range of amusements from theaters to brothels.

And yet, Richmond's "Americanization" only went so far. "Beneath the bourgeois façade of urban sameness," writes Kimball, "slavery deeply influenced the city" (p. 38). Richmond's "southern-ness" was defined as much by its built environment of slave jails and auction blocks as it was by its monuments to the Founding Fathers. "Strong connections between urban and rural slaveholding families reinforced similar attitudes toward slavery and society" (p. xviii), but in Richmond, as in all antebellum southern cities, the line between liberty and bondage stretched mighty thin. There is little doubt that planters and industrialists benefited financially from slaves who were hired from the surrounding plantation regions each January and toiled in the city's factories, but the "hiring out system" also posed a danger to the social order. As Richard Wade pointed out almost forty years ago, hired slaves experienced degrees of freedom by "living out" along the city's back streets and alleys, by fraternizing with working-class whites and free blacks in the grog shops, gaming houses, and brothels, and by aiding runaways.

While the material covered in the first section of the book has a familiar ring to it (exploring the tensions between American and southern folkways has become standard fare for southern urban historians), what Kimball offers up in the second section represents a dramatic departure from recent trends in urban studies. Here social science methodology gives way to cultural theory as Kimball gently chides urban social historians for their "failure to capture the dynamic interplay of people and ideas that characterized American cities and society before the Civil War" (p. xv). To recover the "*mentalités*" of Richmond's antebellum residents, Kimball parts company with the vast majority of urban historians who have sought clues to urban life by quantifying data gleaned from census manuscripts, city directories, tax lists, probate records, and the like. Although it would be inaccurate to suggest that Kimball eschews the use of these sources, his is a narrative that relies primarily on more "traditional" literary sources (diaries, memoirs, travel journals, personal correspondence, newspaper accounts) and does so with a decidedly postmodern twist.

If there is one criticism to make, it lies in the sense of incompleteness that lingers after reading the final section on "choosing sides." What takes Kimball six chapters to develop (namely, that perceptions about place and cultural identity are intrinsic to the political choices people make with regard to such weighty issues as allegiance to a cause or a nation) cannot possibly be discharged in the scant fifty pages covering the varied responses of Richmond's residents to the Civil War and Reconstruction. Still, this is a very small quibble with what is an otherwise important and compelling work.

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ALEX BONTEMPS. *The Punished Self: Surviving Slavery in the Colonial South*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 2001. Pp. x, 224. $29.95.

Alex Bontemps's book is principally concerned with the issue of African invisibility in the colonial South; that is, how Africans and their descendants, so vital to the U.S. South, were purposely confined to the margins of the society's self-projection and representation, and how some responded to their effacement. Nuanced and understated, Bontemps's study is a perspicacious meditation with insights easily missed (or misunderstood) if not carefully read.

For Bontemps, the most nefarious aspect of North American slavery was the psychological toll it levied on Africans. More specifically, the survival of those en-

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slaved required that they undergo an adjustment of the personality, an internalization of their invisibility, an absorption of their marginalization so thorough as to effect a subservience of attitude, yet preserve sufficient independence of self-assessment as to prevent the individual's total collapse in acquiescence. The maintenance of this dual perspective, different in character from W. E. B. Du Bois's discussion of "double consciousness" at the turn of the twentieth century, is the quintessential challenge for the enslaved, or what Bontemps refers to as "the dilemma."

Divided into thirds, the first part of the book observes the ways in which southern slaveholders consistently refused to acknowledge the "subjectivity" of the enslaved in their written records; that is, although they often (and unavoidably) mentioned the enslaved, slaveholders collectively avoided discussing them as self-aware human beings. In contrast to the pattern in the Caribbean, where planters wrote about slave life in some detail, southern planters maintained an eerie silence, even though they were often engulfed by the African presence. Blacks were everywhere and were constantly mentioned, but as objects. Drawing from the diaries, letters, and records of such men as George Washington, William Byrd, Henry Laurens, Thomas Jefferson, and Robert Carter, Bontemps subtly suggests that black invisibility "seems repressed rather than merely overlooked or consciously ignored," a powerful insight meriting further analysis. In contrast, accounts of those visiting the South take greater interest in the enslaved as subjects, providing vistas into slave life not found among the resident gentry.

Bontemps undergirds his argument by citing the many newspaper accounts of blacks in connection with natural disasters and fires and accidents, demonstrating their ubiquity while denying their humanity. The conclusion—that the maintenance of black invisibility was an important psychological means of social control—is strongly implied but not clearly stated. The paintings of the period, with few notable exceptions, underscore slaveholder silence; a few visual examples would have been useful.

In part two, the author is occupied with the seasoning process, a poorly documented phenomenon, whose purpose was to transform captive Africans into productive workers. That they were to be enslaved was a qualification requiring a mental and psychic transfiguration, the core of seasoning. "New Negroes," a classification generally referring to the African-born, were to be converted into "sensible Negroes," signifying a development at which point the enslaved were aware of dual self-perspectives and therefore the dilemma. Bontemps makes skillful use of runaway slave advertisements to illustrate the transition, and more could be moved out of the endnotes to the text as they are wonderfully instructive. One example of the "turn" in the self-perspective was that "sensible Negroes" no longer resorted to suicide as often as "outlandish," African-born arrivals. Their modified behavior reflects new strategies in their confrontation with slavery and a decision to survive. They had undergone a "forced acculturation" and were aware of it. Critical to the transition was the use of violence, and Bontemps's contribution here is signal. While slaveholders are generally silent about the use of coercion, the runaway slave ads speak volumes, as individuals are invariably described with missing limbs and teeth. Ear cropping and the absence of single joints rather than whole fingers and toes are particularly suggestive, as they would inflict punishment while not diminishing productivity. Slave resistance in the form of "impudence" was widespread and represented a form of rebellion on the precipice of unacceptability, but its frequency, combined with many other forms of rebellion, indicate that the punished, divided self was in a conflict wherein the independent self-perspective held the upper hand.

But there were also those for whom forced acculturation had created a "creole" identity, subject of the book's final section. The "Negro" was a fiction, a performance by those who knew what was expected of them, but who held another view of themselves. It was a form of creolization, a continuum at whose opposite end were not simply the American-born but those who sought to become something "other-than-Negro," a supra-Negro transcending African derivations while recognizing the limitations. Using John Chavis, James Hemings, and the bizarre Christopher McPherson as examples, Bontemps is critical of their aspirations to exceptionality at the expense of their ties to Africa, and he contrasts their behavior with those who ran away from slaveholders toward family and friends and an embrace of their African origins. This book should be read by all with interest in slavery, race, and the South. It is a resourceful work, most accessible for those with time to reflect.

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MARILYN IRVIN HOLT. *Indian Orphanages*. Lawrence: University Press of Kansas. 2001. Pp. x, 326. $34.95.

Orphanages for Indian children were never very prevalent. Nevertheless, between the 1850s and the 1970s a number of such institutions existed. Although they possessed some remarkable educational similarities to Indian boarding schools, orphanages were different because, until the twentieth century, they tended to be less affected by the federal assimilation program. Marilyn Irvin Holt has molded the subject of orphan asylums for Native American children into a well-written, interesting, and important contribution to the fields of Indian history and Indian education. She also fits her subject into the general trends in national social welfare that changed so dramatically during the orphanage era. Native experiences paralleled in many ways the development of orphan asylums nationally. As the author of *The Orphan Trains: Placing Out in America* (1991), Holt brings an extensive prior knowledge to her subject.

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This book is essentially a series of case studies, focusing on orphan facilities among the Seneca, the Five Civilized Tribes in Oklahoma, and the Sioux and Ojibway. In each instance Holt provides a historical background that illustrates how the tribal group traditionally dealt with parentless children, shows the reasons why this system broke down, and then looks at the creation of Anglo-type institutions for their welfare. The book draws some especially important conclusions. Native societies traditionally cared for orphaned children internally by placing them with relatives or other community members. Only when tribal society broke down as the result of war, disease, and relocation did parentless or destitute children come to need institutional care. The response to these changes came from the tribes themselves, sometimes with the aid of missionaries. As a consequence, the orphanages that developed, such as those in Oklahoma after the Civil War, were tribal facilities. While much of the focus was on schooling, these institutions did not invite tribal mixing, were more tolerant of Native culture, and did not separate the child from the community. According to Holt, such features made these orphanages somewhat more humane, although they still experienced financial, health, and other problems. Most of the orphanages in Oklahoma (which had the most) did not survive the Dawes Commission and the dissolution of tribal government in the early twentieth century. The few that did were taken over by the federal government and soon became typical boarding schools.

This book is extremely well researched. The author has uncovered a great deal of original material and makes a convincing case. She presents a favorable impression of the orphanages, especially while they were under tribal control. Admitting their many flaws, she nevertheless regards the effort to meet the basic needs of food, shelter, and education for the many children left orphaned or destitute by American Indian policy in a positive light. The voice of the children themselves forms a minor part of the story, largely because so little evidence of it remains (although there are some wonderful photos). Thus, the book presents more of an institutional history than a personal one. Still, this is a work that will interest historians as well as the Native population.

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MARVIN R. O'CONNELL. *Edward Sorin*. Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press. 2001. Pp. x, 737. $49.95.

Edward Sorin (1814–1893), founder of the University of Notre Dame, was a French priest with the heart of an American pioneer. Whether or not he is legitimately compared to Jesus (p. 73), St. Paul (pp. 587–93), Abraham (p. 667), Pollyanna (p. 182), and D'Artagnan (p. 667), his life is clearly worthy of this massive and erudite biography. Marvin R. O'Connell is so comfortable in the ecclesiastical world of the nineteenth century that he can draw the reader into the priestly subculture that Sorin occupied. The book, written in the shadow of the famous "Golden Dome" and dedicated to Theodore M. Hesburgh, "Second Founder of Notre Dame," has the advantages (and some of the liabilities) of an insider's perspective. Occasionally the author allows his own prejudices to overwhelm the narrative (for example, when a discussion of Sorin's piety becomes an occasion for O'Connell to chide contemporary Catholics who have abandoned private devotions [p. 620]). And when O'Connell speculates (p. 424) that Sorin might have taken pleasure in the fact that one of his enemies would "spend the last thirty-three years of his life . . . in an insane asylum," I wondered whose soul I was looking into.

The thirty chapters of this book are thoroughly researched and beautifully crafted with rhapsodic descriptions of place, complex character development, and a fine sense of pacing. It reads like a good novel, partly because Sorin was such a character. "He was capable of duplicity and pettiness and even ruthlessness. But for sheer courage and for the serene determination that courage gives birth to, he was hard to match" (p. 183). Sorin, son of minor French nobility, joined and was deeply committed to a new religious order, the Congregation of the Holy Cross, but fought endlessly with its founder, the rigid, ascetic, administratively ineffective Basile Moreau (1799–1873). Sorin left a country enervated by revolution for a country energized by revolution. Both were hostile to the Catholic Church, yet he knew which was the better venue. Instinctively he saw that "the new, raw, bustling American republic opened vistas heretofore unimagined to those religious alert enough to take advantage of them" (p. 191).

Sorin came to the diocese of Vincennes, Indiana, with high hopes but found a difficult bishop and a backwoods mission with no real opportunities. When his complaints grew sufficiently annoying, the bishop offered him 524 acres in northern Indiana. Sorin arrived there in 1842, found a half-finished log church nearly covered with snow, and began to build a "college" (high school) for boys, though he had no money, no connections, and little English. Still, he put up a few buildings and persuaded Moreau to send some nuns along with more priests and brothers. Although it was officially named a "university" in 1844, the school then had six students, a poorly trained faculty, and a president (Sorin) who was "indifferent to learning" (p. 246). Notre Dame did not begin to establish itself on intellectual grounds until the tenure of Thomas Walsh (1881–1893), its eighth president. Still, "the paramount truth remains, that Notre Dame survived because Edward Sorin refused to fail" (p. 400).

Sorin was dedicated to Notre Dame with a zeal that regularly landed him in trouble. As a Holy Cross priest in the territory of the bishop of Vincennes, he had no permission to secure loans, mastermind building projects, move nuns to another state, create founda-

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tions (daughter houses in various territories), or fight relentlessly for his own independence from France. Yet, he did all these things. His love for Notre Dame made him daring—he had endless ideas for making money, including sending three brothers to California to pan for gold—and defiant. Nothing could stop him or dampen his enthusiasm and when trouble hit—fire, disease, reprimands from France, a demand that he leave Notre Dame and go to India—Sorin bounced back. He was possessed of "imperious self-confidence" (p. 335), political savvy, and practical intelligence. He also had some remarkable allies, including the redoubtable Angela Gillespie, provincial of the Holy Cross sisters, whose heroism and acumen matched his own.

Not all of Sorin's projects worked, but many flourished. Sacred Heart church, a magnificent structure, Ave Maria Press (lasted until 1970), and the groundwork for a major Catholic university are all part of his legacy. When he became the Superior General of the Holy Cross Congregation in 1868, he saw that the order needed an infusion of the American spirit (p. 543) and eventually moved its headquarters to Notre Dame. He celebrated his fiftieth jubilee of ordination (1888) by installing a Bernini altar in the chapel of Sacred Heart church. He could look up and see Notre Dame ("our mother") standing atop a dome that was overlaid with gold leaf (not gold paint, p. 658). He could look out and see more than one hundred students, brass bands, fireworks, and hundreds of distinguished guests, churchmen and politicians, patrons and friends. This book, a detailed tribute to an energetic founder is also a rich chapter in American religious history, beautifully illustrated and handsomely produced.

MARY JO WEAVER
Indiana University, Bloomington

DOUGLAS MORGAN. *Adventism and the American Republic: The Public Involvement of a Major Apocalyptic Movement*. Foreword by MARTIN E. MARTY. Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press. 2001. Pp. xvi, 269. $32.00.

Timothy Weber, George Marsden, and others have made a persuasive case that premillennialists have not always remained passive in this world while awaiting the next. Premillennialists have frequently acted in the public sphere out of a sense that God required certain public and even reformist actions. In spite of the efforts of such scholars, the stereotype persists of premillennialists sitting passively—the more white robes the better—while waiting for the end. Douglas Morgan adds to the evidence that runs contrary to the stereotype and thus may help to chip it away.

Morgan's work looks at the Seventh-day Adventist tradition, examining the approach of those Adventists to the nation and to involvement in public life from the Millerite period of the 1840s through the late twentieth century. Morgan contends that the "theology of history" of the Adventists gave shape to decisions about how to approach or to avoid the American republic and engagement in its public sphere. "Their apocalyptic eschatology," Morgan writes, "has been a springboard for more than a hundred years of activism for human liberty and, on occasion, for social change" (pp. 8–9).

Adventists have long been known for differences from the American majority with regard to the Sabbath, war, and health and dietary regulations. The first two of these necessarily required Adventists to take some stance with regard to the broader republic. Periodic efforts to implement or to enforce Sunday laws, for example, set Adventists against many Sunday-keeping Christians and brought them out to debate and oppose those who sought to bring the law to bear to enforce Sunday as the Sabbath. In examining such moments, Douglas helps to illuminate the multiple forces acting in American society on large questions of church and state.

Like other Adventists, Morgan looks to prophetess Ellen G. White as a kind of touchstone of Adventist tradition. Morgan appreciates the balance that White struck between disengagement from politics and agitation for rights, and he condemns those leaders after White who would "emasculate the Adventist witness for rights, especially in the period from 1920 to 1960" (p. 57).

Although it is worth thinking about Adventist attitudes and action in the context of Adventist theology, Morgan ultimately does not persuade that it is theology that comes first in the multitude of influences on Adventists' public stances. Adventists share far too many directions of change and development with, for example, fundamentalists, for an internal explanation of directions of change to be persuasive. However, Morgan does clarify some significant differences between Adventists and, in particular, the New Christian Right. Adventist leaders and spokesmen do not seek the Moral Majority's Christian America. Unfortunately, in Morgan's view, they only sometimes seek an egalitarian, racially open America.

Not all Americans have seen the United States as the triumphant carrier of God's plans. Adventists have sometimes been among the most forthright in identifying the United States instead as the two-horned beast of Revelation 13. If much of this book with be of interest primarily to specialists and to members of the Seventh-day Adventist Church, the larger point will be a helpful reminder to many historians.

RUTH ALDEN DOAN
Hollins University

MATTHEW G. HANNAH. *Governmentality and the Mastery of Territory in Nineteenth-Century America*. (Cambridge Studies in Historical Geography, number 32.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 2000. Pp. xiii, 245. Cloth $59.95, paper $22.95.

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Matthew G. Hannah offers a contribution to the historical geography of American state formation in the Gilded Age by using some of Michel Foucault's analytic repertoire to treat the career, work, and publications of Francis Amasa Walker. Special attention is paid to the U.S. censuses of 1870 and 1880, and to Walker's writings on political economy, migration, and education. The book is busily suggestive and, at times, quite insightful.

Hannah begins by laying out an analytic framework drawn, oddly, less from Foucault's work on governmentality than from his writings on discursive formations, surveillance, and discipline. "Governmentality" is defined hastily as state-centred and statistically based observations of the social body, or as the practical use of statistics in governmental projects. Hannah sees governmentality as a way of extending his own primary interest in "the logic of social control" (p. 6) operative in the period. To follow Foucault in analyzing statistical discourse, claims Hannah, one must inquire into the places at which statistics emerge, the nature of authorities empowered to speak statistically, and the substance of the statistical determinations they make. Once addressed, such questions will lead us to the investigation of actual statistical practice. Here we will be concerned with the conditions of access to objects of observation ("abstraction"), the manner in which objects are specified ("assortment"), and the process through which observations generated in the field are concentrated at an authoritative central site ("centralization"). This "cycle of social control" will be completed by an analysis of the ways in which statistics are mobilized in regulatory projects.

Hannah follows this outline consistently and to some positive effect. His concern with the emergence of statistics yields an interesting account of the changing media in which statistical material was published, from the antebellum general periodical literature to discipline-specific publications in which masculinized professional expertise reigned. Walker is seen both as an active participant in these transformations and as a representative statistical authority. Hannah points to the ways in which Walker's military training and brand of masculinity migrated with him into state service. Because men monopolized statistical production in the federal government and in late nineteenth-century professional associations, Hannah claims the literature has missed the inherently masculinized nature of governmentality.

Given the comparative weakness of the central government, census making was the major project in which statistical determinations of the social body were made. Hannah thus analyzes the conduct of the censuses of 1870 and 1880. He is alive to the ways in which census knowledge is dependent on the conditions of its own production and on the interpretive grid embodied in census design. What is observed is bound up with the logistics of the observational process, including the quality of the observers, and Hannah points to the ways in which the census for Walker was another military operation. Particularly instructive is a discussion of how Walker gave material substance to the social body as a national body in his remarkable *Statistical Atlas of the United States* (1874). The atlas specified elements in the social body and bound them to spatial divisions.

The final chapters in the book deal with Walker's analytic work. Through his writings on political economy, migration, and education, we see Walker taking population as an object whose dynamic principles can be known and mastered through statistical analysis. His main concerns were with labor mobility, white middle-class fertility decline, and the dangerous influx of "foreigners." Hannah is insightful in pointing to the ways in which gender was central to these concerns. Women's domesticity, for instance, provided the element of fixity necessary for civilization under conditions of labor mobility. And white men's "shrinking" and "withdrawal" from their reproductive duties, faced with the degraded lives of the foreign element, were at the base of fertility decline.

I found it rewarding to read this book, although I also found it to be theoretically gawky. Foucault arguably broke with the structuralist logic of his discourse analysis and moved well beyond the analysis of "docile bodies" in his governmentality work, which was certainly not about "social control." Rather, Foucault attempted to give a non- Marxist version of modern state formation and government capable of accounting for the ways in which individual conduct had become implicated in governmental thought and practice, particularly under political liberalism. Key to the elaboration of this project was an awareness of the importance of statistical thinking and practice in relation to population. But Foucault also broadened the concept "government" to refer to all dimensions of the "conduct of conduct," to all attempts to structure the autonomy of others. And he also became interested in the ways in which individuals drew on technical resources and social practices to fashion themselves. In his final formulations of the concept, "governmentality" referred to the intersection of technologies of power, domination, and meaning making with technologies of the self.

Hannah seems to have absorbed little of this, and, seen in this light, some of his observations are less than telling. For instance, "governmentality" is masculinized only because Hannah defines the projects of moral and social reform in which women were invested as nongovernmental. Yet, clearly, they were about the government of the conduct of others. If one followed the analysis of techniques of the self, Walker would not appear, as he does in the book, as a subject constructed through the structure of discourse, but as an active agent of self-fashioning in a particular context. We could make better sense of the migration of military tactics from the battlefield to the office in that way, since it is not discourse that migrates. Similarly, the problem of middle-class fertility decline could be analyzed in terms of technologies of self. And the

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astonishing representational innovations in Walker's atlas could be probed through an analysis of the technology of meaning making from a governmentality stance. Hannah has done a good deal of interesting work in this book; yet the analytic promise of governmentality might be better realized.

BRUCE CURTIS
Carleton University

LINDA E. SMEINS. *Building an American Identity: Pattern Book Homes and Communities, 1870–1900.* Walnut Creek, Calif.: Altamira Press. 1999. Pp. 335. Cloth $52.00, paper $24.95.

Linda E. Smeins has written a monograph about the commercially published pattern books that distributed architectural plans of residence to American homebuilders during the nineteenth century. These mass-produced publications disseminated architectural styles and, to a certain extent, philosophies of domestic design that inspired the structure of houses in towns and cities across the United States. Smeins shows that the authors of the pattern books sold them for different reasons: some intended their books to be guides to good architectural taste, some used them as catalogs to sell building designs by mail order, and others hoped to attract clients for architectural consultation and commissions. By way of explaining the historical context and significance of the pattern books, Smeins also discusses important, if familiar, topics such as the evolution of architectural aesthetics, the concept of the moral home, women's role as consumers, and the idea of the suburb.

The pattern books provided a commercial nexus between the architecture of the elite and the emergent mass culture. Yet the elites of the budding architectural profession, based primarily in the East, attacked the authors of the pattern books for taking commissions away from trained architects. They also deplored the pattern books for encouraging poor taste, in particular in the unrestrained popular interpretations of the Queen Anne style, which in one form or another became the image of the late nineteenth-century American suburban house. The leaders of the architecture profession were unable to assert control over the pattern book authors and local builders; the middle classes apparently preferred the less expensive method of using local talent to design and build houses. Pattern book authors and builders nonetheless followed the stylistic lead of the elites, although they elaborated and interpreted the architectural fashions as they and their customers saw fit—and in some regions adhered to a style after the elites had moved on to the next one.

Smeins argues that the pattern books and the conflicts over architectural style were part of search for an American national identity. This is a difficult case to make, and she makes it by assertion in the early chapters of the book rather than by building on her analysis of the pattern books. Furthermore, Smeins fails to incorporate or take issue with the analysis of historians Gwendolyn Wright and Clifford Edward Clarke, who have covered this same ground well, albeit not in as much detail as Smeins does. A few misspellings and ungainly passages mar the text as well.

Historians of American culture will find that the great value of this book is its close description of nineteenth-century architectural pattern books. It illuminates the complex historical process by which cultural ideals influence and are influenced by large-scale modern commerce and technology.

ALEXANDER VON HOFFMAN
Harvard University

CATHERINE COCKS. *Doing the Town: The Rise of Urban Tourism in the United States, 1850–1915.* Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 2001. Pp. xiii, 287. $37.50.

Catherine Cocks traces the development of urban tourism from the early nineteenth century, when she claims it was "unthinkable," to the large-scale and profitable leisure industry of the early twentieth century. Cocks sets a large agenda, attempting to study tourism not only across an entire century but also in the geographically and culturally diverse cities of New York, San Francisco, Chicago, and Washington, D.C. This wide-ranging book is filled with solid analysis, flashes of insight, and illuminating anecdotes, but ultimately it fails to demonstrate that urban tourists "embodied a new sense of selfhood and enacted a new understanding of the sources and character of legitimate social bonds" (p. 1).

Cocks deftly sketches the now-familiar story of the increasing commercialization and privatization of urban space and leisure in the late 1800s and early 1900s. She begins with the antebellum anxiety over the rise of the American city and the resulting disorder, anonymity, and blatant display of market forces. Single chapters follow on railroads and hotels, emphasizing their role in legitimizing and democratizing public leisure. The final three chapters expound on the actual urban touristic experience. By 1900, hard-sell tour companies proliferated, assuring clients they would possess the greatest comfort and exclusivity in the city, thus avoiding the risk of socially heterogeneous crowds. Turn-of-the-century guidebooks discarded their local and personal tone in exchange for a more corporate narrative, "creating the tourist as a distinct social type and tourism as a distinct spatial practice" (p. 144). The City Beautiful movement and the everincreasing number of world's fairs indicated to urban boosters that leisure and beauty possessed commercial value. Chambers of commerce and business interests touted their city's amorphous "personality" and sponsored the building of civic auditoriums for the convention trade. The growth of historical walking tours as well as slumming in the neighborhoods of ethnic minorities turned tourists into flaneurs, making cities themselves seem like exposition stage sets inhabited by subjects/residents.

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According to Cocks, urban tourists—mobile, privileged, and commercially oriented—became the ideal citizens of a mythic American republic without race, class, or ethnic tensions.

It is never particularly clear, however, what separates urban tourism from travel to the seaside and the mountains. Cocks readily concedes the former never remotely surpassed the popularity of the rural resorts, but the reader is given no basis to compare the two. The tangential chapters on hotels and Pullman cars, although fascinating, seem taken from some other work. This book is devoid of any quantification, whether railroad passenger statistics, city terminal patronage, hotel room capacity, relative numbers of hotels in directories or guidebooks. The result is a heavy reliance on the generalized theoretical statement. In the absence of meaningful numbers, the reader is asked to accept on faith that urban tourists represented a significant percentage of the traveling public, that this percentage rose between 1850 and 1910, and that visitors to cities somehow differed from their counterparts in the Catskills. These statements may or may not be true, but the framework of the book rests on their veracity, and little evidence is offered.

Cocks focuses more on hotel lobbies, railroad cars, ethnic neighborhoods, and urban landscapes than on the businessmen, conventioneers, pleasure travelers, and residents who strolled through them. Her book's thematic emphasis means the four cities are rarely differentiated in any meaningful way; the focus is primarily on urban "space" and the mixed effects of consumerism and commercialized leisure on a national American culture. For Cocks, the rise of urban tourism reflects the demise of a worldview based on refinement and contributes to the late nineteenth-century rehabilitation of cities characterized by the decline of the Hudson River School and transcendentalism and the rise of the Ashcan School and American realist fiction.

Cocks's ten-page bibliographical essay is superb, covering a particularly wide variety of potentially useful secondary sources. The index, however, is a disappointment; the entry for tourism contains sixty separate subheadings, and a check on hotels sends the reader to more than forty. Despite the book jacket's claim of "especially lively reading," this work would be most useful for specialists in tourism or urban studies and perhaps a graduate seminar on the history of tourism.

JON STERNGASS
Saratoga Springs, N.Y.

DAVID IGLER. *Industrial Cowboys: Miller and Lux and the Transformation of the Far West, 1850–1920*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 2001. Pp. xiv, 267. $37.50.

Miller and Lux is one of the fabled corporate names in California history. Founded by two German-born butchers (Henry Miller and Charles Lux) who migrated west during the Gold Rush, over several decades the partnership's far-flung ranches fed millions of cattle into its San Francisco slaughterhouse. Eventually encompassing more than a million acres, the Miller and Lux empire comprised one of the great "land monopolies" that engendered populist and progressive resentment during the late nineteenth century. Miller and Lux also became renowned for its ability to energize the California legal system in defense of riparian water rights tied to its holdings along the San Joaquin and Kern rivers.

In the days before widespread refrigeration, the butcher business required that fresh meat reach the market quickly after slaughter. Urban centers offered the largest number of prospective customers, but cities—with high land prices and a multitude of residents—were not well suited for large feed lots and grazing pastures. The genius behind Miller and Lux's strategy was to control an archipelago of ranches extending into the rural hinterland where cattle could be raised and fattened and then quickly brought into San Francisco for butchering and sale. In the 1850s Miller and Lux started using the 1,700-acre Buri Buri Ranchero a few miles south of the city. Taking advantage of government policies geared toward rapid dispersement of land into private ownership, Miller and Lux soon expanded into Monterey, San Benito, Santa Clara, Stanislaus, Merced, and Kern counties to the south and east. Eventually the empire spread to Nevada and eastern Oregon. Cattle drives and railroad shipments tied the holdings together, all with the ultimate purpose of delivering fattened livestock to the San Francisco slaughterhouse. David Igler succeeds in explaining how Miller and Lux manipulated a multitude of state and federal laws governing land sales and transfers. However, readers unfamiliar with such things as the Swamp Land Act, "land scrip," or Mexican land ownership (and its relationship to the Treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo and the California Land Claims Commission) may wish for more background before being plunged into the wealth of detailed data marshaled in this book.

The treatment of Miller and Lux's relationship to water law and water control also suffers from a paucity of background detail and contextual framing. Readers unfamiliar with "riparian water rights" and their relationship to "appropriated water rights" may well feel out of their depth when they reach the chapter on *Lux v. Haggin* (which in 1886 affirmed the validity of riparian water rights in California). Igler seems reluctant to engage water control issues the way he does Miller and Lux's land accumulation policies. This is particularly evident in the lack of any mention, much less analysis, of early twentieth-century agreements between Miller and Lux and Henry Huntington's Pacific Light and Power Company regarding the operation of hydroelectric power reservoirs in the Sierra Nevada. These agreements provide an essential context for the landmark 1920s water rights case *Herminghaus v. Southern California Edison Company*, and still

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influence hydroelectric power operations on the upper San Joaquin River.

The book's strongest section describes how Miller and Lux organized their work force and how this organization was stratified along racial and ethnic lines. Mexican vaqueros handled the cattle ranching work, Chinese men labored for a while on canal construction projects but by the late 1870s worked almost exclusively as cooks, and "white labor" (comprising native-born Anglos and immigrant Italians) handled most other responsibilities; except in rare cases, only native-born Anglos and northern European immigrants were allowed to move up into managerial positions. Igler makes excellent use of primary source records within the Bancroft Library and the Huntington Library to explicate wage rates and wage differentials among and between various groups. He also does an excellent job of explaining how Miller and Lux encouraged unemployed vagrants ("bundle stiffs") to visit their ranches for free meals. Support for this "Dirty Plate Route" (so-called because the visitors ate off plates left after wage earners finished their meals) did not reflect Miller and Lux's concern for the plight of the downtrodden; it was a calculated policy designed to insure a ready labor pool should workers ever attempt to strike or organize for higher wages.

Ostensibly, Igler sets out to tell the story of Miller and Lux as "environmental history." Despite such packaging, the book is probably best viewed simply as a revealing and straightforward rendering of how the partnership flourished (and eventually foundered in the face of competition from the Chicago-based "American Cattle Trust") within a social, political, and economic milieu. While not without limitations, this is a good book that deserves a wide readership. If all parts were as good as the sections on labor policies and managerial organization, it would be a great book.

DONALD C. JACKSON
Lafayette College

KEITH L. BRYANT, JR. *Culture in the American Southwest: The Earth, the Sky, the People*. (Tarleton State University Southwestern Studies in the Humanities, number 12.) College Station: Texas A&M University Press. 2001. Pp. 379. $34.95.

On the final two pages of this book, cultural historian Keith Bryant, Jr., summarizes the results of his previous 300-plus pages this way: "From the arrival of the earliest occupants of the Southwest to the end of the twentieth century, the regional culture has been shaped by the natural environment" (pp. 306–307). That might strike some readers as no great insight, something akin to saying that boat design has been influenced by water. But Bryant's conclusion becomes more profound when you consider the cultural traditions of other American regions. Southern culture seems primarily shaped by history, Midwestern culture by its built and human-altered setting, New England more by the ties linking it to Europe. All these statements (Bryant's included) are guilty of reductionism. But they are also accurate.

Accurate or not, Bryant could be accused of a Walter Prescott Webb type of environmental determinism if the above were his only theme. It is not. Since his focus is exclusively high culture (Willie Nelson merits an index entry only because he is used as an example of the kinds of folks who are not in the book), Bryant develops another, quite interesting argument that in the Southwest seems fairly bullet-proof: that much high culture in the Southwest owes its success to the efforts of women. From the Pueblo potter Maria Martínez to Dallas theater maven Margo Jones, from the Osage ballerinas to the novels of Joan Didion and Leslie Marmon Silko, the high culture of the Southwest has been created almost disproportionately by women, Bryant claims. This argument works best in Bryant's discussions of museums, theater, and dance, and a bit less well in architecture, literature, and the visual arts. Charles Lummis, the Taos Eight, D. H. Lawrence, Rudolfo Anaya, and Larry McMurtry all get treated. However, Mabel Dodge Luhan might be the more emblematic patron figure for this book.

These are Bryant's themes, and he hews to them—quite successfully I think—across eight chapters that treat the evolution of culture in the Southwest from Indian domination of the region through the 1990s. Typically, later chapters take up a chronological span of two decades or so and adopt a somewhat formulaic approach, commencing with an economic/demographic context for the region and then treating, in turn, the progression of architectural styles, the region's efforts to build art museums and theatrical and dance companies, and the growth of regional art and literature. By Bryant's final chapters, it is evident that mixed into the Sunbelt economic success of Houston, Dallas, Phoenix, and Los Angeles there has been a desire for cultural recognition and finally the money to get it. This trend leads the author to some drily ironic observations, like this one about the Crescent building and its accoutrements in Dallas: "It was no longer sufficient to hire world-famous designers for a structure; it became necessary to surround the base with works of art that simply shouted 'culture' and 'wealth' " (p. 280).

While these arguments might seem slightly Old School compared to Richard Etulain's *Re-Imagining the Modern American West* (1996), this is an extremely sound and useful book that I much appreciate. Now can't we have a Bryant volume titled something like *The Willie Nelson, Kinky Friedman, Hollywood Southwest*?

DAN FLORES
University of Montana

PATRICIA A. SCHECHTER. *Ida B. Wells-Barnett and American Reform, 1880–1930*. (Gender and American Culture.) Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2001. Pp. xviii, 386. Cloth $55.00, paper $19.95.

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On March 9, 1892, three black store owners were lynched by a white mob in Memphis, Tennessee. Two months later, Ida B. Wells, a black woman journalist who was not yet thirty years old, angrily denounced the crime and other recent lynchings in *The Memphis Free Speech*. She then traveled to Philadelphia to attend the annual conference of the African Methodist Episcopal Church. While she was away from Memphis, a mob destroyed the *Free Speech* offices. Wells responded with an essay called "Exiled" in which she denounced lynching and the destruction of freedom of speech. Ten thousand copies of the essay were printed and distributed around the country. Thus Wells became the leader in the anti-lynching campaign.

But she did more than crusade against lynching. She organized a black woman's club in Chicago (which soon became known as the Ida B. Wells Club). She founded the Negro Fellowship League, a settlement house in Chicago. Working with white women, she campaigned for woman suffrage. Long active in Republican Party politics, she served as probation officer of the Chicago Municipal Court, and late in her life she ran unsuccessfully for the state senate. For nearly forty years she was a major spokesperson for black women.

Wells was born in 1862 in Holly Springs, Mississippi, of slave parents. She attended Rust College, a Methodist Freedman's Aid Society school, but when her parents died during a yellow fever epidemic she took a job as a teacher in a rural school. She moved to Memphis in 1884 and even before the lynchings that made her famous, she attracted attention. On one occasion when she refused to leave her seat and move to a "colored" car on the Chesapeake and Ohio Railroad, she was removed by force. She sued the railroad and won, although the verdict was later overturned by the Tennessee Supreme Court. In 1895 she married Ferdinand Lee Barnett, a lawyer, politician, and editor. Thereafter she became Ida Wells-Barnett. The marriage seems to have been a successful partnership, with Barnett sharing in many of her reform campaigns. Wells-Barnett was unusual for her generation of women reformers: while most were single or childless, she combined marriage, motherhood, and a career as writer, lecturer, and advocate.

Patricia A. Schechter's book, while densely written, is a provocative study that goes far beyond Wells-Barnett as a leader in the anti-lynching movement (something that now gets at least a sentence in all U.S. history textbooks). Strong willed and not always easy to get along with, a provocateur by nature and by choice, Wells-Barnett was willing to stand up during times of crisis such as the race riots in East St. Louis in 1918 and Chicago in 1919. We learn of her relationships (always complex) with Booker T. Washington, W. E. B. Du Bois, Jane Addams, Celia Parker Wooley, Mary Church Terrell, Big Bill Thompson, and many others.

Schechter emphasizes the importance of religious faith and religious institutions in all aspects of Wells-Barnett's career. She was a member of Bethel African Methodist Episcopal Church, then Grace Presbyterian Church, and finally Chicago Metropolitan Church. Her faith tended to be nondenominational, but she taught Sunday school and in other ways played an active role in those churches. She often disagreed with her ministers, and she criticized religious leaders for not becoming a more active in politics and the anti-lynching campaign. Her religious faith was closely connected to everything she did.

Perhaps the most interesting part of this fascinating book is Schechter's careful analysis and deconstruction of Wells-Barnett's autobiography, unfinished and unpublished during her lifetime. She borrows from the postmodernists and pays attention to race, gender, and class as well as to language and image. This section is not always easy reading, and much of the narrative throughout the book seems overstuffed; this impression is compounded by the poor design and small typeface. But this book is well worth struggling with, for Wells-Barnett's religiously inspired, female-centered political pragmatism makes the story of Du Bois vs. Washington too simplistic as a way of understanding the struggle for civil rights and racial equality in the Progressive era and beyond. She must be added to the mix, and this book helps us to do that.

ALLEN F. DAVIS
Temple University

JEAN BETHKE ELSHTAIN. *Jane Addams and the Dream of American Democracy: A Life*. New York: Basic Books. 2002. Pp. xxii, 329. $28.00.

At the time of her death in 1935, Jane Addams was unquestionably the most well-known American woman. As Jean Bethke Elshtain correctly points out, however, she has faded from the public memory despite the fact that "in one way or another, her name is attached to every major social reform between 1890 and 1923" (p. 16). Elshtain determines to restore Addams to a central place in American history by discussing her as an intellectual who was the author of twelve books and more than 500 essays, speeches, and other works. Elshtain's preface, "Interpreting a Life," outlines her approach: close readings of Addams's works interspersed with anecdotes of anonymous people taken from Addams's writing and titled and interpreted as parables to illustrate themes in Addams's social philosophy. The resulting intellectual history provides an intimate portrait of Addams as author and humanitarian based on an exhaustive examination of Addams's writings.

Addams read widely (in English, French, and German), and Elshtain connects Addams's life and work to these intellectual influences. John Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress* provides a framework for Addams's early life; protagonists from George Eliot's novels serve as illustrations for discussions of Addams's political philosophy; and Leo Tolstoy is a key figure in Elshtain's analysis of Addams's pacifism. This tactic serves to

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emphasize Addams's role as a significant literary and intellectual figure.

While Addams's writings cover a wide range of topics, two areas are of particular note. Her views of women and their role in society are central themes. Maternal images appear frequently, despite the fact that she was not a mother herself. She viewed women as major players in both the creation and the maintenance of culture. Women's lives revolved around "responsibility, care, and obligation," and this area represented the source of women's power (p. 157). This notion provided the foundation for the municipal or civil housekeeping role that Addams defined. Addams was, according to Elshtain, very much a part of Progressive-era Pragmatism with its dedication to "closing the gap between thought and deed" (p. 18). Addams was remarkable in that she achieved such a degree of success in her attempts to put her ideas into action, first at Hull-House, the Chicago settlement house, and later in her work to advance the cause of peace.

It was her efforts to build a real community in Hull-House's Chicago neighborhood that brought Addams to prominence and established her reputation. Her approach to the myriad social problems that were manifestations of industrialization and urbanization was based on relationships among individuals. Elshtain's study puts Addams's genuine concern for her neighbors in bold relief; Addams respected them and collaborated with them. She sought to guarantee that aesthetics were central to the Hull-House experience as well: Hull-House services included a day nursery and kindergarten, playgrounds, boys and girls clubs, a cooperative boarding house, theater workshops, music schools, language classes, a handicraft center, and even a Labor Museum.

In the second half of Addams's career (1914–1935), international issues took precedence, culminating in her receipt of the Nobel Peace Prize in 1931, but at the expense of Addams's popularity. During World War I, Addams continued to support the rights of immigrants when many questioned the loyalty of so-called hyphenated Americans. She advocated peace and mediation despite the unpopularity of that position. The Women's International League for Peace and Freedom was the focus of much of her work in the later part of her life.

The question of Addams's sexual orientation has drawn the attention of scholars in recent years. Elshtain suggests that scholarly preoccupation with sexual questions is a modern one that would seem very foreign to Addams and her contemporaries. "WE are the ones who insist on sexualizing it to conform to the political exigencies of our age," she claims. Addams's life proved that "celibate lives need not be lonely lives or distorted lives, but could be full of love, friendship and joy" (p. 117).

Elshtain certainly shows that Addams had exactly that kind of life, as well as a useful and prominent one. The reader comes away with a real respect for Addams as a literary and intellectual figure, but also as a women whose life and career define humanitarianism in the twentieth century.

KATHERINE G. AIKEN
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ERIC RAUCHWAY. *The Refuge of Affections: Family and American Reform Politics, 1900–1920.* (Columbia Studies in Contemporary American History.) New York: Columbia University Press. 2001. Pp. xii, 237. Cloth $49.50, paper $22.50.

Progressivism has long been the subject of intense interest and controversy among historians, as have the motives of reformers defined as Progressives. In this new book, Eric Rauchway seeks to take this debate further and lead it in a new direction. Drawing on, but taking issue with, recent scholarship that argues for the importance of gender in shaping Progressive reform, Rauchway claims instead that Progressive ideas of the family, and the men, women, and children within it, are central to an understanding of Progressivism. By looking at Progressive married couples, Rauchway aims to challenge what he sees as too great an emphasis on gendered reform, objecting to the idea that gender dictated male and female reformers' identities or their political activism.

Since the colonial era, the family has frequently been used as a metaphor for the larger society, but it also has a history as a transformative institution, one designed specifically to act as a bridge between private and public morality. This book argues that, during the Progressive era, a new generation of reformers in the process of self-consciously adapting traditional institutions to the rapidly changing modern world turned their focus on the meaning and purpose of the family. Rauchway is not the first historian to examine the Progressives' interest in the family. He argues, however, that many earlier historians have only been concerned with the ways in which the Progressives attempted to use the power of the state to interfere with the private functions of the family, particularly to regulate child welfare. The reformers Rauchway examines saw the family as the starting point in transforming society. In it children would grow up and move into the wider society, with parents losing their authority as the children became more independent. Thus the family would act as a unique form of social order that would fulfill itself in its own dissolution. Progressives used their own idea of the family to describe the appropriate relationship between private lives and public action, and between social elites and the dependent classes, while giving a political meaning to the power of education as a means of reform. In essence, the family was the means by which private morality was to be translated into public action.

Rauchway centers his analysis on three case studies, each of a family consciously created by a married couple with the idea that their lives together would form the basis of a career in political and social reform. Their families were to act as a means to

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disseminate their ideas and pass them on to the next generation, although, as with so many other Progressive ideas, this did not always work in practice. In examining the marriages of Willard and Dorothy Straight, Charles and Mary Beard, and Wesley Clair and Lucy Sprague Mitchell, Rauchway explains this process in a number of different contexts. Each of these couples believed that their marriage should enable them to continue with their public lives, while also bringing up their children in ways that reflected their educational ideals. The couples under discussion were involved in archetypal Progressive activities: the *New Republic* magazine, Ruskin College Oxford, the Bank Street Schools, and the New School for Social Research. They also wrote about American history, economics, and imperialism and were active in pursuit of woman's suffrage—and, until America's entry into World War I, they did so from a sense of familial responsibility rather than from a gendered perspective. World War I, Rauchway argues, had a quite devastating effect on the Progressive family. As the state defined men and women in relation to their duty and usefulness to the military state, labor was divided along gendered lines and family structures were broken up. The war physically divided husbands and wives and encouraged displays of aggressive masculinity and submissive femininity, as it also disrupted the project of social civilization that these couples had embarked on. The conservatism of the 1920s meant that their project never really recovered.

This is an elegantly written book, intelligent and nuanced in its analysis and provocative in its conclusions. This collective biography of Progressive married intellectuals offers another perspective on Progressivism, but it needs to be studied alongside other works that do take a gendered perspective, for Rauchway examines a quite different group of reformers. While offering an interesting corrective to the scholarship that sees gender consciousness as the principal, or only means by which Progressives translated private morality into public action, this work does not supplant it. Ultimately, Rauchway complicates rather than clarifies our understanding of Progressive reform.

ELIZABETH J. CLAPP
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NIKKI MANDELL. *The Corporation as Family: The Gendering of Corporate Welfare, 1890–1930.* (The Luther Hartwell Hodges Series on Business, Society, and the State.) Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2002. Pp. x, 208. Cloth $49.95, paper $19.95.

Based on solid research in numerous corporate archives and good coverage of the relevant secondary literature, this book advances two arguments. First, female welfare managers played a "pioneering role in corporate labor relations," and, second, "the gendered nature of the welfare system laid the groundwork for permanent changes in the American workplace and in employers' relations with their employees" (p. 158). These arguments are sustained through Nikki Mandell's attention to the connections among various models for the corporate "family" and her analysis of the crucial middle layer in corporate organization epitomized by welfare managers. The book reinforces the growing literature on the gendered nature of corporate organization and experience while at the same time charting new layers of complexity in workplace relations.

First female, and later male, welfare managers built on assumptions about family and gender to put themselves forward "as models of a new professional business manager" (p. 9), in effect incorporating assumptions about gender into definitions of professionalism. Women made good welfare managers because their gender coding most closely matched their role in the corporate "family" as "mothers." Although welfare work's gender status never achieved the congruence it did in nursing or social work, femaleness and maleness shaped expectations about professionalism and behavior in important ways.

While this is not a new point, Mandell makes particularly good use of the family metaphor explored by other scholars of corporate development by focusing on its limitations as a workplace model. She demonstrates that welfare managers made good use of the Victorian family ideal of "reciprocal obligations (and rewards)" to reinforce employers' responsibility for workers (p. 8). However, she also notes that employers, managers, and workers all had different models of family (informed by differences of class, ethnicity, and gender) that competed for representation. Further, the family model proved a slim reed on which to base professionalism when new cultural assumptions about families that emphasized companionship emerged in the 1920s. Personnel management, which effectively supplanted the welfare model in the 1920s, offered a model for workplace relations based on consumer markets rather than families.

By focusing on welfare managers and their relationship both to their employers and to the workers their programs served, this book suggests the importance of corporate welfare to modern corporate organization, the development of personnel management in the 1920s, and the tangled skein of workplace relations. Mandell's discussion of both employers' and workers' response to welfare managers' programs demonstrates the competing interests these budding professionals negotiated. Mandell observes that employers acknowledged some responsibility for worker welfare only when it improved the bottom line. For their part, workers always were cognizant of the fact that pension plans and sewing classes came in lieu of higher wages, over which they had more direct control.

Mandell is sympathetic toward corporate welfare managers without being an apologist for their behaviors and beliefs. Her perceptive discussion of differences among employers, mid-managers, and employees—and to some extent differences among men and women—gives a more nuanced picture of corporate

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welfare than have previous scholars. As she explores the emerging professional agenda of welfare managers and their attempts to make themselves indispensable experts on workplace relations, she reveals the combination of good intentions and moral imperialism familiar to welfare scholars, but also the sense of personal commitment to their careers welfare managers felt. Mandell weaves an important tale of middle-management professionals caught between the rocks and hard places of employers, workers, and competing professional ideologies.

The book also raises another issue, one over which the author doubtless had little control but that needs to be mentioned. The increasingly profit-driven world of university book publishing dictates shorter books, and one way to shorten is by cutting endnotes to the bare bones. In this book, endnotes sometimes come after several paragraphs and are then so cryptic that it is difficult to connect the secondary source to the text material. One result is that distinctions between Mandell's ideas and those of other scholars are not always as clear as they should be.

The book provides a useful synthesis of the literature on corporate welfare and the development of corporate organization in the period. In addition, its careful treatment of the impact of gender ideologies on the emergence of middle management and subtle handling of welfare work should be of interest to scholars of business, labor, and women's history, class relations, and the history of professionalism.

ANGEL KWOLEK-FOLLAND
University of Florida

MICHAEL REISCH and JANICE ANDREWS. *The Road Not Taken: A History of Radical Social Work in the United States*. Philadelphia: Brunner-Routledge. 2001. Pp. xiv, 276. $59.95.

Recent international debates over terrorism highlight the problem of trying to define "radicalism." One person's radical is another's champion. Michael Reisch and Janice Andrews face the same dilemma in their book. They circumvent the problem by refusing to apply a universal meaning to the term, instead simply saying that radicalism represents challenges to the status quo. Confusion over the term's definition, according to the authors, has obscured social work's radical roots. "It should not be surprising [that in] an environment in which young workers question the importance of labor unions, young women take abortion rights for granted, and even some African Americans challenge the necessity of maintaining civil rights laws . . . contemporary social workers show little cognizance of the battles fought by their social work ancestors" (p. 7). Reisch and Andrews successfully meet their goal to offer "an alternative history of social work, to describe and analyze the diverse forms that radical social work took and the different ways it influenced the profession and society" (p. 10).

This is a readable contribution to the already rich historiography examining social welfare policy in the United States. Works by Bruce S. Jansson, Michael B. Katz, and Walter Trattner have outlined the mainstream ideas shaping U.S. social welfare policy. Theda Skocpol finds policy origins in some of the society's most conservative values. Leslie Leighninger and A. J. Matusow offer more radical views, but their work centers on specific moments in social welfare history. Linda Gordon and Robin Muncy point to the significance of gender in the development of U.S. social welfare policy. This book is the first single volume to use "radicalism" as a theme linking the history of U.S. social welfare during the past 100 years.

The book is organized into eleven topical chapters. The first chapter provides a fairly comprehensive historiographical overview, although the cited selections tend to come more from the field of social work than history. Chapters two through nine follow with an examination of radicalism in professional social work from the Progressive era through 1999. The book's final chapters look at the state of social work radicalism at the end of the twentieth century and its prospects for the future.

This book synthesizes important information about reformers and organizations generally overlooked by scholars. For example, Reisch and Andrews discuss the contributions and struggles of Mary van Kleeck, Bertha Reynolds, Jacob Fisher, and Marion Hathaway. They illustrate the founding of the Mobilization for Youth, National Welfare Rights Organization, Social Welfare Workers Movement, and the Radical Alliance of Social Service Workers. Oral histories with participants add new insights into these complex stories and show that the repression of radicals occurred within the social work profession as well as by outsiders. FBI files and personal testimonies reveal that social work activists participated in many of the most controversial movements of the twentieth century.

The book's weaknesses are few, but important. The chapter on the founders of professional social work during the Progressive era fails to recognize that individuals such as Jane Addams, Florence Kelley, and Lillian Wald were embraced by many in the mainstream middle class through the work of groups like the General Federation of Women's Clubs and the Congress of Mothers, whose promotion of the middle-class family ideal was far from radical. These women became "radicals" during the changed political climate of World War I and the Red Scare. In another section, Reisch and Andrews maintain that McCarthyism, "by dividing the progressive and liberal communities . . . fractured the New Deal coalition," thereby helping to "delay the expansion of Social Security and public welfare benefits and block[ing] the passage of a national health care program, as proposed by President Truman" (p. 133). McCarthyism certainly harmed the New Deal coalition, but the fractures had occurred much earlier. For example, New Dealers had never agreed on the details of Social Security, government's permanent role in social welfare, or the necessity for

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national health insurance. In 1935, Franklin D. Roosevelt encouraged the Committee on Economic Security to drop national health insurance from the Social Security bill, and the Truman Administration's 1946 government reorganization resulted in the dismemberment of the U.S. Children's Bureau as a significant influence.

Despite these criticisms, this book is an interesting and significant contribution to social work history. Reisch and Andrews urge their contemporaries to gain courage from aspects of the profession's radical past and continue to translate the principles of social justice into specific policies because "the road not taken still lies ahead" (p. 235).

KRISTE LINDENMEYER
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KIRSTEN SWINTH. *Painting Professionals: Women Artists and the Development of Modern American Art, 1870–1930.* (Gender and American Culture.) Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2001. Pp. xv, 305. Cloth $45.00, paper $18.95.

LAURA R. PRIETO. *At Home in the Studio: The Professionalization of Women Artists in America.* Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 2001. Pp. xii, 292. $39.95.

If the discovery that someone else is writing on your topic is every scholar's nightmare, Kirsten Swinth and Laura R. Prieto must have slept badly indeed, for their interests in the professionalization of American women artists from the mid-nineteenth century through the 1920s are very close. Both drew heavily on archival collections at the Smithsonian's Archives of American Art, and they came to similar conclusions about women's goals, strategies, successes, and disappointments in their art training and professional careers in the face of changing social attitudes and trends in art. Both thoughtfully address an issue that has heretofore been neglected by women's historians and art historians.

Swinth's book draws on records of successful women artists associated with the New York Arts Students League, Boston's Museum of Fine Arts School, and Philadelphia's Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts. It traces the success of two generations of professionals, relying mostly heavily on the best-known women, such as Mary Cassatt, Cecelia Beaux, and Ellen Day Hale. Swinth weds women's history with art history from the post-Civil War era to the end of the 1920s in a sophisticated fashion, to measure young women's art schooling and careers against those of male counterparts. Ambitious middle-class young ladies flocked to the new American and European art academies in the 1870s, determined to reject accusations of dilettantism and indiscretion and to acquire the most rigorous training, especially in figure drawing, which received highest respect in that era. Despite constraints on women's behavior and sexism among some faculty members, women networked at home and abroad and made the most of their opportunities to study, win prizes at exhibitions, and execute commissions. Their success can be observed by the U.S. Census of 1890, which recorded a peak in their participation as artists, sculptors, and art teachers at forty-eight percent. They managed both to avoid scandal and to develop skills to produce art consistent with the goals of their profession: to transmit Anglo-Saxon standards of refinement that would morally uplift their viewers, thus civilizing and unifying all of American society.

Nevertheless, obstacles to fame and fortune remained formidable. Rich industrialists preferred to buy Old Masters over home-grown talent, and many women turned to less prestigious arenas (water color, pastels, home decoration, and portraits) to pay the bills. But male peers soon did the same and marginalized women from new associations and dealers of galleries.

No sooner had women matched men artists in persuading an American market that they had the qualities to produce satisfying work than critics changed the rules. Calling for a virile modernism to match President Theodore Roosevelt's vigor in the White House, art experts repudiated the notion of art for refinement as merely low-brow, feminine, and entertaining. They called instead for an individualistic, bold self-expression that supposedly only men artists could produce, despite the undeniable power of such independent-minded women artists as Georgia O'Keeffe, Marguerite Zorach, and Theresa Bernstein. The major teachers and taste makers at the turn of the century preached a defeminization of painting that Swinth labels elitist, antidemocratic, difficult to interpret, often hostile to mass consumption, and unconcerned with universality or the potential for unifying all classes through a common culture.

Prieto covers similar ground but broadens the story somewhat, by drawing on the experiences of women sculptors as well as painters; referring ingeniously to novels and autobiographies; considering a broader range of locales, including Cincinnati, San Francisco, and Providence, Rhode Island; and examining women whose small careers brought large disappointments. She attends to the role of women's clubs like Women's National Art Association, Ladies' Art Association, Sketch Club, Plastic Club, and New York Pen and Brush Club more fully and directs closer attention to the obstacles faced by African-American and American Indian women artists, including Edmonia Lewis, Narcissa Chisholm Owen, and Susette LaFlesche Tibbles. Like Swinth, Prieto explores the sisterhood among women artists, but she also balances the picture with examples of vicious competition. She bares the ruthless result of unladylike behavior by citing the careers of Vinnie Reams and Louise Lander, both ruined by innuendo.

The biggest differences between the two works are those of emphasis. Prieto, in a footnote, takes issue with Swinth's assertion that professional identity re-

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placed gender identity among women art students. Prieto provides two chapters on the antebellum emergence of the lady amateur ideal in the early nineteenth century, an ideal that simultaneously helped and hurt women attempting to become professional artists. Swinth lavishes more attention on the end of the story, assessing the impact of modernism.

Both do a careful job of dissecting the illustrations in the book, mining self-portraits and photographic images of women students in classroom settings to argue for women's comfort and camaraderie in training and their success in shedding stereotypes of frailty and dilettantism. Both are strong, persuasive writers who set art in a historical context and sneak marvelous details into their footnotes. Both seek to expose and explore the tension women artists felt between their femininity and their careers in a masculine profession. Both document women's efforts to build networks to parallel those that their male peers enjoyed. Both highlight the dilemma of attending life classes with nude models, an action seen as daring for women but essential for figure painters. Both agree on the goals of the twentieth-century modernist movement that marginalized women artists just when they had succeeded in meeting nineteenth-century standards. Both focus on the American experience to the exclusion of patterns among European women students.

No doubt the readers of this publication will wonder which volume to order for their university library, but one work is not obviously superior to the other. Together they testify to the cohesion of historical inquiry and reflect the evolution of concerns among women historians. A decade ago, the subject would have invited a simpler documentation on inequities between men and women who aspired to be accomplished artists. Now we can enjoy the deeper probing of the impact of historical forces and shifts in gender roles that both scholars undertake so effectively here.

KAREN J. BLAIR
Central Washington University

CAROLYN KITCH. *The Girl on the Magazine Cover: The Origins of Visual Stereotypes in American Mass Media*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2001. Pp. xii, 252. Cloth $45.00, paper $18.95.

Before the days of television, mass circulation magazines were primary agents of normative gender imagery for most Americans. In their advertisements and, even more, on their covers, *The Saturday Evening Post*, *McCall's*, *The Ladies' Home Journal*, *Good Housekeeping*, and others provided a steady flow of highly visible images of men, women, and children. This book by Carolyn Kitch focuses on cover depictions of women from the late nineteenth century to the middle of the twentieth, when magazine readership was at its peak and American society was experiencing the first wave of feminism and the appearance of the New Woman.

Typical nineteenth-century magazines had modest circulation and staid and static covers. The new, mass-circulation magazines that emerged around 1890 sported two-color, then four-color, pictorial covers that changed with each issue. These covers, perhaps inspired by the contemporary popularity of the poster, were designed to attract attention, identify the character of the magazine, and give a note of novelty to each issue. They also led to a number of highly successful artistic careers. Most principal illustrators of the period figure in Kitch's account; many built their reputations on magazine covers. Well into the age of photography, artists continued to dominate cover illustration, revealing the imaginary or "what if" aspect of covers, dedicated more to depicting ideals than realities. Like the television series that later supplanted them and the greeting cards that flourished along side them, most magazine covers illustrated plausible fictions.

Women's life opportunities and experiences grew wider and richer in the twentieth century, but the range of roles and types illustrated on magazine covers remained comparatively narrow. Behind magazine covers, then, lurk two larger and related cultural issues. The first concerns the ways media perpetuate some ideals rather than others. The second centers on feminism's limited impact on persisting norms. Kitch argues that today's media stereotypes can be traced to these early magazine covers and that they are remarkably resistant to change. Media imagery, of course, is not to be confused with life; it is prescriptive rather than descriptive and constitutes a distinctive cultural reality that runs parallel to but outside of people's lives. What to make of it, then, and what powers to attribute to it? These remain debated questions in media and popular culture studies.

Kitch's account is only loosely chronological. This may matter little because there is no simple, linear progression to the imagery itself. Her starting point is a series of six "tableaux" by Alice Barber Stephens entitled "The American Woman," printed in successive issues of *The Ladies' Home Journal* in 1897. Although half of Stephens's images conformed to the Victorian "Cult of True Womanhood" endorsed by *Journal* editor Edward Bok, Kitch shows how others, through subtle manipulation of the angle of a head, the direction of a gaze, or the placement of a figure within a composition, challenged that restrictive formula.

Stephens's successor at the *Journal* was Charles Dana Gibson, creator of the distinctive and famous Gibson Girl. Upper class in her bearing, "well dressed and self-possessed" (p. 39), the Gibson Girl was very beautiful and very WASP. Gibson later moved over to *Life* and hired John Held, Jr., to draw many of its covers. During the 1920s, Held's version of the flapper, "a tall, thin, cartoonish young woman preoccupied with dancing, drinking, and necking" (p. 121), became as canonical as the Gibson Girl had been two decades before. The difference in the vision of woman they promoted could not have been greater, a point made in a collaborative drawing Gibson and Held published in *Life* in 1926. Different still were Harrison Fisher's

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outdoor girls and Neysa McMein's confident, believable young women. Other versions of or responses to the New Woman, including images of men and children on wartime posters and advertising as well as magazine covers, appear in the work of Howard Chandler Christy, James Montgomery Flagg, Coles Phillips, J. C. Leyendecker, Jessie Willcox Smith, and, of course, Norman Rockwell. In their prime, most of these artists received $1,000 or more for each cover. Their images were usually populated by white, middle-class Americans.

For contrast, Kitch includes a chapter on "alternative visions," images from feminist, African-American, and socialist publications, all assuredly not mainstream. Feminist journals often exploited the venerable convention of the allegorical or symbolic figure. African-American magazines preferred to document actual accomplishments through photography. Socialist magazines, most notably *The Masses*, introduced complexity and ambiguity to cover imagery and tweaked bourgeois morality, both anathema to the mass-magazine school of illustration. The small-scale, black-and-white illustrations in this book unfortunately convey little of the sensory impact of any of these covers, mainstream or otherwise.

Kitch's epilogue summarizes representations of women in television series of recent decades, demonstrating their connections to earlier magazine covers. Many other small epiphanies can be found in this thoughtful and eminently readable account of how women fared in this once popular form of American culture.

KENNETH L. AMES
Bard Graduate Center

MARK ELLIS. *Race, War, and Surveillance: African Americans and the United States Government during World War I*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 2001. Pp. xx, 325. $45.00.

Mark Ellis documents in vivid detail federal policy toward African Americans during World War I. Although America had followed President Woodrow Wilson into the war in Europe to fight for lofty democratic ideals and the rule of law, officials in his government did their best to contain racial strife and assure black support of the war effort without enacting reforms that would bring about greater access to democracy and legal protection for African Americans. Some civil rights activists continued to advocate reform during the war, but others capitulated to the government's demands for loyalty and soft pedaled their demands for reform, Ellis argues. This created bitter resentments among black activists, some of whom courageously stepped up their demands for racial justice. Thus, the war led to an abandonment of democratic principles by the federal government, a loss of unity among black leaders, and a new and stronger voice for black militants.

Ellis makes a compelling argument, supported by extensive research into numerous manuscript and archival collections, including the papers of a dozen influential leaders, but most importantly the wartime records of the many federal agencies involved in surveillance and censorship, including Military Intelligence, the Justice Department, the State Department, the Post Office, the Department of Labor, and the Secretary of War. Mining these sources, Ellis is able to tell compelling and richly detailed stories, which deepen and sharpen our understanding of federal race policy and civil rights activism during World War I. The book shows conclusively that African Americans were not passive supporters of government policy during the war, as some historians have argued, but that most of them continued to fight for equal rights throughout the period of American belligerency and in fact the war "heralded the emergence" of greater militancy within the black population (p. 227). But the government was not a willing partner in the advancement of equal rights, and Ellis shows that federal agents who were ignorant about and unsympathetic to the problems faced by African Americans resisted reforms and managed to seduce some race leaders to collaborate in trying to pacify the black population.

Like most histories of World War I, this book paints an essentially gloomy picture of the war's impact on race relations and American democracy. Although the war may have been an important turning point "out of which African Americans gained a new generation of leadership and organizations, and the confidence, experiences, and voices with which to confront, if not defeat, racial discrimination" (p. xiii), the war years themselves resulted in no significant progress toward racial justice in America. In fact, they saw an increase in persecution of blacks and the abandonment of militancy by key black leaders. During the war, Ellis shows, the government repeatedly trumped civil rights activists. It succeeded in muting black protests about conditions in the military, silencing publications like the *Messenger* and the *Crisis*, thwarting Joel Spingarn's plans to promote an anti-lynching bill, and preventing most black activists from attending the peace conference in Paris. Instead of working to assure that the humanitarian principles Wilson claimed to be fighting for in Europe applied to blacks in the United States, officials used the federal government's impressive resources, including black agents and informers, to thwart reforms that would have made America safer for African Americans.

Ellis and other historians of World War I have good reason to view that war as the occasion of one of the greatest failures of democracy in American history, especially for African Americans. Yet the book may exaggerate the gloominess of the record. Because he leans heavily on the files of federal agencies, Ellis often views events from the perspective of government officials rather than that of African Americans; black people and other advocates of racial justice seem to be acted upon rather than shaping events themselves. Most are depicted either as heroic militants like A.

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Philip Randolph and William Monroe Trotter, who stand up for what they believe but don't accomplish much, or as misguided accommodators like W. E. B. Du Bois, Robert R. Moton, and Roscoe Conklin Simmons, who become pawns in the government's plans to assure black loyalty and undermine civil rights agitation.

It may be possible to make a more optimistic assessment of the way black activists, and even American democracy, performed during World War I. In sending America to war, President Wilson articulated sweeping humanitarian ideals. Though he did not mean for those ideals to apply to African Americans, many advocates of race reforms were able to demand, persistently and often courageously, that such principles be applied to blacks at home, and the Wilson administration could not simply dismiss those demands. Thus, a president who, prior to 1917, had probably the worst race record of any post-Civil War president had to concede that the editors of black newspapers articulated a "fine philosophy of democracy" at their June 1918 Washington conference, and he condemned lynching as the editors had urged him to do. As Ellis points out, black leaders using similar strategies would have greater success in the next world war. Black editors provided a model of how demands for progressive reform could be made in a way that is perceived as patriotic during wartime.

In fairness to the author of this thoroughly researched and well-written book, his work is more a study of government policy than black protest strategies. though he advances knowledge on both topics in substantial ways. Furthermore, he is right to conclude that, on balance, American democracy did not perform well during World War I. His definitive study outlines the scope of that dismal failure better than any previous work on the subject and offers an important and enlightening study of federal race policy.

WILLIAM G. JORDAN
Phillips Exeter Academy

MARK ROBERT SCHNEIDER. *"We Return Fighting": The Civil Rights Movement in the Jazz Age.* Boston: Northeastern University Press. 2002. Pp. xi, 476 $35.00.

Students of the civil rights movement have benefited from a profusion of studies published in recent years. Many of these monographs, memories, biographies, and autobiographies have helped depict the role that the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) has played during the twentieth century. Mark Robert Schneider's book adds to this list by providing us with an account of the NAACP's activities to further the civil and political rights of African Americans during the Jazz Age. To accomplish this feat, the NAACP members "fought and won important battles in the streets, courts, press, meeting halls, state legislatures, city governments and Washington lobbies" (p. 4). No doubt the NAACP's job was difficult, dangerous, and challenging. The organization was besieged in the 1920s, not only from without by white governors determined to put it out of business, but also from within by other black organizations who often had sharply different strategies and tactics.

In considering the NAACP and its place in American history, Schneider sets out to prove that it played a crucial role in the civil rights movement during the Jazz Age. Yet the main focus of his work is to dispel the myth that the NAACP had no mass base. Arguing that African Americans continued to fight for civil rights even when victory was not on the horizon, Schneider tells a multifaceted story of courageous campaigns for voting rights and equal education and against segregation and lynching. The footsoldiers in these campaigns were the three hundred NAACP branches scattered across the nation and the thousands of working-class men and women who struggled against the odds to keep the civil rights movement alive. Contrary to the belief in the 1920s that the Garvey movement represented working-class people, while the NAACP was an isolated movement of the middle class, Schneider contends that the latter organization's rank and file were working-class individuals.

While Schneider's work offers a standard consensus interpretation of the civil rights movement during the Jazz Age, alternate interpretations are also presented for the reader's consideration. Since the primary readership is intended to be college students, this is appropriate. Students should be made aware that not all African Americans were on the frontline; some did not surface until groups like the NAACP took a courageous stand against discrimination. Schneider's interesting and significant work calls attention to the many unsung heroes and heroines in the fight against racial discrimination, ordinary people who risked their lives in struggle against Jim Crow.

Unfortunately, some problems detract from the significance of this work. Schneider's narrative reads like a series of disconnected vignettes of the 1920s rather than an integrated history of the NAACP. Moreover, this volume offers few real surprises, as most of the stories are well known. The subjects are colorful, and the author gratifies his readers on that score, but serious scholars will be disappointed by this book's highly conventional narrative approach. In short, Schneider has skillfully reworked familiar terrain without breaking much new ground.

MERLINE PITRE
Texas Southern University

KAREN BUHLER-WILKERSON. *No Place Like Home: A History of Nursing and Home Care in the United States.* Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 2001. Pp. xiv, 293. $45.00.

The care of the sick at home, whether by family members or professionals, is the most invisible part of any health care system. In this book, nursing historian Karen Buhler-Wilkerson joins other groundbreaking

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scholars, including Emily K. Abel and Deborah Stone, whose research sheds light on this hidden form of caregiving. Her book demonstrates both the persistence of home care and its continuing marginalization.

This book tells the story of organized, professional home nursing in the United States. It traces the beginnings of the most prominent form of this care, the Visiting Nurse Association (VNA), to antebellum Charleston, South Carolina. In the Charleston Ladies' Benevolent Society, which hired nurses to visit the homes of the sick poor, Buhler-Wilkerson finds themes that would continue to shape home care well into the twentieth century: struggles over authority and control (among nurses and charity leaders, doctors, patients, and later, third-party payers); the complexity and difficulties of coordination and centralization of visiting nurse services; and the perennial problem of the chronically ill, the most expensive, difficult, and disappointing patients to nurse.

Visiting nurse organizations sprang up around the country starting in the 1880s, modeled on Florence Nightingale's district nursing experiments in Britain; Buhler-Wilkerson concentrates on the largest of these associations, in Philadelphia, Boston, and New York. VNAs were funded by a hodgepodge of local private charities and charged no fees to their impoverished clients. Their nurses performed a myriad of tasks, many of which would not fall under present-day definitions of medical care. Nurses bathed and dressed patients; aired, cleaned, and sterilized rooms and bedclothes; administered medicines and meals; took vital signs; operated medical technology; and taught family members how to continue care and to avoid contagion. They sometimes helped households with urgently needed food, supplies, and child care.

As intermediaries between the bedsides of the poor and the wider society, visiting nurses served as "managers" of "race relations at home" (p. 68). An interesting comparison of Charleston and Philadelphia shows how local variations in race relations shaped debates over the proper roles of African-American and white visiting nurses. In immigrant neighborhoods, nurses were expected to bring Americanizing influences along with their medical services, but Buhler-Wilkerson finds that efforts to change patients' behavior and home life generally proved futile. Some leaders, most notably the reformer Lillian Wald, argued that nurses needed to expand their purview beyond the patient's home and habits to address the social conditions behind poverty, squalor, and illness. Wald's and others' redefinition of visiting nursing as public health work inspired the creation of the National Organization for Public Health Nursing in 1912. Although they won municipal funding in some cities, visiting nurses were never able to convince local governments that their services should be central to public health strategy.

After the 1920s, VNAs struggled to keep up with dramatic changes in the medical system that led acute and maternity patients to turn to hospital rather than home care. The number of home patients dropped, while those needing care were increasingly the chronically ill who required longer and more frequent visits, driving up expenses. Aside from the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company's experiment with visiting nursing, few private insurance policies covered home care. However, public testimony on the desirability of care in the home led to the inclusion of posthospital home health services in the 1965 Medicare Act. Thousands of new home health agencies sprang up in the wake of Medicare, but federal financing methods led to a "narrowly defined, fragmented, and uncoordinated set of . . . services" (p. 201). After being virtually eliminated from Medicare in 1997 in the name of cost cutting, home health care is being restored as an entitlement, but its future remains uncertain.

This is a well-researched, thoughtful, and significant book from a leading historian of nursing. Its limitations lie mainly in the institutional nature of its sources, which lead to a focus on nursing organizations and nursing leaders; there is little sense of the experience of family caregivers and even of the patients themselves. Since visiting nurses were so central to health care in remote areas, it is surprising that the book does not include a discussion of rural nursing. And the author misses the opportunity to compare, even briefly, the American case with other countries that rely much more extensively, and often successfully, on home care.

Buhler-Wilkerson argues that the "gendered and private nature" (p. 212) of home care has led to its marginalization in the American health care system. Paid and unpaid home caregivers, mostly women, serve some of the nation's most vulnerable and neglected populations—the poor, the elderly, and the chronically ill—behind closed doors. Recognition of their crucial role in medical care is long overdue.

BEATRIX HOFFMAN
Northern Illinois University

JONATHAN ENGEL. *Doctors and Reformers: Discussion and Debate over Health Policy, 1925–1950.* (Social Problems and Social Issues.) Columbia: University of South Carolina Press. 2002. Pp. xvii, 407. $24.95.

Jonathan Engel's book, which deals with America's debates over compulsory health insurance, is bracketed by two dates. The first is 1924, when Morris Fishbein was named editor of the *Journal of the American Medical Association* (*JAMA*); the second is 1949, when Fishbein was forced to retire. There have, of course, been other periods when compulsory health insurance found a place on the national agenda, and some would quarrel with Engel's characterization of 1924–1949 as "the period of the most dynamic and heated disputations" (p. 7). Nevertheless, few would deny that it is worth looking closely at the contentions surrounding the Committee on the Costs of Medical Care in the 1920s and the battles over national health insurance legislation during the 1930s and 1940s.

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Engel argues that Fishbein was among the most influential opponents of compulsory health insurance. He did not act alone; his supporters included the AMA's executive board, many conservative legislators, some labor leaders, a great number of medical societies, and a significant portion of the AMA rank-and-file membership. Nevertheless, during the twenty-five years that Fishbein edited the *JAMA*, he was the country's most visible spokesman for the medical profession, and in that capacity he worked tirelessly to promote the idea that any third-party involvement in health care would threaten physicians' freedom to practice medicine according to their own best judgment. Initially opposed to all forms of health insurance, Fishbein had by the 1940s—like many physicians—come to accept private insurance, but he fought compulsory insurance until the day he was forced to retire. Furthermore, the massive "education campaign" conducted by the AMA just after his departure (a campaign that played a major role in defeating the last serious effort to establish a federal insurance system) made clear that it was Fishbein's abrasive style, not his viewpoint, that was being rejected.

On the reformers' side of the table, Engel introduces many of the people who worked for compulsory insurance because they believed it was the only way to ensure universal access to health care. These individuals included Isidore Falk, who devoted most of his adult life to the cause; John Kingsbury, whose outspoken commitment to this idea ultimately lost him his job at the Millbank Foundation; and John Punnett Peters, founder of one of the few national medical organizations that supported compulsory health insurance. There were also legislators like Robert Wagner and John Dingle, who worked for years to pass a national bill; bureaucrats like Margaret Shearon and Margaret Klein, who drafted much of the early legislation; and governors like Earl Warren of California, who tried to establish model programs within their own states.

In organizing his book as he has, Engel invites one major question that he does not fully answer—or rather, he seems to answer it in different ways in different parts of the book. Why did the drive for national health insurance fail? Because his primary focus is on opinion makers, Engel seems to suggest most of the time that the reformers lost the battle simply because they were less effective at political mobilization than Fishbein and his allies. This interpretation is reinforced when Engel describes the reformers' stubborn resistance to compromise and their many intergroup squabbles. When he does periodically quote grass-roots opinion, however, the evidence he cites would seem to suggest that Fishbein and his allies were only articulating what most doctors already believed. Indeed, there are places in the book where Engel goes further and suggests that few nonphysician Americans wanted compulsory insurance either. Were these views there all along, or were they the result of the opinion makers' efforts? Probably a little of both, but the book is not quite clear.

Despite failing to resolve this complicated question, Engel's book offers a useful close-up look at a critical period in the development of American health policy. While one can find information about this period in almost any history of the health insurance debates, few deal with it in such detail. Moreover, as Engel points out, those long-ago debates have particular relevance for us today, because they concern questions over which we are still struggling: to what extent can we rely on health-care providers to ensure equal access to care? Should the government have a role in the process? How much influence should third-party payers have in treatment decisions? To whom should physicians be accountable? Half a century ago, dedicated people argued over these same questions, and there is much to be learned from their debates.

SANDRA OPDYCKE
Fordham University

JILL WATTS. *Mae West: An Icon in Black and White*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2001. Pp. x, 374. $35.00.

Mae West, the woman who lost her reputation and never missed it, has lately acquired another kind of reputation as a trendy topic in cultural studies. No wonder: a giant of twentieth-century popular entertainment, she was also a self-made, not man-made, woman, a charismatic actor-playwright-entrepreneur who marketed sex with the zeal of a true believer. In an age in which female stars were more likely to be vessels for male desire or meal tickets for scoundrels, West was always her own woman, her own best creation.

If the sacred trinity of cultural studies is race, class, and gender, Jill Watts seeks to score a kind of scholarly trifecta by casting West as a working-class woman who, whatever her actual bloodlines, was African American under the skin. "Was Mae West passing?" asks the author, perhaps a bit too eagerly. "It is hard to determine. But it is clear that the character she would create, her fictionalized persona, certainly was" (p. 15). Inspired by Mikhail Bakhtin's notion of the entertainer as a malleable shape shifter, she reads West as a "trickster," a cultural con artist playing an elaborate shell game with identity: "By rejecting the divisions between black and white, man and woman, rich and poor, self and other, she continues to challenge a society than thrives on fixity and certainty" (p. 317). In Watts's sympathetic reading, West emerges as a defender of "the weak, the disenfranchised, and oppressed," equal parts Diamond Lil and Emma Goldman.

The hammer of postmodernist criticism on the anvil of traditional biography creates an odd amalgam. Though commandingly researched and frequently enlightening, the book is also marred by jargon-laden prose and special pleading. Watts is at her best conjuring the rich brew of multicultural ingredients that fueled *fin-de siècle* amusements on the cusp of the mass communications revolutions of the twentieth century,

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with West serving as a bridge from the mauve decade to the roaring 1920s and dirty 1930s. In tracking West's movement from vaudeville music halls, to triumph and controversy on the Broadway stage, to superstardom status in film and radio, and, finally, to iconic status in American popular culture, Watts provides a lucid account of the rise of the woman who showed that the wages of sin can mean not death but a fat paycheck.

Watts is less persuasive when pounding home her critical line and wedging her subject into the corset of postmodernist polemics ("there was an immutability in her immutability"; p. 318) Given West's aggressive sexuality and her all-embracing zeal for the pleasure principle, it is perhaps inevitable that she should be resurrected as a poster girl for all that is trangressive and subversive. Yet West's cards were always on the table, turned face up for all to see. Even in her prime, the ironic, code-breaking persona hardly needed arcane critical exegesis to detect the cheeky rebellion in her gendered posture. Besides, sex as commerce is as American as cherry pie.

Nonetheless, the author makes a strong case for the African-American rhythms in West's voice and hips. Unlike Al Jolson, who donned blackface, West packaged her black roots under a peroxide blonde mask. Adding a dose of Jewish-flavored dialogue, she upset the natural WASP order in transparently named plays such as *Diamond Lil*, *Sex*, *The Pleasure Man*, and *The Drag*. Moral guardians shuddered, but Jazz Age audiences swooned. In 1928, as cops busted up a performance of *The Pleasure Man*, rowdy patrons yelled "Shame! Shame!"

When sound came to Hollywood, so did West, which was lucky for Hollywood. Almost single-handedly, she saved Paramount from bankruptcy with *She Done Him Wrong* (1933) and *I'm No Angel* (1933), the twin pack that was as close as Hollywood ever came to unleashing the West of the Broadway stage on the motion picture screen. With shimmying hips and hipster wisecracks, she outraged censors and delighted audiences who had never seen, or heard, anything like her. "Why don't you come up and see me sometime?" she beckoned in *She Done Him Wrong*. "Oh, you can be had!"

More than any performer of the pre-Code era, West was hobbled by the restrictions on language and plot enforced by Production Code Administrator Joseph I. Breen beginning in 1934. Realizing that her line readings could make a telephone book reek of the boudoir, Breen kept a sharp ear out not just for suspect words and risqué scenarios but for tone and gesture. On Broadway, the relationship between Mae West and the censors was almost symbiotic. In Hollywood, the Production Code laid her low.

Radio, a medium built for vocal inflection, simply exiled her. Watts provides a sharp and clear-headed account of West's notorious appearance on NBC's *Chase and Sanborn Hour* with Edgar Bergen and Charlie McCarthy on December 12, 1937, where her impersonation of a frisky Eve trying to excite a clueless Adam outraged bluenoses and got West banned from radio until 1950. On screen, meanwhile, in *My Little Chickadee* (1940), the quality of her romantic partners had sunk from Cary Grant to W. C. Fields, and her once-raw sexuality was contained as a comedic conceit.

A forty-year denouement followed, and Watts doesn't pretend that the last decades of West's long career are as exciting or noteworthy as her heady heyday in the 1920s and 1930s: the woman who entered the language during World War II as GI slang for a life preserver ended her life as a caricature. West was not a woman to age gracefully or conventionally. Unlike Greta Garbo, she did not want to be alone; unlike Marlene Dietrich, she did not hide her aged face behind closed doors. Decades past her prime, long after she fit the role, Mae West continued to play Mae West in the campy *Myra Breckinridge* (1970) and the unwatchable *Sextette* (1978), the latter made when West was eighty-four years old. "Yet as bad as it was," asserts Watts gamely, "*Sextette* stood, probably unintentionally, as one of Mae's most revolutionary pieces. As painful as it was to watch the aged Diamond Lil navigate through her scenes, she was challenging the very core of gender norms, especially those that robbed older women of sexual pleasure" (p. 322).

A stuffed shirt—of the kind that West used to wilt with an arched eyebrow—might argue that Watts should have maintained more critical distance on her subject, but it is refreshing to read an author who takes such open delight in her work, whose affection for this American original animates every page. Apparently, when Mae West beckons, we can all be had.

THOMAS DOHERTY
Brandeis University

MICHAEL KAMMEN. *American Culture, American Tastes: Social Change and the 20th Century*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1999. Pp. xxvii, 320. $30.00.

For much of the twentieth century, social scientists and cultural critics made "taste" a subject of scrutiny. Whether observers saw taste as an instrument of power or a weapon of defiance depended on their personal experience, political leanings, and intellectual sympathies. Regardless of perspective, most of these self-appointed experts approached their subjects with irony and biting wit. Perhaps the greatest chronicler of who liked what and why, *Harper's* editor Russell Lynes, in 1949 went so far as to categorize and thereby codify the hierarchy of American tastes in an oft-quoted essay, "Highbrow, Lowbrow, Middlebrow." On Lynes's heels in the 1950s came books and articles by a new generation of writers, many of whom were concerned to critique the supposed decline of high culture and "good taste." In their eyes, the culprit responsible for the extinction was mass culture; the agents of decline were the bureaucracy, the media, and other, often "corporate," evils.

Now Michael Kammen, best known for his scholarship on early America and, more recently, his chronicle of museums and memory, has taken on the task of

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examining the history of culture and taste. Kammen's aim, rightly, is not to weigh in on good taste or bad, high culture or low. More important, he hopes to understand how cultural hierarchy evolved into a sort of cultural pluralism that today defines middle-class culture. At the heart of his discussion is the theoretical proposition that "popular culture" and "mass culture" are two distinctive entities, belonging to the first and second halves of the twentieth century, respectively. "Popular culture," in his view, was an inclusive and participatory phenomenon that fostered interaction between producers and consumers. "Mass culture," in contrast, is more dictatorial; it represents the interests of corporate power brokers as imposed on a public supposedly trained, through years of exposure, to be passive and receptive. As popular culture blurred and yielded to mass culture at mid-century, American tastes, which had solidified in tandem with the formation of social classes during the industrial era, underwent a radical transformation. Boundaries between taste levels blurred, so much that "middlebrow" taste became the norm and those once charged with critical authority lost much of their influence. These transitions, Kammen infers, are central to making sense of the way culture worked in America during the twentieth century.

Kammen's anecdotal essay draws heavily on the published work of Lynes, H. L. Mencken, Walter Lippmann, Robert S. Lynd, and other writers, and, to a lesser extent, on Ken Burns's PBS documentary "The Civil War" (1990), the Museum of Modern Art's exhibit "High & Low" (1990–1991), and other examples from mass culture. Overall, Kammen looks at culture from the perspective of those who produced and reproduced the debate. Again and again, we learn about the ideas and actions of those who interpreted and shaped taste, or at least strove to do so. Some critics might chastise Kammen for omitting consumers' voices, but such peeps are difficult to discern and decipher above the din of popular and mass culture. A methodological issue of greater concern is Kammen's engagement of the concepts of scale and homogeneity—two themes that dominate contemporary debates on globalization—as analytical tools for measuring the penetration of mass culture in the late twentieth century. Fundamentally, Kammen is right to argue that mass culture came to override social class—that the middlebrow triumphed—but his argument, and his proposed periodization for key cultural moments, would be strengthened by expanding his body of evidence. It comes as no surprise that Kammen, a historian, has relied so heavily on the word. In this book, images and artifacts take a back seat to narratives, whether printed in books and magazines or spoken through radio, movies, and television. Yet as Lynes, the sociologist Herbert Gans, and dozens of art historians have acknowledged, art and artifacts—paintings, sculpture, prints, cartoons, furnishings, housing styles, and clothing—have counted among the most important delineators of taste in America, whether the year was 1900 or 1999. Any serious study of American taste needs to give due consideration to such things.

Overall, Kammen has offered an insightful extended essay on the intriguing matter of taste and culture in America. Like many bold works, his book undertakes big questions and addresses them in broad strokes. This volume will undoubtedly inspire scholars working on the history of taste to think seriously about popular culture, mass culture, and everything in between.

Regina Lee Blaszczyk
Chemical Heritage Foundation

Morton Keller and Phyllis Keller. *Making Harvard Modern: The Rise of America's University*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2001. Pp. xiv, 578. $35.00.

Children born in the Massachusetts Bay Colony often were named to honor such virtues as Faith and Prudence. Evidently, the practice did not extend to newly founded institutions. Modesty was not Harvard's middle name in 1636—nor over the next four centuries. Historians Morton Keller and Phyllis Keller analyze archival papers from 1933 to 2000 to show how modernity and meritocracy became parts of Harvard University's signature while modesty remained conspicuously absent.

The co-authors fulfill their pledge to provide a "candid portrait of America's greatest university through seven decades of dramatic change." Talent, wealth, and heritage combined with keen financial planning understandably made it hard for Harvard to be humble. Superlatives abound in its ability to attract students, faculty, and donors. During the presidential tenures of James Bryant Conant, Nathan Pusey, and Derek Bok, Harvard avoided complacence.

Some superlatives are suspect. For example, the book jacket contends this is the "first comprehensive history of a modern American university." Harvard may be the greatest, but it is not always first. The Kellers' work was preceded by Rebecca Lowen's *Creating the Cold War University: The Transformation of Stanford* (1997). Other contenders include Richard Freeland's *Academia's Golden Age: Universities in Massachusetts, 1945–1970* (1992) and Roger Geiger's *Research and Relevant Knowledge: American Research Universities Since World War II* (1993). A gracious, accurate gesture would have been to acknowledge Clarence Mohr and Joseph Gordon, *Tulane: The Emergence of a Modern University, 1945–1980* (2001), and Henry Lesesne's *A History of the University of South Carolina, 1940 to 2000* (2001).

This "cabinet history" brings administrators' work to life by culling over a thousand boxes of presidential papers. The "top-down" perspective could have been leavened if a few of those boxes had been exchanged for George Weller's 1931 novel, *Not To Eat, Not For Love*. Written by a young alumnus, it depicts emerging modern Harvard from the perspectives of undergraduates and other constituencies outside the boardroom.

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This book excels because it shows both accomplishments and foibles of the brightest and the best in the greater Boston area. Conant, Harvard's champion of meritocracy, partially upset the Brahmin hold on Harvard admissions and recruitment. Unfortunately, Conant's view of talent did not extend beyond his own myopia about gender and race. Even though Conant promoted "big science" between universities and Washington, D.C., his plans were fallible. He caused Harvard to miss the boat on a major intellectual current as he banked on coalitions of chemistry and physics rather than biochemistry as a crucial field after World War II. Conant also fell short in his fund raising. Pusey emerges as a responsible president who set aside some of his own priorities because he understood that if Harvard were to be vital, it needed endowments. Bok belatedly brought issues of social justice and community responsibility into Harvard discussions, if not always into Harvard policies.

In mining the presidential papers, the authors exhume gossip that exposes with good humor the banality of the best. Boundary disputes and literal turf wars dealing with the Harvard Botanical Gardens consumed institutional energy. Prestige often meant insularity, as Harvard professors expressed concern for one colleague whose departure to Columbia University and New York City was described as "exile to Siberia." Such episodes foster reasonable doubt about Harvard's leadership. In the 1960s, Harvard's governing boards were reluctant to take a stand on civil rights in the South but had no qualms about awarding an honorary degree to the shah of Iran. One unexpected consequence of this detailed history is the impression that Harvard often achieved greatness by waiting and then following. Numerous other universities were leaders in the education of women, racial integration, and reform of undergraduate education. Even in attracting top scholars, Harvard often relied on the strategy of hiring away senior professors who started their seminal work elsewhere.

The Kellers' institutional history shows that Harvard's presidents often had to share center stage. The symbol of Harvard hubris after World War II was McGeorge Bundy. An intelligent man from a prominent Boston family, his notion of youthful rebellion was to refuse to answer questions on the SAT and then to enroll at Yale. Bundy eventually found his way to Harvard as a triumphant dean of the Faculty of Arts and Sciences. In leading the effort to elevate Harvard faculty to national expertise, he demonstrated the influence of ideas—and sometimes their disasters—at the Ford Foundation and as a secretary in the cabinet that charted United States policies during the Johnson years.

Given Harvard's belated ventures into coeducation, diversity, and even curricular innovation, one has to question the statement that this is "America's university." Does it really have any more claim than the University of Michigan, Berkeley, Stanford, Illinois, Texas, Indiana, Cornell, or Chicago? In sum, this detailed account shows that although Harvard may be America's best modern university, it should have been better.

JOHN R. THELIN
University of Kentucky

JUSTUS D. DOENECKE. *Storm on the Horizon: The Challenge to American Intervention, 1939–1941*. Lanham, Md.: Rowman and Littlefield. 2000. Pp. xix, 551. $39.95.

The years 1939 to 1941 comprised one of the most dangerous, unsettled periods in history. Until the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor, most Americans fervently hoped to avoid war. For years, historians labeled the outspoken opponents of Franklin D. Roosevelt's foreign policy "isolationists." Justus D. Doenecke applies the more accurate term "anti-interventionist" in his detailed study of those who criticized Roosevelt's gradually expanding support for the Allies.

Doenecke has written extensively about anti-interventionists, and this volume represents the culmination of some twenty-five years of research. Other scholars, notably Manfred Jonas and Wayne S. Cole, have previously focused more on the political expressions of anti-interventionist thought. Building on that foundation, Doenecke argues that "to best understand anti-interventionism during the 1939–1941 period, one should focus on far more than geographic regions, socioeconomic factors, ethnic groups, or even party politics" (p. xi). Doenecke seeks to understand the ideological influences and themes of anti-interventionists.

Moving chronologically from the German invasion of Poland in 1939 to Japan's attack on Pearl Harbor in 1941, Doenecke methodically appraises the views of prominent anti-interventionists. He demonstrates conclusively that substantive differences of opinion existed among them and asserts that this diversity actually helped Roosevelt outmaneuver the anti-interventionists.

Doenecke's judicious conclusions ably summarize these varied views. Some anti-interventionists "possessed a healthy suspicion of executive power," he says (p. 323). Others considered Germany's war aims traditional rather than radical and therefore not a danger to the United States. Some of Roosevelt's critics feared that American involvement in the war would bring serious domestic repercussions ranging from an end to social reform to possible dictatorship. As Doenecke admits, the disparate views of the anti-interventionists ranged from the informed to the conspiratorial.

Doenecke's emphasis on the diversity of opinion among the anti-interventionists is an important contribution. At the same time, it undermines his book. The text is laden with an exhaustive collection of anti-interventionist commentary about nearly every action taken by the Roosevelt administration in response to events in Europe and Asia. One learns the thoughts of

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anti-interventionists ranging from Herbert Hoover to Anne Morrow Lindbergh on dozens of issues. While this may prove fascinating for specialists, general readers and nonspecialists will likely end up benumbed by the staggering array of opinion. Doenecke accords ample space to even minor characters such as the American fascist Lawrence Dennis. Not placing this sprawling cast within subcategories of the overall heading anti-interventionist, weakens the book.

Clearly sympathetic to the anti-interventionists, Doenecke must be credited for displaying their flaws and insights. The anti-interventionist *New York Daily News* predicted that a German invasion of Britain would be easily repulsed by soldiers, home guards, "bloodthirsty school kids with .22's, and old gentlemen who used to do some hunting or some World War I soldiering" (p. 151). The notoriously Anglophobic writer Harry Elmer Barnes declared, "Had Hitler tortured and then killed every one of the half million Jews living in Germany in 1933 such a foul and detestable act would still have left him a piker compared to Britain's blockade of 1918–1919" (p. 33). Yet the anti-interventionists also offered insightful critiques of Roosevelt's sometimes duplicitous methods. Doenecke's book highlights the kind of spirited debate so often lacking about U.S. foreign policy today.

Doenecke acknowledges but never clarifies why some of the most ardent critics of Roosevelt's foreign policy continued to see him as a potentially effective mediator of an end to hostilities in Europe. One also wonders why anti-interventionists believed for so long that Adolf Hitler's war aims remained reasonable and subject to diplomatic resolution. Finally, it would be interesting to know more about general public reaction to the opinions that Doenecke studies. What sort of mail did Senator Robert Taft receive in response to his repeated assertions that Germany posed no threat to the United States? Did ordinary readers write letters challenging or agreeing with the opinions expressed by anti-interventionist commentators, and, if so, what did they say?

This book offers a treasure of source material for other specialists. Doenecke's meticulous research is reflected in the book's 170 pages of endnotes and twenty-five page bibliography. He has pointed scholars in new directions. Perhaps one will produce a more manageable treatment of this important topic.

JOHN D. CHAPPELL
Webster University,
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KENNETH WILLIAM TOWNSEND. *World War II and the American Indian*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press. 2000. Pp. x, 272. $35.00.

This is the most comprehensive history of American Indians during the war years to appear in over a decade. It is based on a thorough reading of the available Bureau of Indian Affairs and other federal documents, oral histories, and the private papers of crucial actors and leading spokespersons, both Indian and white. In several respects, it attempts and largely succeeds in finding and giving prominence to "Indian voices" as part of the story. Especially important is its inclusion of the experiences of Alaskan Natives. This means that the author, Kenneth William Townsend, provides a richer, more detailed account of a critical period in twentieth-century American Indian history, though he does not offer any startling new interpretations of the dynamics of tribal-government relations.

Townsend offers his major argument in his introduction. "Whether bound for assimilation or retrenchment, World War II was the crossroads for Native Americans and, ultimately, for federal Indian policy" (p. 3). In this assessment, he follows closely the thesis offered in my book, *American Indians and World War II: Towards a New Era in Indian Affairs* (1991). His thesis, with which I agree, is that the war years proved to be an even more critical juncture for American Indian peoples than the Indian New Deal of President Franklin D. Roosevelt. In proving his point, Townsend tells a familiar story for historians who have read the 1991 study. Indeed, there are striking parallels between Townsend's approach and my own. For example, Townsend divides his story into chapters such as "American Indians Enlist," "Indian Draft Resistance," "Indians Go to War," "Indian Home Front," and "Postwar Directions." These closely approximate the chapter headings in my book: "Indians and the Draft," "The 'Chiefs' go to War," "The Indian Homefront," and "Postwar Uncertainties."

Thus, the value of Townsend's study is not so much in the overarching themes he presents but, rather, in his careful elaborations of events and people who populate this important yet often overlooked history. In one of the freshest and most illuminating parts of the book, Townsend discusses Nazi propaganda among American Indians—a topic that scholars like Kenneth R. Philp and Laurence M. Hauptman first discussed two decades ago. Townsend builds on this earlier work but adds considerably to our understanding of the persistence with which the German American Bund directed its propaganda toward American Indians. Townsend is the first to use the files of the Federal Bureau of Investigation in this regard; he also connects Nazi efforts to late nineteenth and early twentieth-century German literature's fascination with Indians.

In another particularly strong section, Townsend picks up the theme of Indian resistance to the draft and offers a detailed and compelling explanation of the motives behind some of the tribes' refusal to serve. His account of the efforts of a small band of Hopi to resist the draft is the most complete telling of this bizarre story, especially as it concerns Commissioner of Indian Affairs John Collier's role. Townsend is at his best in describing the pervasive racism of Virginia's Registrar for Vital Statistics, Walter Ashby Plecker, who refused to acknowledge that Indians in that state had a separate identity apart from African Americans, with whom they often intermarried. Plecker's ruling set

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the stage for a showdown between the state, which insisted that Indians be inducted into segregated black units, and the Bureau of Indian Affairs, acting on behalf of the Pamunkey, Chickahominey, Gingaskin, and Nottoway tribes, who argued that, as Indians, they were entitled to serve in integrated units. As Townsend notes, "Plecker's drive for non-contamination of the white race and efforts to reassign Indians to black racial status was by no means peculiar in 1940, although the method and depth of the attack was most extreme in Virginia" (p. 90). These two incidents around the draft and the Indian response to it provide a good demonstration of Townsend's ability to dig through archival material and provide a clearer picture of tribal-governmental dynamics. His book is especially welcome because of the new material he has found on the experiences of the Aleuts whose homes were used to billet American troops. Their posessions were either destroyed or vandalized by military personnel when the Aleuts were forced to evacuate.

Overall, this is a good addition to the growing literature on American Indian history in the twentieth century, even if it covers and reasserts familiar perspectives. It nonetheless offers its readers a more detailed story than we have heretofore known.

ALISON BERNSTEIN
The Ford Foundation

CAROLINE CHUNG SIMPSON. *An Absent Presence: Japanese Americans in Postwar American Culture, 1945–1960.* (New Americanists.) Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. 2001. Pp. xi, 234. Cloth $54.95, paper $18.95.

One of the wonderful things about interdisciplinary approaches to history is that they often produce fresh interpretations. Disciplines also accomplish their disciplining function through normative assumptions about scholarship, however, and books employing unfamiliar modes of argumentation often find an uncertain reception. Caroline Chung Simpson's book is indicative of recent trends within English toward the reading of historical texts in ways both familiar and jarring to historians. Scholars in the interdisciplinary endeavors of American Studies and Asian American Studies will feel familiar with its mixed history and English approaches.

The main argument of Simpson's book is that Japanese-American history was an "absent presence" in the post-World War II period. According to Simpson, historical erasure of Japanese American identity in larger narratives of U.S. history was accompanied by intermittent attempts to make sense of Japanese-American internment. Borrowing from such theorists as Michel Foucault, Walter Benjamin, and Maurice Halbwachs for her analyses, Simpson focuses on historical incidents that she sees as key moments in remembering the war and internment. She has a chapter on the trial (1946–1949) of Iva Toguri D'Aquino, the Japanese-American woman accused of being the infamous "Tokyo Rose"; another on the 1955 "Hiroshima Maidens" project, which brought twenty-five women from Japan to the United States in an attempt to use plastic surgery to fix radiation scars, making them candidates for marriage; and, in her last chapter, she discusses the ways in which Asian war brides married to white GIs were represented during the 1950s.

Simpson uses sources familiar to historians such as newspapers and magazine articles, memoirs, and social scientific studies. For example, in her chapter entitled "The Internment of Anthropology," Simpson interprets scholarly studies that were published during and after the war by officials working in internment camps for the War Relocation Authority. In a manner familiar to scholars of English literature, Simpson uses readings of novels written by Japanese Americans as well.

It is in Simpson's use of sources that some historians may feel discomfort. Simpson relies on historical studies to support her interpretations concerning Cold War domestic practices, the history of anticommunism, and the relationship between international relations and Cold War antiracism. By depending on historians to supply the larger contexts, Simpson gives them too much credit for getting it right; lost in her readings are the debates over whether the historians' interpretations are sound. The occlusions and exclusions of historical narration, which are at the heart of Simpson's study, are complicated processes that are central to historiographic debate. In not scrutinizing then more closely, Simpson somewhat undermines her arguments about how historical narration works.

Her study complicates considerations about how "excluded" histories are integrated into national narratives of belonging. Her critiques of the narrative forms of historical sources (for instance, her readings of Norman Cousins's 1955 reports on the "Hiroshima Maidens" in the *Saturday Review*) are very smart. Like other scholars trained in literature who deal with historical subject matter—for instance, Lisa Lowe's *Immigrant Acts: On Asian American Cultural Politics* (1996) and David Palumbo-Liu's *Asian/American: Historical Crossings of a Racial Frontier* (1999)—the strength of her interpretations lies in her textual readings. Many of Simpson's historical generalizations are sound. Some that overreach are indicative of her reliance on a few sources, however, as when she argues that the "absent presence" of Japanese Americans indicated a "crisis" in postwar American culture.

Simpson's overall interpretations are seldom undercut by her mistakes of fact. At one point, Simpson states that "Japanese Americans who returned to their communities found that their homes and businesses had been confiscated and sold by the government" (p. 73). Although she is mistaken about the confiscation of property by the U.S. government, the larger point to which this statement was attached—that Japanese-American patriotism did not eliminate the racism they faced upon leaving the camps—is supportable. Per-

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haps Simpson misapplied her knowledge of Joy Kogawa's *Obasan* (1982), which she uses to describe the internment experience. Kogawa was interned in Canada, where government confiscation of fishing vessels and other property resulted in the widespread sale of Japanese-Canadian possessions in 1943.

All this is not to say that this work is not interesting or useful. As an interpretation concerning how the past is used politically, Simpson's book is worth reading. She brings together disparate representations of Japanese and Japanese Americans in the postwar United States. Simpson's description of the place of Japanese Americans in the postwar years rings true, particularly in terms of the hyper-Americanization that internment and the Cold War fostered among younger Nisei. I also concur with Simpson's idea that in digging up the "buried past" of Japanese Americans (pioneering historian Yuji Ichioka's phrase), we should be careful as to what ideological uses such salvaged histories are put.

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XIAOJIAN ZHAO. *Remaking Chinese America: Immigration, Family, and Community, 1940–1965*. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press. 2002. Pp. xvii, 265. Cloth $59.00, paper $22.00.

This volume explores the impact of Chinese female immigration after World War II upon the Chinese-American community. Noting that many more women gained access to the United States as a result of exclusions repeal during the war and the evolving "war brides" legislation following its conclusion, Xiaojian Zhao joins scholars such as Roger Daniels in arguing that this change gradually rendered obsolete both a generations-old bachelor society and a counterproductive preoccupation with China-focused issues.

The book's opening two chapters build on the work of others to establish a contextual framework for the original research that follows. From a brief history of the period before 1940, Zhao demonstrates that at least by 1900—and perhaps much sooner—the desire to establish nuclear families had inspired a persistent and carefully conceived effort to challenge discriminatory immigration laws. Then she explains how both gendered and general exclusion prompted Chinese Americans to adopt an immigration strategy that sought to optimize male admissions and relied on women to serve as the links between the Chinese-American community and immigrants' home villages in China (pp. 46–47). Thus, while the dismantling of legislative barriers during the 1940–1965 period owed much of its success to the public efforts of Chinese-American activists, a more covert determination enabled the community to replenish itself despite governmental attempts to cut off the supply of new arrivals.

Chapter three initiates the book's exploitation of primary sources, combining summary data with individual stories to interrogate the ways that wartime employment opportunities affected the lives of Chinese-American women and their families. Unlike earlier avenues of female employment, community leaders did not control access to these jobs. Therefore, they provided women with a means of attaining both economic and social freedom.

The fourth and sixth chapters concentrate on the arrival of the war brides. Although Congress had enacted gender neutral laws designed to assist military personnel who had made marital commitments while serving overseas, Chinese-American men responded to the legislation by seeking wives, and the community as a whole endeavored to correct its skewed sex ratio. As increasing numbers of immigrant women joined their husbands, however, both traditional values and a tenuous, dependent residence status worked to keep wives subservient to their more American spouses. Still, Zhao uses advice columns in the Chinese-language press to demonstrate that the public exposure of marital problems had effectively pushed the society toward gender equality (p. 145).

Inserted at the middle of this account of evolving family dynamics, chapter five establishes the groundwork for explaining why newspapers emerged as the primary locus of social negotiation and transformation after World War II. For earlier generations, family and district associations under the guidance of the Chinese Consolidated Benevolent Association (CCBA) had governed the behavior of a ghettoized population, but the economic and geographic mobility made possible by wartime jobs tended to shift the burden of maintaining group solidarity to a spatially unfettered print media.

The book's final chapter examines the influence of Cold War politics on competition for social dominance within the Chinese-American community. After formation of the People's Republic in 1949, deteriorating China-U.S. relations inspired government officials to resurrect the 1875 Page Law's strategy of relying on the Hong Kong consulate to cut off the flow of immigrants at its source. When the CCBA's pro-Guomindang leadership began branding opponents as communist sympathizers, Immigration and Naturalization Services agents seized the opportunity to insert themselves into Chinese-American politics. This strategy forced family members to betray each other and severely damaged the immigration network constructed through a century of struggle. Yet, as articulated in a brief epilogue, the excessive zeal of enforcement officers eventually united competing internal constituencies around a new campaign that won elimination of racial quotas in 1965. As a result of this common effort, "Chinese Americans across the political spectrum have realized that they are, before all else, Americans" (p. 190).

Zhao has constructed an unusually accessible monograph that should prove especially valuable as a classroom text. Whether presenting a tertiary synthesis,

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documentary analyses, or the personal histories of Chinese Americans, the story remains a compelling one for both the specialist and the general reader. Thus, while Zhao is to be commended for the work's rigorous scholarship and historiographical intelligence, she has produced a manuscript characterized by one essential predictor of future significance: it will be read.

GEORGE ANTHONY PEFFER
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ARNOLD A. OFFNER. *Another Such Victory: President Truman and the Cold War, 1945–1953.* (Stanford Nuclear Age Series.) Stanford: Stanford University Press. 2002. Pp. xv, 626. $37.95.

Arnold A. Offner's book is reminiscent of Cold War revisionism of forty years ago. This analysis of U.S. policy, however, is more sophisticated than the works of that earlier generation of writers, as Offner makes full use of the American documentary record and the revelations gained by the limited opening of the former Soviet Union's archives. He also summarizes the historiography of several important issues, so that postrevisionism is acknowledged, even if found to be wanting. Offner dutifully acknowledges that the origins of the Cold War are complex, but his account places major principal responsibility on the United States, especially its hapless president. Contrary to the popular image of a gutsy, no-nonsense, decisive leader who stood up to the Soviet Union, Harry S. Truman, according to Offner, was an insecure, misinformed, parochial nationalist whose ill-considered, insensitive, and belligerent policies precipitated and exacerbated the Cold War.

This is the third major study of Truman's national security policy written in the last decade. Melvyn P. Leffler's monumental *A Preponderance of Power: National Security, the Truman Administration and the Cold War* (1992) and Michael J. Hogan's provocative *A Cross of Iron: Harry S Truman and the Origins of the National Security State, 1945–1954* (1998) find, as have most postrevisionist scholars, that the containment policy in Europe, while flawed, served U.S. interests, but both are critical of its ramifications. Leffler, who characterizes Truman and his national security managers as at once "wise, prudent, and foolish," faults especially the exaggeration of Soviet aggressiveness and the threat of communism in the Third World. Hogan questions whether American security, particularly as defined in NSC-68, necessitated the political, economic, and social price that the Truman administration demanded.

Offner's indictment of Truman, however, is relentless. The successful testing of the atomic bomb in July 1945 led Truman to practice "atomic diplomacy" to limit Soviet influence in postwar Asia. When James F. Byrnes later in 1945 tried to negotiate with the Soviets, Truman undermined his secretary of state and accused him of disloyalty.

Convinced that it was time to "stop babying" the Soviets, Truman was committed to a "get tough" policy, finding justification in a misreading of Soviet Premier Joseph Stalin's February 1946 "election speech," while giving license to former British Prime Minister Winston Churchill to pronounce the "iron curtain" later that month and duplicitously appearing to support international control of atomic energy. The Truman doctrine exaggerated the limited Soviet interests in Greece and Turkey and oversimplified the division of the world into "free" and "totalitarian." Truman's claim that it and the Marshall Plan were "two halves of the same walnut" undermines the more positive intent of the latter, which gets praise, however faint, as "perhaps the most enduring and inspiring foreign policy initiative of the Truman administration" (p. 244). Yet even the Marshall Plan had serious flaws, eroding further Soviet-American relations, helping to precipitate the crisis in Czechoslovakia, and yielding disputed economic benefits to western Europe. It is Truman's handling of the Palestine-Israel issue that gains Offner's fullest praise. Acting out of a sense of political and moral commiment to a Jewish homeland and not narrow partisan interests, as some critics charged, Truman overcame the opposition of the British, the Arab states, and his own military and diplomatic officials and "gained a solution where none had seemed possible" (p. 275). In Asia, however, Truman was unable to grasp the historical significance of nationalist revolutions. Dismissing the communist movement in China as an agent of Soviet imperialism, Truman and other U.S. officials ignored its essential nationalism and, even while moving away from Chiang Kai-shek's discredited regime, rejected recognition of the People's Republic of China (PRC). Simplistic reading of complex events also accounted for Truman's responses to the division of Korea, which was based on the questionable assumption that the American position there was strategically important, and to the North Korean attack of June 1950, which Truman immediately saw as Soviet-directed, thus ignoring the local origins of war. Once military support was sent to Korea under United Nations auspices, Truman showed no restraint—intervening as well in the Taiwan Strait, sanctioning reunification when the opportunity presented itself, dismissing the PRC's warnings as U.N. forces approached its frontier—until the Chinese attack forced acceptance of a divided Korea as the war's objective. Even after the obstreperous General Douglas MacArthur was finally relieved of his command and negotiations began, Truman prolonged the war through his insistence on voluntary repatriation of prisoners of war. As military expenditures increased in the aftermath of NSC-68's call for a massive build-up, Truman left office, having demonstrated that he "lacked the leadership to move the U.S. away from conflict and toward detente" (p. 470).

Offner's focus on Truman leaves his analysis narrow in some respects, including the interaction of Europeans and Americans in the development of contain-

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ment, the impact of public opinion and domestic politics on foreign policy, and the working relationship of Truman with the two men—George C. Marshall and Dean Acheson—on whom he relied for counsel. Truman's policy reflected not so much his personality and intellectual shortcomings as the considered judgment of his advisers and their staffs.

Still, Offner's well-written, thoroughly documented, and provocative book underlines the importance of presidential leadership and reopens questions about whether Truman's "near-great" stature is deserved.

GARY R. HESS
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ATHAN THEOHARIS. *Chasing Spies: How the FBI Failed in Counterintelligence but Promoted the Politics of McCarthyism in the Cold War Years*. Chicago: Ivan R. Dee. 2002. Pp. vii, 307. $27.50.

Athan Theoharis has a formidable grasp of the history of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI), and especially of its numerous transgressions; he is one of the foremost scholarly guardians of American civil liberties. His new book is just as unforgiving as his previous publications of the bureau's excesses, but it offers an additional message. Even though conceived and written before terrorism rose to the top of the national agenda in September 2001, it addresses the burning issue of America's competence in counterespionage in a way that is relevant to the current debate.

In a familiar vein, Theoharis details the way in which the FBI has given in to neurotic obsessions, leading it to harrass gays, blacks, and suspected communists in the United States. But he has something new to add to this familiar refrain. He asserts that because the bureau was thus preoccupied, it proved incompetent at one of its most important tasks, counterespionage. Instead of pursuing communist agents who were, the author agrees, a serious menace to the United States, the FBI engaged in silly schemes against softer targets, such as those responsible for making the film *For Whom the Bell Tolls*, which was dubbed "Communist propaganda" by the bureau's Los Angeles office in 1943.

Theoharis is scornful of the relentless pursuit, by recent scholars as well as by 1940s prosecutors, of individuals like Alger Hiss. For him, the Fat Lady has not yet sung. He questions the findings of U.S. scholar Allen Weinstein and KGB defector Alexander Vassiliev in *The Haunted Wood* (1999), a work that has been embraced by neoconservatives. Theoharis states that they add little to Weinstein's earlier book, *Perjury* (1978), an inconclusive if widely believed attempt to prove that Hiss was guilty. He further takes Weinstein and Vassiliev to task for claiming too much on the basis of a limited viewing of Soviet documents. These documents were released in early post-Cold War Moscow in return for dollars, but the release was partial and controlled and proved to be temporary. Theoharis notes in comparative mode that the celebrated "Venona" releases so jubilantly paraded to indicate the complicity in espionage of the American Left were heavily "redacted"; in fact, the act of censorship was more severe than that practiced in Moscow. Right across the evidential spectrum, he believes, historians are leaping to conclusions on the basis of partial sightings and in the absence of critiques from colleagues who have not been afforded the access privileges enjoyed by KGB-capitalist collaborators. The Venona code-breaking triumph, he claims, cannot be upheld as a triumph of American counterespionage, as it was based on good luck (the carelessly repetitive use of one-time pads by Soviet encoders).

Theoharis does not agree with the view of historians John Earl Haynes and Harvey Klehr that President Harry S. Truman's White House "reacted with a mixture of indifference and skepticism to FBI reports indicating significant Soviet espionage activity in the United States" (*Venona: Decoding Soviet Espionage in America* [1999], p. 13). He argues that Truman did not even know about Venona and so could not be expected to have acted on the basis of the information it provided. There is some division of opinion among Venona specialists with regard to this issue, and it is difficult to prove a negative: that the president did not know something.

Theoharis further asserts that Senator Joseph McCarthy chose the wrong victims. Instead of singling out the Roosevelt/Truman administrations for opprobrium, he should have lambasted the FBI for its counterespionage shortcomings. Here Theoharis is on shaky ground in two ways. First, while it is true that the USSR enjoyed espionage triumphs—notably, the technical know-how behind its first atomic bomb explosion was smuggled in from the West—the notion that hitherto undetected communist spies were at large in significant numbers and operated effectively remains hypothetical. Second, McCarthy was, as Theoharis implies, interested in goals other than the defeat of communism.

This a brilliant and salutary exposition of who did what and who may not have done it. The book would have benefited from speculation about the real reasons why people—the ostensible spy hunters and their subsequent chroniclers—acted and wrote as they did.

RHODRI JEFFREYS-JONES
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ROBERT D. DEAN. *Imperial Brotherhood: Gender and The Making of Cold War Foreign Policy*. (Culture, Politics, and the Cold War.) Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press. 2001. Pp. x, 329. $29.95.

Robert D. Dean's fascinating study of Cold War foreign policy elites contributes to the movement to reconsider U.S. foreign relations history in light of recent scholarship in social and cultural history. More specifically, Dean joins Frank Costigliola, Emily Rosenberg, Mary Renda, Melani McAlister, Michelle Mart, Alexander DeConde, Geoffrey S. Smith, K.A.

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Cuordileone, and others who have highlighted the relevance of masculinity to foreign relations. Along with shedding light on foreign policy formulation, the book breaks ground in men's history by illuminating the gender codes created by establishment men (the "imperial brotherhood" of the title) and their detractors.

The book can be divided into three parts. The early chapters cover the socialization of the elite men who dominated foreign-policy making in the post-World War II period. Dean's treatment of the violent peer culture that characterized male boarding schools is particularly noteworthy. He also alludes to Ivy League fraternities and metropolitan men's clubs before moving on to the significance of military service during World War II. This chapter finds that military service not only contributed to a predisposition to use force but that elite men's military records (however exaggerated) helped them claim political power.

In the middle chapters, Dean provides an impressively detailed account of the McCarthy-era purge of homosexuals in the State Department. He argues that the "lavender scare" affected far more than personnel; it also affected policy, insofar as taking a conciliatory approach toward the Soviet Union came to be seen as a career-threatening sign of suspect sexuality. The lessons of the homosexual witch hunts were not lost on the policy makers who survived them: "The public performance of 'respectable' masculinity became increasingly crucial as a test of political legitimacy for men in public life" (p. 66).

The final chapters apply the book's earlier findings on manhood to foreign policy making during the Kennedy and Johnson administrations and, particularly, to U.S. escalation in Vietnam. According to Dean, the imperial brotherhood's own ideologies of masculinity, combined with the lessons learned in the State Department purge, led them to favor militant anticommunism. Thus in answer to his starting question—"how did highly educated men, who prided themselves on their hard-headed pragmatism, men who shunned 'fuzzy-minded' idealism, lead the United States into a prolonged, futile, and destructive war in Vietnam and Southeast Asia?" (p. 1)—Dean maintains that we cannot ignore the importance of gender.

JFK's macho self-presentation ("I would rather take my television black and white and have the largest rockets in the world" [p. 181]) and LBJ's penchant for sexualized metaphors ("I didn't just screw Ho Chi Minh. I cut his pecker off" [p. 240]) are familiar to many historians, but they have not been considered as systematically as in this study. By elaborating on the social context in which JFK, LBJ, and their advisors operated, Dean makes their behavior appear less idiosyncratic and more a reflection of larger patterns, less irrational and more a calculated result of the gender politics of the era. This account, well-researched in personal papers, government documents, and other sources, makes a compelling case for the significance of gender in understanding the foreign policy establishment of the 1950s and 1960s.

Yet making a case for the importance of gender does not mean closing the case. The broad strokes necessary to throw patterns into relief sometimes come at the cost of nuance. Dean claims, for example, that a "small and strikingly homogeneous group of men . . . made the decisions to intervene in Vietnam" (p. 3). But were U.S. policy makers as homogeneous as he suggests? The LBJ of San Marcos State Teacher's College was not the same as the JFK of Harvard. Like all worthwhile books, this one leaves questions for future scholars. How did the elite men persecuted in the lavender scare come to be so vulnerable, given the macho upbringings and values highlighted in this account? To what extent did an appreciation of cosmopolitan intellectualism temper the establishment's fraternalism and toughness? How did outsiders—be they working-class, women, or colored—affect the brotherhood's self-conceptions and values? That these questions seem worth asking testifies to the merits of Dean's decision to treat foreign policy makers not as disembodied, abstracted individuals but as culturally situated human beings whose personal lives cannot be disentangled from their professional decisions.

KRISTIN HOGANSON
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CATHERINE FORSLUND. *Anna Chennault: Informal Diplomacy and Asian Relations*. (Biographies in American Foreign Policy, number 8.) Wilmington, Del.: S R Books. 2000. Pp. xxxiii, 180. $19.95.

Catherine Forslund's book, the eighth in the "Biographies in American Foreign Policy" series from Scholarly Resources, departs from previous volumes by focusing on the concept of "informal diplomacy," which she defines as "any exchange between citizens or groups of citizens from two or more nations outside the boundaries of the official governmental institutional apparatus" who represent "interests beyond their own and who seek to influence events or attitudes of governments" (p. xiv). Forslund skillfully couples gender and ethnicity in her study of a woman remembered by many of her contemporaries as the wife of famed Flying Tiger General Claire Chennault, positioning Anna Chennault's "womanhood" and "Chineseness" within the structured context of an informal diplomacy that evolved from narrow anticommunism to commerce-driven internationalism.

Forslund credits Chennault's influence as an informal diplomat, career in business, and political choices, in part, to her male mentors; however, she also examines the Chinese context of Chennault's life and the significance of her ethnicity and gender. These factors affected Chennault's ability to make connections with influential Asian and American leaders, interpret life behind the "bamboo curtain," and influ-

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ence American politicians to support Taiwan and increase trade with Asia.

Chapter one explores Chennault's character formation amid societal flux, the horrors of Japanese invasion, and life as a refugee in early twentieth-century China, which helped develop a strong sense of self and purpose. Two teachers convinced Chennault of the importance of her birthday, "the fifth day of the fifth moon of the Chinese calendar," and its import for her future, as it coincided with a date that "portended the destiny of a writer" (p. 6). Paradoxically, the circumscribed position of women in Chinese society fueled her drive to succeed. In aggregate, this background motivated her to work as a reporter with a government news bureau that hired only men, marry an American three decades older than she, and settle in the United States.

Forslund traces Chennault's conservative politics and zealous anticommunism to her family's urban-elite background, which led them to support Chiang Kai-shek. Reinforced by the general's leadership of the China lobby, which Forslund covers in chapter two, Chennault would emulate her husband's informal diplomacy and politics. With the general's death in 1958, after eleven years of marriage and the birth of two daughters, Forslund chronicles Chennault's evolution as informal diplomat.

While establishing the importance of family friend and mentor Thomas Corcoran, who helped launch Chennault's career by securing her a position writing Chinese-English dictionaries, Forslund illustrates how gender and ethnicity enhanced Chennault's political assets. In her role as hostess, a critical component for her success as an informal diplomat, Forslund notes that Chennault had "an edge that no man could match," allowing her to build a "powerful base of influence and connections." Thus, she "capitalized" on gender (p. 98). Chennault noted her own "certain exotic Asian aura" as critical in politicians' eagerness to "convene" comfortably with her (p. 43).

A nuanced chapter on Chennault's role in the 1968 "October Surprise" enhances recent scholarship on this topic, offering readers a "fly on the wall" view of the ambivalent Nixon/Chennault relationship. Forslund explains that Chennault's role in the episode was motivated by her perception that U.S. abandonment of the Nationalists in the Chinese Civil War directly caused the Communist victory (p. 53). Forslund's fresh scholarly interpretation is that the episode launched Chennault's informal diplomacy career. Hence, readers later learn that Chennault would seek to act as the "conscience of the U.S. in Vietnam" by assisting South Vietnamese fleeing the country and through the business acumen she exercised via Flying Tiger Lines (p. 98).

In the remaining three chapters, Forslund gives depth to Chennault's character, motivations, and activities, detailing her contributions to Asian Americans, women, and ethnic candidates and her gradual emergence from strident anticommunist beginnings. Forslund offers myriad interesting examples of Chennault's shifting politics, reflected in her efforts to understand the concerns of both the Peoples Republic of China and the Taiwan-based Republic of China, and her increasing diplomatic and business influence. The result is a balanced portrayal of Chennault, enhanced by an examination of how her contemporaries viewed her evolution.

Readers will not find a full exploration of the dark side of the China lobby or Republican Party machinations; however, that is not Forslund's purpose. Rather, her goal is the investigation of the formation and ramifications of Chennault's significance as informal diplomat. In this endeavor Forslund has provided a valuable foreign policy framework, a model for studies of other influential "behind the scenes" individuals, and a useful text for scholars of diplomatic history and international relations.

M. Cristina Zaccarini
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Paul Buhle and Dave Wagner. *A Very Dangerous Citizen: Abraham Lincoln Polonsky and the Hollywood Left*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 2001. Pp. x, 275. $27.50.

In film history, Abraham Lincoln Polonsky is best known for the scripts of two notable John Garfield movies, the classic fight film *Body and Soul* (1947) and *Force of Evil* (1948), an important example of American film noir, which Polonsky also directed. These films, claim authors Paul Buhle and Dave Wagner, "quite simply embody the highest achievement of the American left in cinema before the onset of repression . . . and . . . summarize the best work of the generation that created the critical American cinema" (p. 108).

Within the history of the American Left (at least the Left's own version of its history), Polonsky is even more important, and revered, as one of the scriptwriters blacklisted for refusing to answer the House Un-American Activities Committee's (HUAC) inquiries into their Communist Party membership or associations. Though not one of the Hollywood Ten—they went to jail; Polonsky went to Cannes—he was like them unfairly denied the opportunity to practice his craft and express his ideas where they could best be practiced and expressed, which was on the richly rewarded Hollywood assembly lines that churned out film footage at the same rate and average quality as sausage. Thus sanctified, Polonsky's name is now writ large in the Left's book of martyrs victimized by the forces of repression.

This book is clearly a labor of love. Buhle spoke at Polonsky's memorial service, compiled a collection of interviews with the blacklistees, and is one of the editors of the *Encyclopedia of the American Left*. The authors are particularly successful in evoking the New York Jewish culture that produced Polonsky and provided him with the cultural (and political) mythology that shaped his movie work, his television shows (*You*

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Are There, Madigan), and his novels. The flip side is that their identification with their subject prevents the authors from seeing the political events that engulfed Polonsky as in any way problematic; his enemies are their enemies, his judgments theirs, and his view of history is the only one that matters. Thus Henry Kissinger is off-handedly referred to as "the world's best-known war criminal" (p. 220). It also keeps them from examining Polonsky's truly breathtaking sense of moral superiority, which may have predisposed him to Marxism of the Leninist variety; they quote, as reflecting Polonsky's attitude toward political opponents, a line in his novel *A Season of Fear* (1956) "They're not my kind. I belong to another species" (p. 112).

A good deal of the book is given over to plot summaries and appreciations of Polonsky's scripts, which I found interesting. Here quality in a film means a healthy injection of "progressive" agit-prop, and the bigger the dose, the better the film, so Buhle and Wagner hunt for instances of "how Left screenwriters managed to inject moments of cinematically historical significance into the most commercial studio projects" (p. 151). Compare that to the blacklisters' pouncing on smiling faces in Russian crowd scenes as evidence of treason, and you flirt with the notion that they deserved one another.

There are some surprising omissions. If Polonsky was a victim, then the motives of his victimizers are an essential part of the story. Not here. There is also nothing about the machinery of the blacklist, and how Jewish blacklistees—and most of them, like Polonsky, were Jewish—could be taken off the blacklist by appealing to George Sokolsky and/or the Anti-Defamation League. Nor is there a consideration of Elia Kazan's defense of informing in the one film masterpiece dealing with the theme, *On the Waterfront* (1954).

No one would disagree with the authors that the blacklist was a travesty of justice. But the tactics employed against the Hollywood Left by the blacklisters were so unfair, so un-American, that the anticommunists' unassailable case against communism sank into the muck caricatured by Herblock as McCarthyism, which became a symbol, and not just within the Left, of all anticommunism. It is not quite clear how Buhle and Wagner intend the title, "a very dangerous citizen" (which is what Congressman Harold H. Velde called Polonsky at a HUAC hearing), to be taken. But Polonsky and his blacklisted colleagues did in fact turn out to be very dangerous—to anticommunists.

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Jerome F. Shapiro. *Atomic Bomb Cinema: The Apocalyptic Imagination on Film*. New York: Routledge. 2002. Pp. x, 386. Cloth $85.00, paper $24.95.

Jerome F. Shapiro here embarks on the daunting task of rehabilitating science fiction films in general, and atomic bomb films in particular, from the critical purgatory that they have traditionally occupied. This book represents a considerable expansion on Mick Broderick's *Nuclear Movies* (1991) and includes an extensive filmography. The sheer number of often very obscure films examined by Shapiro is impressive, as is his scope, ranging from what Shapiro calls "prototypical bomb films" in the pre-1945 era up to the present. Less impressive is Shapiro's analysis; in making his case for a genre of films for which he obviously cares, he sometimes advances extravagant claims—often with little in the way of evidence—for films of only modest accomplishments.

This problem surfaces almost immediately, with Shapiro in his introduction informing us that "atomic bomb cinema is the paradigmatic site of struggle over cultural power for our time" (p. 7). At its core are "questions of death and rebirth, annihilation and salvation, and the individual and community"—all essential to the "apocalyptic imagination" (p. 17). Shapiro assembles a panoply of cultural gods, including Jacques Derrida, Erik Erikson, Christopher Lasch, and Carl Jung, and sprinkles his narrative with supposedly relevant quotations from these scholars. Reaching into a grab bag of cultural analytical tools and the jargon that goes with them, Shapiro brings forth such terms as "self-actualization," "identity foreclosure," and "matriarchal exogamic polygamy." The use of such an opaque, jargon-laden vocabulary—sure to have readers reaching for their dictionaries if not their revolvers—is puzzling, because in his conclusion Shapiro correctly notes that "the cultivation of a disdain for and an inability to communicate with mainstream society have all worked to frustrate and marginalize academics" (p. 309). It is unfortunate that his own book becomes a meditation on the very trends Shapiro professes to deplore.

A couple of examples will suffice to demonstrate the approach that prevails throughout this book. For instance, *Them!* (1954), a goofy, entertaining movie featuring giant irradiated ants menacing the human population, is subjected to an exhaustive ten-page analysis. How does one get ten pages out of such lightweight fare? Shapiro does it by making exaggerated claims for the complex social issues supposedly embedded in this film. According to Shapiro, *Them!* "acknowledges and supports the broadening spectrum of gender roles that emerged after World War II" (p. 105), and operating from this premise he finds evidence for it everywhere: When one of the main characters snags her skirt, for example, Shapiro tells us, "Patricia's skirt gets caught on the ladder as she climbs out of the plane—as though ' stuck' on the outward trappings of American womanhood" (p. 107). A similar pattern can be discerned in other films examined by Shapiro. In *Night of the Living Dead* (1968), which even Shapiro admits "appears to be a tame, low-budget, low-tech, campy, cult film" (p. 153), the Cooper family is put under siege by a band of marauding zombies. Shapiro finds the film replete with subtle psychological phenomenan and states that "the

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Coopers may very possibly represent that population in America who believe they can hide from the prevailing 'zombies': war, a crumbling economy, tumultuous social conditions, and the flaws of the patriarchal family structure" (p. 155). In another example, when the rockets are launched in *The Day After* (1983), "We see the Minute Man Rocket moving out of the ground—Eros and Thanatos are combined in the phallic projection from deep within, underground libidinal desire" (p. 188). No evidence for such assertions is forthcoming.

This book enshrouds itself in a cloud of theory, and on the occasions when Shapiro does try to ground his narrative in history, the results are often shallow. He tells us, for instance, that "secrets are about all that Americans had in the years between 1945 to 1949" (p. 51). The author champions films that nearly everyone panned (the dud *Waterworld* [1995] is praised by Shapiro as having "all the essential elements" of "an apocalyptic text" [p. 240]) and savages films that nearly everyone admired (such as *On the Beach* [1959]). The nearly universally favorable reviews of the latter are viewed as "indicative of the generally moribund and powerless state of the academic humanities and left-leaning intellectuals" (p. 93).

A number of minor problems further hobble the book's effectiveness. Many readers will be put off by Shapiro's first-person narration, and there are only eight illustrations for a subject that would seem to demand many more. In the end, however, this book is hurt most by its constant recourse to jargon and a heavy theoretical apparatus. Film is one of those cultural forms that in the past has been able to bring critics and audiences together in a shared enjoyment, but that is no longer the case. Shapiro and other scholars would do well to awaken to the crisis, and to take steps to address it by adopting a language and an approach that caters less to a filmic priesthood and more to the general public.

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KIRSE GRANAT MAY. *Golden State, Golden Youth: The California Image in Popular Culture, 1955–1966*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2002. Pp. 243. Cloth $49.95, paper $18.95.

California has long been touted as an earthly paradise: a land of golden sunshine replete with healthful climate, abundant resources, and unlimited opportunity. Kirse Granat May examines a particular manifestation of this California dream that swept the nation in the postwar era. In the 1950s and 1960s, advertisements, television programs, music, and films disseminated an image of mainstream, white, middle-class California youths throughout the United States. Tracing the rise and fall of this California image as it evolved from the opening of Disneyland to the Watts riot, May argues that the popular image of California youth had a profound impact on the identity and politics of the "baby boom" generation.

In 1955, on the outskirts of metropolitan Los Angeles, Walter Elias Disney Enterprises (WED) opened Disneyland, a modern-day theme park. As a combination fantasy toyland and shopper's paradise, the park catered to the desires of white, middle-class suburban families, promising good, clean fun embodied by an exclusionist and nostalgic image of small-town America. Disney's new television program, *The Mickey Mouse Club*, premiered three months after the opening. Showcasing "normal" white, middle-class kids from suburban Los Angeles, the show promoted moral behavior and traditional family values (p. 54). Through such programs and products, the Disney empire helped to shape and define the childhood experiences and fantasies of a generation of Americans, according to May.

Disney paved the way for other purveyors of popular culture. Film studios, music producers, and advertisers created idealized images of California youth to capitalize on the growing teen market in the postwar decades. In the mid-1950s, the shift from juvenile delinquency films such as *Rebel Without a Cause* (1955) to "clean teenpic[s]" such as *Gidget* (1959) reflected the coming of age of baby boom teenagers (p. 74). The popular success and longevity of *Gidget* (the film inspired two sequels and a television series) "helped define a marketable and attractive West Coast teenage lifestyle" (p. 75).

Gidget's popularity went hand in hand with the rise of surf music in the early 1960s. Played by clean-cut youths, this "whitened rock and roll" celebrated an idealized and sanitized teenage life of carefree leisure and California style (p. 98). Groups such as the Beach Boys romanticized the life of surfing, cruising, and having fun. As hits such as "Surfin' USA" topped the charts, a surfing craze spread across the country. American International Pictures (AIP) took advantage of this widespread fascination with a series of popular beach movies that captured the imagination of teenage audiences and served to reinforce the image of California teen culture. In films such as *Beach Party* (1963) and its sequels, AIP celebrated an endless summer of surfing, dancing, and flirting set against the alluring background of the southern California coast. Like earlier imagery that inspired them, the films promoted a white, middle-class, leisure ideal that obscured all evidence of the racial and social discord enveloping the rest of the nation. By the early 1960s, California teens had become "baby boomer archetypes" (p. 137), and the California dream had become "one of the most powerful and reassuring myths of the post war period" (p. 155).

The 1964–1965 Berkeley Free Speech Movement and the 1965 Watts riot challenged this idyllic California iconography. Images of longhaired, rebellious student protestors at Berkeley and rock-throwing, torch-bearing African-American youths in Watts shattered "the vision of conformist, happy, middle-class mem-

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bers of society" fulfilling their suburban dreams in the California sun (p. 135). A new image of California youth emerged: by the mid-1960s, California had become "the youth showplace of racial rioting, drug use, and campus upheaval" (p. 190). Exploiting this negative imagery and characterizing California as a "paradise lost," Ronald Reagan won the race for governor in 1966 with a landslide victory (p. 172). Reagan's election ushered in a conservative resurgence grounded in nostalgia for the California dream that foreshadowed a larger political shift to the right. May concludes that Reagan's victory "demonstrated that images of California youth . . . were potent in the realm of politics, just as they were in popular culture" (p. 175).

Growing out of rising scholarly interest in the import and impact of popular culture in American history, this book presents a terse, synthetic chronicle of the prescriptive image of California youth in popular culture during the postwar era. May examines the coming together of a particular place and time that has saturated the popular imagination but received relatively little scholarly attention. Despite the fact that this supply-side history gives scant evidence of the response to or reception of the popular imagery it describes, the book provides an interesting assessment of the relationship between popular imagery and political realities.

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JAMESON W. DOIG. *Empire on the Hudson: Entrepreneurial Vision and Political Power at the Port of New York Authority*. (The Columbia History of Urban Life.) New York: Columbia University Press. 2001. Pp. xix, 582. $49.95.

The Port Authority of New York and New Jersey (called the Port of New York Authority from its founding in 1921 until 1972) is the first and still one of the most powerful public authorities created in the United States, and the inspiration for seven thousand or more such authorities (such as the Tennessee Valley Authority) created in the United States in the twentieth century. Begun as a Progressive effort to promote cooperation between New Jersey and New York in the interests of maintaining the dominance of the port of New York, the Port of New York Authority became the dominant builder of the modern New York region. It built and/or operated, among others, the George Washington Bridge, the Holland and Lincoln Tunnels, the New York and Newark Airports, the first containerports at Port Newark and Elizabeth, the Port Authority Bus Terminal, the PATH train, and the World Trade Center, which it owned until just a few months before September 11, 2001. Its national influence goes well beyond these physical creations: it fought to protect the tax exemption of municipal bonds in the 1930s, successfully battled the monopoly power of the airline industry in the 1940s to achieve a fairer and more modern air transportation system, and persists as an example of the possibilities of regional government.

The last serious history of the Authority was written in 1942. Nearly sixty years later, the Authority has finally found its biographer. This book is remarkable in the depth and scope of its research and in its narrative drive. It is certainly the definitive study of the Port Authority. And yet, while this remarkable feat might be enough, it is in a way secondary to Jameson W. Doig's primary interest, which is to analyze the role of leadership of public institutions in a democracy. The book uses the ups and downs of the Port Authority—and particularly the effectiveness of its key leaders—to explore if, how, and when entrepreneurial visionaries can succeed in leading public organizations.

Historians who have spent decades seeking to undermine the "great man" theory of history may pause when confronted in the introduction with a firm endorsement of the "biographical perspective" (p. 14) and a sketch of the key figures—founder Julius Henry Cohen, chief engineer Othamar H. Ammann, and empire builder Austin Tobin—who dominate the next 500 pages. New York historians in particular have worked desperately to get out from under a narrative of postwar New York history dominated by the personality of one man, Robert Moses, who occupies that position in large measure because of Robert Caro's epic *The Powerbroker* (1974).

Doig assists the effort by showing the importance of the less well-known Tobin, who led the Port Authority from 1942 to 1972 and was at least as influential on the physical and economic shape of New York as Moses. But he does far more than replace Moses with Tobin. Doig's approach to the role of individual leaders is far more sophisticated than Caro's, or most historians' for that matter. It was not Tobin's personality and unquenchable lust for power that made the Port Authority succeed. Rather, Tobin used expert staff (something the Progressive-era organization had long depended upon), employed remarkable political savvy, organized national grassroots campaigns when necessary, and held firm to a rigorous code of public ethics to build his "empire on the Hudson."

Doig leaves the story of the Port Authority in the early 1950s, when the Authority had completed a decade of unprecedented growth, achieving the "empire" of the book's title. In light of renewed interest in the history of the World Trade Center, it is our loss that Doig's work does not take the history of Port Authority up to the present (although he does give offer a thirty-page epilogue on the history since the 1950s). Taking the story up to the present also would have forced Doig to question his emphasis on entrepreneurial leadership, whose success is largely defined in terms of the organization's strength and energy. There is a strong dose of the modern-day public policy school approach here, with the ability to "get things done" valued above the effectiveness of specific achievements in improving the economy or individual lives. A study of the 1970s and 1980s would have shown

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how the Port Authority's earlier emphasis on the automobile and its willingness to participate in the sacrifice of manufacturing in the region fostered the economic decline of the 1970s.

While Doig suggests that the Port Authority is an organization both "marvelous and disturbing to behold" (p. 2), he clearly believes in the goals (if not always the actions) of its founders and enlightened leaders. He believes in the possibility of ethical leadership that remains accountable to and responsive to a democratic public. He believes in the power of government to improve people's lives. For his willingness to entertain these beliefs in this privatized age, the book deserves to be read widely, not only by New York historians but by all those interested in the role of government in improving American life.

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WENDELL PRITCHETT. *Brownsville, Brooklyn: Blacks, Jews, and the Changing Face of the Ghetto*. (Historical Studies of Urban America.) Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 2002. Pp. xi, 333. $35.00.

Wendell Pritchett has written a remarkable social and political history of Brownsville, a section of eastern Brooklyn, that will set the pace for all future analyses of the ghetto. It demonstrates that a great deal may be learned about American history in general by looking at the past century through the lens of communities like Brownsville. The author compares Brownsville not only to the Lower East Side but also New York City to Chicago and Detroit. Not the least of Pritchett's comparisons is the one between the early Jewish community in Brownsville and the more recent African American and Puerto Rican communities there.

In 1861, real estate speculator Charles Brown bought land in the area and named it Brownsville. Brown developed some shacks to attract Jews from Manhattan, and industry soon followed. Within a few decades Brownsville had changed into "a dense neighborhood of tenements holding the largest concentration of Jews in the United States" (p. 10). Pritchett has written a compelling study of the changing racial, ethnic, and class dynamics in Brownsville since the 1880s. Brownsville was born as a Jewish working-class tenement community, lower in socioeconomic status than the Lower East Side; by the 1960s it became a black and Latino community, stigmatized as one of the poorest ghettos. The class conflict that shaped the political, social, and cultural life of the early Jewish ghetto established the foundation for the struggles of African American and Puerto Rican activists in the 1960s and 1970s.

Avoiding "culture of poverty" and "underclass" misconceptions, Pritchett shows a vibrant working-class culture articulated in the originally Jewish immigrant community. In the early twentieth century, Brownsville was a center of socialist activity, including the Brownsville Labor Lyceum. That lecture hall was not only the Socialist Party headquarters but also a political and cultural center for the working-class community providing music, theater, and political education. The Brownsville Labor Lyceum hosted important socialist speakers such as Norman Thomas and A. Philip Randolph. Pritchett reports that before the 1919 Red Scare, the Brownsville Socialist Sunday School attracted a thousand students weekly. The socialist movement in Brownsville also boasted a cooperative bakery, a bank, a consumer league, and tenant organizations. Thus, Brownsville became an immigrant Mecca in the early twentieth century.

The progressive political culture that infused those early socialist experiments was a living force in Brownsville throughout most of the century, and the established political parties paid attention, because they wanted to undermine the strength of the radical tradition in a working-class stronghold that was electing socialists like Abraham Shiplacoff to the New York state assembly and the New York board of aldermen. A key leader in this maneuver was Hymie Schorenstein, "the first Jewish Democratic District leader in Brooklyn." During the Palmer Raids, the government raided the Brownsville Labor Lyceum and arrested several members of the Socialist Party. When workers reelected several socialist assembly representatives, the legislature not only removed them from office but also (with Schorenstein taking the lead) "gerrymandered Brownsville into three separate assembly districts to weaken the power of the socialists" (p. 38).

In addition to direct government repression, some business people sought to prevent union organizing by threatening and beating labor leaders and workers. As the union-busting gangs grew in strength, mobsters in Brownsville "subsisted on petty extortion, small-time-money-lending, prostitution, and control of local taverns" (p. 45). World War II brought profound changes. As upwardly mobile Jews searched for better housing, they moved out of Brownsville. At the same time, large migrant populations of African Americans and Puerto Ricans searched for affordable housing in that neighborhood. While some came from the South and from Puerto Rico, other people were refugees from Robert Moses's large development projects in Manhattan and the Bronx, which dispossessed blacks and Latinos.

In contrast to the tale of racial hatred and violence in white working-class Detroit and Chicago told by Thomas Sugrue, Arnold Hirsch, and Thomas Philpott, Prichett shows that Jewish Brownville's leadership "lobbied hard for public housing" for the new residents (p. 63). Jewish organizations like the Brownsville Boys Club and the Brownsville Neighborhood Council tried to solve the community's serious urban problems. The local Boys Club was a place where black and white youth shared dreams of an interracial America.

At first it was difficult for Brownsville to secure public housing, but it ultimately became the site of the largest concentration of public housing in the city. The progressive leader of the Brownsville Neighborhood

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Council, Milton Goell, insisted that the root cause of slums was not race but simply poverty. Pritchett shows that black and white community leaders in Brownsville were complicated people working on difficult problems. At first they fought for racially integrated schools and economically integrated housing, as opposed to segregated public schools and exclusively public housing developments. They also worked together to win the important 1962 strike of Beth-El Hospital Workers led by Local 1199. That struggle galvanized a new generation of leadership for the "war on poverty" and the civil rights movement.

Rather than a mix of publicly sponsored middle and low-income housing, however, Brownsville became the site of the largest concentration of public housing in New York City. And when all the attempts to integrate the public schools failed, including violent reactions to busing, black and white community activists turned to community control of schools as another option. Pritchett paints a sympathetic portrait of the controversial Ocean Hill-Brownsville School Demonstration Project and the 1968 teachers' strike. In the aftermath of those community struggles, there has been ongoing community service and development work, including the impressive Nehemiah Houses, as Brownsville has worked to hold on to and attract upwardly mobile families.

Pritchett writes with the grace and clarity of a mature historian, making many complex matters comprehensible. Teachers and students alike will appreciate this book, which will take its place next to Sugrue and Hirsch as a standard text in urban studies and urban history courses. The book offers some exceptional insights about the role of working-class communities in American history—lessons that could be useful far beyond the classroom.

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MARY LETHERT WINGERD. *Claiming the City: Politics, Faith, and the Power of Place in St. Paul.* (Cushwa Center Studies of Catholicism in Twentieth-Century America.) Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 2001. Pp. xiii, 326. $29.95.

Urban myths die hard. Most people understand that Chicago is no longer the hog butcher to the world and that Milwaukee is no longer a brewing capital. But it is a bit unsettling to hear that Minneapolis and St. Paul never were the "Twin Cities." Although joined by proximity, kinship, and economic ties, Mary Lethert Wingerd argues that these two metropolises of Minnesota are dramatically different in many ways. Wingerd sets out to explain the uniqueness of St. Paul. The result is a challenging and well-written urban history that draws religion and even "great men" into its narrative.

Wingerd argues convincingly that the two communities have distinct civic identities. Minneapolis is more Protestant, Republican, wealthy and antilabor than Catholic, Democratic, working-class, labor-friendly St. Paul. The two communities engaged in a spirited rivalry in the early years of the nineteenth century and St. Paul managed to hold its own for a time, but eventually it was compelled to give way to the more sharp-elbowed, profits-oriented business acumen of Minneapolis. Class, religion, and ethnic differences compounded the deteriorating relations between the two cities. Ultimately St. Paul and Minneapolis settled for a mutually agreed on isolation from one another. So disdainful did St. Paulites become of their neighbors across the river that even the strongly militant labor solidarity of the 1930s did not rouse union sympathies during the tense 1934 Minneapolis truckers' strike. St. Paul's labor establishment simply went its own way.

Skillfully using the tools of social history, Wingerd unravels the mysteries of St. Paul's civic identity. She relies on her skills as a working-class historian, and identifies the significance of place and social environment as active forces in her narrative. In her account, the Catholic Church and Irish Catholics, the majority in St. Paul, were able to play a key role in city politics and labor relations. The agency of the church and its leaders provided the framework for the negotiation of a functional but informal urban covenant that allowed the community to distribute power and prestige in a way that assured urban peace. Wingerd does not avoid giving credit to two "great men" who played a pivotal role in St. Paul's civic evolution: railroad mogul James J. Hill and Archbishop John Ireland. Both men helped to create a stable and productive civic environment—one that could negotiate concerns over class, wages, and public policy with some success—at least for a time.

Wingerd's attention to the role of the Catholic Church in the shaping of St. Paul's civic identity reflects a growing trend among urban historians such as Kathleen Neils Conzen to scrutinize more carefully the complex social forces that shape urban life. Wingerd also acknowledges the work of Ellen Skerrett, one of the best historians of the Catholic neighborhoods of Chicago. For Wingerd, Catholicism was a glue that helped keep St. Paul together and stable. This book is sponsored in part by the Cushwa Center for the Study of American Catholicism. The ambitious task of director R. Scott Appleby to write the Catholic experience into the history of twentieth-century America is ably served by Wingerd's book.

Wingerd notes important changes in the civic covenant over time as new circumstances compel new strategies to "deliver the goods" of urban peace and stability. World War I and its concerns about loyalty frayed the social covenant in St. Paul. A militant committee on Public Safety determined to quell dissent of any kind in the city launched an ambitious crusade against the war-dissenting Non Partisan League. It also used the cover of patriotism to attack the gains made by organized labor and to stigmatize labor demands as disloyal. A strike by street car men

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against the Twin City Rapid Transit Company (TCRT) in 1917 was the signal event that launched the "War of St. Paul." St. Paul's labor establishment, long used to playing a carefully nuanced role in civic affairs fought against this characterization, but to the dismay of workers, Catholic leadership, which had been associated with the TCRT, soon abandoned its traditional role of social arbiter. When the workers threatened violence, Catholic sources condemned them in no uncertain terms. Working-class St. Paulites, their previously negotiated place in the community threatened, did as most working-class people did in the era of Warren Harding and Calvin Coolidge: they beat a hasty retreat.

St. Paul succumbed to the lure of the open shop in the 1920s. However, the Catholic Church eventually came to the assistance of the shattered city and sought new ways to bridge sharp class and socioeconomic divisions and to assist in renegotiating a measure of common civic identity. Ireland's successor Austin Dowling represented the more subtle, low-key mode of working the city's socioreligious realities to create a bond among St. Paul's denizens that lessened the potential for violent conflict. A generally easy attitude toward city vice and the return of a popular local politics further restored some measure of amity to St. Paul. Across the way, Minneapolis, long a bastion of antilabor sentiment was preparing to face its test in the dark days of the Depression. St. Paul could only look on with bemused disinterest.

Wingerd uses a remarkable array of sources to tell this story, including diaries, letters, vignettes of working-class life, and a blow-by-blow account of the labor disturbance and political maneuvering. The book's occasional descent into minutiae at times leaves the reader a bit detached from the main narrative, but it also provides the kind of painstaking detail a respectable local history ought to include.

Some may disagree with Wingerd's emphasis on the agency of the Catholic Church in cementing St. Paul's social covenant. However, urban historiography has a long way to go before it over argues the role of prominent social institutions the dynamics of urban life. When one strips away the veneer of myth and economic determinism that often frames urban history, one sees the rich intertwining of people, place, values, rituals, and kinship bonds that undergird a city. Wingerd's love for St. Paul has produced such a study. Every community should be blessed with so competent a historian.

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Nelson Lichtenstein. *State of the Union: A Century of American Labor*. (Politics and Society in Twentieth-Century America.) Princeton: Princeton University Press. 2002. Pp. xi, 336. $29.95.

Convinced that democracy and the labor movement are inextricably linked, Nelson Lichtenstein explains why a movement originating in the Progressive era to transform workers lives through union power lost its purchase on the national conscience beginning in the 1950s. He assumes that a "larger, more powerful and more democratic trade-union movement is essential to any progressive resolution" of contemporary social politics. His narrative of the rise and fall of the modern labor movement stresses ideas more than the everyday experiences of the movement and the workers in it, and he also incorporates the latest research on gender and race. Most important, Lichtenstein maintains that "the history and future of the nation's labor question remains primarily one of ideas, ideology, and social combat . . . labor's greatest deficit [today] is of the ideas necessary to again insert working America into the heart of our national consciousness" (p. 19).

So committed is Lichtenstein to the power of ideas that he credits the years 1934–1937, a period of mass unemployment for workers and instability for unions, as the acme of the labor movement rather than the more halcyon period after World War II, when union density reached its peak and the labor movement brought prosperity and justice on the job to millions of workers. He suggests that success in the post-World War II era turned union leaders into agents of the state, bureaucrats who shed innovative ideas, practiced provincial politics, shared retrogressive gender and race attitudes, and rendered the labor movement impotent against an employer and Republican-Southern Democratic antilabor crusade. He denies that a labor-management accord characterized the era from 1948 to 1973 and that "the terminology of social peace and cooperation" actually suffused "the language of either labor or management" (p. 99). What *Fortune* heralded as the "Treaty of Detroit" negotiated in 1950 between General Motors and the United Automobile Workers, Lichtenstein interprets as "a product of defeat, not victory." So corrupt and backward looking had the practitioners of "business unionism" become by the 1950s and 1960s that the political, intellectual, and academic left, once handmaidens to labor's rise, became the union movement's most strident critics, condemning collective bargaining as a dead end for workers, most especially the women and racial minorities among them. The leftist critique of trade unionism prompted by the dissolution of social movement unionism opened the unions to attack by their political and business enemies. As Kennedy-Johnson liberals, labor leaders, in Lichtenstein's view, occupied "an increasingly stolid and unresponsive center, not on the dynamic frontier where they had once defined, and stretched, the limits of conventional politics" (p. 187). Perhaps he imagines that if labor leaders had besieged the Pentagon with Norman Mailer's "armies of the night," joined Columbia University students in occupying the campus, demonstrated on Chicago's streets in the summer of 1968, enlisted in the movements of the future rather than the past, they might have thwarted the drift of working-class families and voters away from social democratic politics.

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A tendency to romanticize the radicalism of the 1960s and to pay homage to the scholars of "whiteness" and gender gives the book a split personality. Lichtenstein credits the labor movement for numerous substantial advances in the material conditions of working people and for doing more to benefit African-American and women workers than other institutions. He has no doubt that the situation of workers was far better between 1941 and 1973, when unions waxed relatively powerful, than it became after 1973 as union density and power diminished. And he insists that the future well-being of working people and the prospects for a more humane politics depend on the revitalization of the labor movement. Indeed, Lichtenstein sees that revitalization occurring as the union idea again becomes honorable on the nation's campuses and among intellectuals and as the new American Federation of Labor-Congress of Industiral Organizations leadership rejects business unionism in order to participate in fruitful exchanges with students, scholars, and writers. Yet we read of a labor leadership whose excessive masculinity and commitment to "whiteness" marginalized the nonmale, nonwhite majority of workers; of reforms, most notably social security and fair labor standards, that discriminated against women and nonwhite workers; and of a union movement that was more powerful in the depths of the Depression than at height of union density in the 1950s. Lichtenstein wants to have it both ways: to vindicate and to praise the union movement as the institution most beneficial to working people and as the sine qua non of a democratic society, yet to condemn labor leaders who failed to follow his preferred political, gender, and racial practices. Ironically, in several instances where he condemns the political choices made by labor leaders, they had followed the preferences of their members, the sine qua non for democratic unionism. Finally, Lichtenstein wants to liberate workers' desire for solidarity and collective action by merging the union idea with the "rights consciousness" of the late twentieth century, a notably individualistic concept.

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Kenneth C. Wolensky, Nicole H. Wolensky, and Robert P. Wolensky. *Fighting for the Union Label: The Women's Garment Industry and the ILGWU in Pennsylvania*. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press. 2002. Pp. xi, 275. Cloth $45.00, paper $19.95.

This book is a significant addition to the history of the U. S. garment industry and labor movement. By focusing on the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union (ILGWU) in the Wyoming Valley of Pennsylvania from the 1940s to the 1960s, the Wolenskys have integrated a "non- New York" story into the canonical history of the ILGWU.

As the authors relate, the ILGWU developed in the Wyoming Valley with the growth of runaway garment factories in the 1930s, when surplus labor increased due to the decline of the hard coal industry and a new transportation line facilitated shipping between Pennsylvania and New York. The union did not make significant strides, however, until 1944, when Minnie Lurye Matheson arrived. With the support of women garment workers and her husband Wilfred (Bill), Matheson endured many hardships, including the murder of her brother, and yet managed to build a strong union in the area. By the time she departed for New York to lead the Union Label Department in 1963, the Wyoming Valley District, with its nearly 10,000 members, had become the second largest ILGWU stronghold in Pennsylvania and a major social and political force in local affairs.

The Wyoming Valley story, however, does not have a happy ending. As the authors relate, the ILGWU began a long decline in the 1970s, and so did its Wyoming Valley District in Pennsylvania. By 1996, there were only 3,000 union members in the entire northeastern Pennsylvania area. This decline, as the authors argue, was primarily caused by low production costs overseas. Hence, the book ends with a discussion of the ILGWU's efforts to meet the challenges caused by the globalization of runaway shops and sets forth a series of questions, including whether the union can continue to face the challenges, which even the authors find difficult to answer. What is inspirational at the end of this story is that people did not forget Matheson. In 1999, the state dedicated a marker to her, recognizing that her efforts improved the lives of thousands of garment workers in the area. This study, like many other recent studies, illustrates that women made the ILGWU.

This book is largely based on material from union publications and the interviews with its officials, Matheson, her family, and those who worked closely with her. It is at its best in demonstrating how the ILGWU's culture and organizational infrastructure in the Wyoming Valley paralleled those of its other major sites in the nation. In doing so, however, the authors often miss the opportunity to explore some important issues that are little mentioned in the union's literature or rhetoric but could stimulate scholarly inquiry. For example, how might this story have been enriched if its analysis was informed by gender and ethnicity? The authors point out that, the population of this part of the anthracite region was ethnically diverse, and the local culture was so conservative that women were not allowed to cast their votes as late as the 1940s. Some citations from the interviews reveal gender and ethnic tensions, but they are not adequately addressed. A prime example of this is Matheson's effort to encourage women workers to vote with the union's backing. In her interview, Matheson considered this effort to be "a bigger revolution" than organizing the shops (p. 70). The profound cultural and political implications of this struggle have not been fully explored when the discussion ends with the authors' citing it as evidence that

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demonstrates Matheson's strategy of using the local radio to mobilize workers.

Those who are familiar with ILGWU history may also want to know whether the union's increasingly entrenched bureaucratic culture had any influence on the Wyoming Valley. Studying the dynamic generated by these tensions may not necessarily allow the authors to produce a story in line with the union's master narrative. Nevertheless, it would help to illustrate the unique aspects of the ILGWU in the Wyoming Valley and to bring out the profound meaning and human aspects of the heroic struggles Matheson and the women workers undertook. It would also help to explore the factors within the ILGWU that might have contributed to its decline, both in the Wyoming Valley after Matheson's departure and across the nation.

XIAOLAN BAO
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JOHN HINSHAW. *Steel and Steelworkers: Race and Class Struggle in Twentieth-Century Pittsburgh*. (SUNY series in American Labor History.) Albany: State University of New York Press. 2002. Ppxvii, 348. Cloth $75.50, paper $25.95.

For an industry that employed over half a million workers, steel has been slighted by twentieth-century labor historians. This has begun to change with the recent publication of a number of books that explore the industry and its workers, and John Hinshaw contributes his own thoroughly researched and nuanced, though at times overly ambitious, study of twentieth-century Pittsburgh steelworkers. At the core of Hinshaw's account is how class, race, and corporate and political elites shaped the lives of steelworkers in the Pittsburgh region. "Pittsburgh possesses a history of crushing defeats, yet also the important saga of how workers in the 1930s, and for decades after, forced the owning class to concede enormous resources back to them" (p. 255).

The book begins with a familiar account of steel corporations' growing economic and political power in the late nineteenth century and the relative powerlessness of steelworkers by the non-union 1920s. In the 1930s, aided by the New Deal, a variety of unionists and Communists challenged management's authority. The crowning achievement was the 1937 collective bargaining agreement between US Steel and the newly formed Steel Workers Organizing Committee (SWOC), which Hinshaw unconvincingly credits mostly to US Steel's desire for navy contracts and federal pressure on the corporation to abide by labor laws. Nevertheless, Hinshaw demonstrates the importance of both the New Deal and worker agency for bringing about a new and just contractual relation between workers and managers, replacing arbitrary and autocratic authority with seniority, grievance procedures, and regular pay hikes. Politically the union did not fare as well. SWOC, renamed the United Steelworkers of America (USWA), could not reinforce its economic gains with political ones. The crushing defeat of the political left in Pittsburgh after World War II, coupled with the close ties between the USWA and the Democratic Party, left workers without an independent political alternative to corporate and political elites during the postwar era.

The real strength of this book is in the postwar era and its focus on workers' class and racial struggles on the shop floor. The 1950s were marked by relative prosperity—though not middle-class status—for steelworkers. But layoffs and permanent work force reductions were constant threats. Hinshaw demonstrates the variety of collective and individual strategies workers formed for protecting their own and their fellow workers' jobs. Black workers faced especially difficult conditions. Hinshaw refreshingly places the primary blame for the discrimination on management's hiring and job placement policies; however, he also reveals the complicity and complacency of the overwhelmingly white union leadership and membership. Still, he does not simply dwell on instances of racism and discrimination, of which he offers many vivid examples. As with struggles against job losses, Hinshaw shows the complex and varied ways black workers fought for their rights against both the company and the union and achieved important advances.

The 1960s and 1970s proved worse for job security as decades of corporate decisions to forego installing the newest technology sealed the region's fate. The USWA softened the blow by winning larger pensions and transfer rights for some laid-off workers, but its increasing echoing of management's arguments for the decline—tariffs, taxation, and pollution controls—offered no effective alternative for workers. Black worker protests against discrimination by the companies and union continued, resulting in the 1973 Consent Decree, which increased both black hiring and black promotions. Hinshaw notes the accomplishments of the decree but also ably demonstrates its many limitations and the white backlash directed against it. The decree proved more critical for women's employment, which Hinshaw also traces throughout the book.

The slow bleeding of jobs led to a hemorrhaging in the 1980s, decimating the Pittsburgh region with massive plant closures and workforce reductions. Abandoned by the steel companies, led by a union incapable of confronting the situation, deemed expendable by politicians whom they had helped elect, steelworkers had few alternatives and their "anger and frustration flared, simmered, and then faded" (p. 246).

Two problems need to be mentioned. First, the book lacks a consistent geographic focus, shifting between the city of Pittsburgh and the Pittsburgh region, which includes numerous mill towns. Second, Hinshaw attempts to cover too much, thereby sacrificing depth and individuality at times. One learns much about US Steel, less about Jones and Laughlin, and virtually nothing about the independent mills in the region. Readers are also left to wonder why different mills and

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their work forces seemed to have such different histories. Nonetheless, these points should not detract from a very admirable, bold, and long-needed history of an industry and region that should appeal not just to students of steel and labor history but to anyone interested in business, urban and African-American history.

JAMES D. ROSE
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STEPHEN G. N. TUCK. *Beyond Atlanta: The Struggle for Racial Equality in Georgia, 1940–1980.* Athens: University of Georgia Press. 2001. Pp. x, 341. $50.00.

Stephen G. N. Tuck joins the new British invasion, which uses not the *Ed Sullivan Show* as its venue of entry but, primarily, university presses. The more recent invasion will not likely rock American culture from a conformist smugness as did the Beatles, Rolling Stones, and even Herman's Hermits, but participants—including Adam Fairclough, Tony Badger, Brian Ward, and Clive Webb—have made important contributions to American civil rights historiography. Tuck has written a book that qualifies him for first-class passage to America.

Using works on Mississippi and Louisiana as models, Tuck examines the civil rights movement in communities—large and small, urban and rural—throughout Georgia from the eve of World War II to the 1970s. Surveying an entire state, Tuck argues, "highlights the full diversity and complexity" of the movement (p. 8). Leadership, initiatives, strategies, goals, and accomplishments varied from place to place. Atlanta's more affluent black population was primarily interested in "social betterment," for example, while activists in the rural black belt tended to focus on segregation and voting rights (p. 58). Each community had a "style" and "story" of its own, regardless of commonalities in size, location, economies, and racial demographics.

A common variable that made a difference, Tuck maintains, was "black community institutions" (p. 3). Atlanta had tremendous organizational strength and a star-studded leadership in its churches. Sometimes in spite of churches, other communities depended more on civic organizations, labor unions, and businesses to spur collective opposition to racial discrimination. Tuck cautions against ignoring the importance of the local chapters of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP). Despite their national affiliation, they were truly grass-roots organizations, often independently assertive in establishing their own agendas, sometimes in opposition to their superiors in New York. Georgia's "leading city of protest," Savannah, had one of the most aggressive and successful chapters in the country, which by 1946 had been instrumental in getting nearly half the eligible black population to register to vote (p. 5).

The state in the early 1940s experienced an upsurge in black protest. The defeat of Georgia's white-primary system and its racist governor Eugene Talmadge helped fuel the protest. By 1946, a phenomenal 125,000 blacks had registered to vote, and fifty new branches of the NAACP "had formed into a tightly knit state conference" (p. 41). But the new electoral influence of blacks stimulated a white backlash vote that reinstalled Talmadge in the governor's mansion in 1946. The NAACP network, the black Voters' League, and the few existing rural movements disintegrated. Even the once-effective urban protests "struggled to survive" (p. 85). Tuck identifies several pockets of moderation and even persisting protest—mainly in the hill country, military towns, and Atlanta—but violent white supremacy was clearly back in charge.

The infectious Greensboro sit-ins reinvigorated statewide protests in the 1960s, spearheaded by black students (not just college but also high-school students). A more youthful and spirited leadership shaped the style of the new campaigns, as was the case elsewhere in the South. The experience in Albany, which received the most outside support, is the most familiar to scholars, but it was not necessarily representative of cities that were economically and demographically similar. Rome and Brunswick made the transition from Jim Crow with relative ease; Macon required protests to force successful desegregation; and Augusta and Columbus suffered defeat. Tuck offers an insightful interpretation of the events in Atlanta, which was allegedly too busy to hate, and he highlights the inspiring success of a remarkably unified intergenerational campaign in Savannah. Again, the local NAACP proved instrumental. The movement "initially bypassed" rural Georgia except for the southwestern part of the state. The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee launched a major "project" there (of which Albany was a part) in 1962. Conditions for blacks in the region resembled the racial oppression in the Mississippi Delta. Local law-enforcement officers mounted a ruthless defense of the system, and after a three-year struggle, the campaign collapsed, marking the end of the larger movement's direct-action phase in Georgia.

Tuck devotes his last chapter to the important six or so years following passage of the Voting Rights Act of 1965. The 1966 election of the arch segregationist governor Lester Maddox was a reminder of the limits of earlier successes. The struggle for school desegregation and black political empowerment continued into the 1970s. The persisting problem of economic deprivation led to the creation of community improvement associations, and institutional racism lingered into the twilight decades. Despite these problems, Atlanta and other urban areas made honest efforts to become more racially inclusive, while a few rural areas languished in the dark ages of Jim Crow.

If the reviewer is obligated to quibble, then this one would express regret that Tuck deprived his reader of hearing enough of the voices of the more than one hundred people he interviewed, particularly women. Even though he maintains the importance of women to

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the movement, their agency in the Georgia struggle seems somewhat slighted here.

Tuck is correct to conclude that no single monograph can do full justice to the civil rights struggles of an entire state. The movement in Georgia was too disjointed and can be captured more fully in individual community studies. Even so, a state-wide study such as Tuck's fine work illuminates the "uneasy tensions" between rural and urban areas and the uneven progress between communities, and it raises the bar against reductionist interpretations (p. 250). This record may not go gold or platinum as did *A Hard Day's Night*, but it certainly deserves recognition.

JACK E. DAVIS
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ALLISON GRAHAM. *Framing the South: Hollywood, Television, and Race during the Civil Rights Struggle*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 2001. Pp. xi, 224. $32.50.

In her probing, provocative, lively, but also sometimes frustrating book, Allison Graham looks closely at Hollywood film and television depictions of southern blacks and whites during the heyday of the civil rights struggle to discover how and why film and television images and narratives "framed" general public perceptions of "the South" and racial relations. She argues that Hollywood films and television programs of the 1950s and 1960s largely cast black and white relations within a limited range of imaginative possibility and concealed racial ambiguities with stereotypes that rendered southern life as grotesque and the "redneck" as the cause of all troubles. In the post-*Brown* era, black-white confrontations on the screen yielded to white-on-white ones. So powerful and pervasive were such images that they became almost the only "truth" outsiders "knew" about "the South." Indeed, rather than try to map the complicated southern racial and class world(s) by their own observations, print journalists and commentators reported the South of civil rights days in clichés and caricatures. They dredged up stereotypes of redneck ruffians especially to "explain" rabid racism and thereby absolved the "better sort" of southern whites from the madness. "White trash" rather than institutional racism was the culprit. And as the Bull Connors of the South spat defiance into the news cameras, they seemed almost to be playing out the scripted versions of media-made lower-class white atavism. With fictions and fact seemingly converging on the big screen and in news footage from the front lines, no one could see—and historians, too, often later missed, Graham insists—the other Souths in which poor and rural whites might (and sometimes did) work quietly to effect school desegregation. But, as Graham shows, all was not lost, for film and television in the late 1950s and into the 1960s also promised the reeducation and even reclamation of the poor white southerner. Elvis Presley's unabashed fusion of black and rural white music and style in his early career, Andy Griffith's transformation from hill country huckster of film to a small-town North Carolina sheriff full of down-home wisdom in *The Andy Griffith Show*, and the arrival of *The Beverly Hillbillies* all signaled the change. So, too, the emergence of the southern resister as hero in westerns, as early as *The Searchers* (1956), and the redemption of the southern law man, as in *In the Heat of the Night* (1967), allowed for the possibility that white southerners might be saved, even from themselves.

Graham's often original readings, and entertaining renderings, of the aforementioned films and shows, along with detailed analyses of *The Three Faces of Eve* (1957), *A Streetcar Named Desire* (1951), and *Sayonara* (1957), among several films, chart the tangled routes whereby race became subsumed by class and then rediscovered. She reaches widely in her literary, film, and television references, which she juxtaposes with civil rights events to suggest how the former "framed" the latter but also how film and television fiction sometimes offered a competing narrative as to race and civil rights. All this is well and good.

But Graham's focus on media-made images and motifs obscures other sources for what nonsoutherners and southerners thought about "the South" and civil rights. To be sure, some news reporters from the 1950s borrowed from the big and small screen in working up the southern "type," but the reporting of the day followed no single narrative. Nor were all the media images of a kind. Graham shrewdly observes how particular actors, such as Marlon Brando and Andy Griffith, shaped particular performances and their own personas, but she imputes motives to filmmakers and television producers with regard to the images they used that are not always sustained by the evidence. She sees collusion where there was as likely only convenience. For Graham, seemingly all images were (and are) purposeful and carry great metaphoric meaning. In that regard, audiences count for little in her (re-)constructions of Hollywood and television images. Indeed, Graham ignores audience expectations, demands, and patronage as factors affecting what movie makers and television producers offered up as fare. Stereotypes, clichés, and recycled stories recur because audiences pay to see them. Box office more than social construction ruled (and rules) movie making and television production.

Such concerns notwithstanding, Graham has written a book very much worth reading. It is at once entertaining and instructive, and it makes "real" the reel South as no other book to date.

RANDALL M. MILLER
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MARK NEWMAN. *Getting Right with God: Southern Baptists and Desegregation, 1945–1995*. (Religion and American Culture.) Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press. 2001. Pp. xii, 292. $39.95.

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In 1995, media trumpeted the Southern Baptist Convention's adoption of a resolution repenting its complicity in slavery and the sin of racism. One hundred and fifty years earlier, the convention organized after splitting from fellow Baptists over the issue of slavery; the new denomination adamantly endorsed it. In some ways, the 1995 resolution closed the circle. Mark Newman looks at the time between World War II and the adoption of that resolution, a half century when the entire nation struggled with matters of legal segregation and civil rights. Using the Southern Baptist Convention, which during that half century moved from being the largest Protestant denomination in the South to the largest one in the nation, as a case study illuminates how religion and society are intertwined and how religious institutions grapple with change in the culture that sustains them.

Newman identifies three clusters within the Southern Baptist Convention in the last half of the twentieth century that approached matters of race in different ways. At one extreme were those who stridently affirmed racial segregation, using many of the same tenuous biblical arguments that their forebears had mustered in defense of slavery. At the other pole were those who condemned racism and aligned themselves with activists working to dismantle legal segregation in the South and elsewhere. But the largest group consisted of "progressives" who were at first ambivalent about matters of race, tending to see segregation and civil rights as political, not religious, matters and naively hoping that the emerging conflict in the larger society would not interfere with the church's mission in seeking the conversion of sinners.

Much of Newman's story revolves around the convoluted process by which this more centrist majority came to undermine the biblical support for segregation and move the denomination in the direction of espousing racial inclusiveness in theory, if not in practice. Prior to the Supreme Court's landmark *Brown v. Board of Education* decision (1954), most progressives endorsed the principle of "separate but equal" but called for genuine equality when it came to employment, voting rights, and the administration of justice. The *Brown* decision spurred progressives to rethink their position, based on the longstanding Baptist principle of support for the legitimate authority of government and obeying the law. Yet progressives rarely called for integration, although more began to question claims made by fellow Baptists who insisted that white supremacy and racial segregation were mandated by God in the order of creation.

Forces within Southern Baptist circles also spurred rethinking. As the federal government enacted stronger civil rights legislation in the early 1960s, Baptist agencies, particularly denominationally related colleges and seminaries, were among the first to abandon segregationist policies, planting seeds of change among future leaders within the convention. Much of the struggle was echoed in state convention meetings and especially state Baptist newspapers, a major cohesive force within the denomination.

Pressure to abandon racist policies and positions also came from those engaged in overseas missionary work. Those on the front lines of carrying the Baptist message around the world, especially in areas like Africa and Asia, repeatedly argued that racism at home thwarted their abilities to preach the gospel. The Baptist commitment to evangelism thus helped undermine support for segregation.

Yet within local congregations, Newman argues, change was slow to come. Most pastors avoided preaching about race, fearing that differences among members would cause splits in their churches. By the 1970s, however, most state conventions and most congregations had moved into the mainstream of southern society, accepting the end of segregation in principle, while not always in practice. Indeed, by 1995 when the convention adopted its famous resolution, few congregations were racially inclusive, and, with the most theologically conservative members controlling denominational machinery, expectation that the denomination as a whole would make decisive moves toward genuine inclusiveness was muted.

Newman draws on an array of primary sources, particularly state convention records and state Baptist papers, along with histories of local congregations, to craft this important work. Occasionally repetitious, Newman's effort represents a model for the new denominational history and complements Joel L. Alvis's *Religion and Race: Southern Presbyterians, 1946–1983* (1994). All who study southern culture and religious life will benefit from his analysis.

CHARLES H. LIPPY
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JOHN P. JACKSON, JR. *Social Scientists for Social Justice: Making the Case against Segregation*. (Critical America.) New York: New York University Press. 2001. Pp. xii, 291. $45.00.

This book should be viewed as a revulsion against what its author, John P. Jackson, Jr., calls a "distorted" "historiographical outlook" of the social scientific "activities in the *Brown* litigation" (p. 5). As such, it is an attack on the arguments of a number of prominent psychologists, historians, and social critics—persons such as M. Brewster Smith, Walter Stephen, Harold Gerard, James T. Patterson, Daryl Scott, David Hollinger, Harold Cruse, and Charles Murray. For Jackson, the aforementioned scholars are nabobs of negativism, for they have argued "that social scientists stepped outside their role as scientific experts when they testified that segregation was damaging" (p. 5). As a consequence, Jackson views it as his task to contextualize the experts' arguments in *Brown* in order to determine whether or not their testimony in the courts could be "justified by their standards of 'scientific' objectivity" (p. 5).

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Basing his thesis on a wide reading of manuscript sources, court cases, and secondary works, Jackson defends the interventionist orientation of psychologists such as Kenneth Clark and his colleagues and thereby assigns the blame for the failure to successfully desegregate most of the public schools either to the timidity of the Warren Court's "all deliberate speed" metaphor or to the rejection during this period of the potential of a more gradualist approach.

Although I concur in Jackson's argument that psychologists played an exemplary role in the *Brown* case, I nevertheless have reservations about the narrowness of his focus. First, Jackson's assertions that during the interwar years social scientists argued "that all races had equal intellectual and physical abilities" and that "differences in IQ scores between African Americans and white Americans were no longer viewed as proof of racial inferiority but as proof of the cultural bias inherent in the testing procedure" are overstated (p. 7). To be precise, Jackson has failed to contend with the skepticism—rather than advocacy of racial equality—that characterized social scientific thought on the capabilities of African Americans. As early as the 1960s, Thomas Gossett and George W. Stocking, Jr., demonstrated that the paradigm of white racial superiority was undermined not by some assertion of African American equality, but rather by the demolition of the evidence on which that claim was made. What social scientists argued during the interwar years, in other words, was not that the races were equal but rather that there was no scientific basis for the claim of white intellectual racial superiority. To put this argument more precisely, all whites were not assigned superior positions to all African Americans; yet social scientists held that the average intelligence of most African Americans was lower than that of most European Americans and that African Americans would not produce proportionally as many—to use Franz Boas's words—"men of high genius" as European Americans. In short, social scientists spoke in terms of "approximate equality" and "individual differences" rather than in the language of African American racial equality.

Furthermore, Jackson, in his preoccupation with the "cultural bias" of IQ tests, ignores the early works of African-American social scientists that were published in the Urban League's organ, *Opportunity: Journal of Negro Life*, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People's *Crisis*, and the Howard University-based *Journal of Negro Education*. African-American scholars much as Charles S. Johnson, Howard Hale Long, Horace Mann Bond, Herman Canady, Martin D. Jenkins, Joseph St. Clair Price, and Doxey Wilkerson between 1923 and 1936 tended to argue that socioeconomic factors—not cultural ones—were most salient in the racial differentials in IQ test scores. Finally, it should be noted that the psychologist Otto Klineberg admitted during World War II that the attempt to create an IQ test free of cultural biases was impossible.

The above reservations should not detract from the strengths of this book, which lie in its delineation of social movements involving the effective collaboration of scholars of African-American ancestry and those of the Jewish faith, the contribution of a few social scientists in anthropology and sociology to court decisions, and the role of the African-American legal wizards Robert L. Carter and Thurgood Marshall.

This is a very good book that is well worth reading.

VERNON J. WILLIAMS, JR.
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HENRY L. MINTON. *Departing From Deviance: A History of Homosexual Rights and Emancipatory Science in America*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 2002. Pp. xi, 344. Cloth $65.00, paper $20.00.

In 1949, Alfred Kinsey wrote to his homosexual informant and volunteer collaborator, Thomas Painter, about the detailed sexual journal Painter had been sending Kinsey: "I think this is building into one of the most significant diaries that has ever been kept . . . It has done a great deal for our thinking, and I hope that we will be able to pass on enough of it to the rest of the world to effect [*sic*] everybody's thinking" (p. 185). Painter's diary was never published; however, we are greatly indebted to Henry L. Minton for drawing Painter out of obscurity and bringing to light the rich sexological work of American homosexual researchers of the mid-twentieth century.

Minton has mined the archives of the Kinsey Institute and numerous medical libraries to reveal the extensive contributions of Jan Gay, Alfred Gross, and Thomas Painter: three unappreciated homosexual collaborators in landmark sexological studies. Minton further explores the motivation of the numerous homosexual research subjects who participated in these studies. Minton's monograph is beautifully written and well contextualized, thanks to an introduction reviewing Victorian sexology and a closing chapter on the depathologization of homosexuality. Although the material in these bookend chapters has been covered in other works, Minton's concise review helps support his claim that homosexuals have been engaged in emancipatory science in Europe and the United States for a century and a half. However, it is Minton's extensive documentation of the life and work of Gay, Gross, and Painter that is a significant, and often poignant, contribution to our understanding of American sexology and of gay and lesbian social history.

"Jan Gay" (born Helen Reitman of American parents in Germany) was an educated lesbian with an eclectic career as a journalist, translator, writer, and promoter of nudism. While in Berlin in the 1920s, she became impressed by the research of Magnus Hirschfeld's Institute for Sexual Science and learned how to administer Hirschfeld's exhaustive psychosexual questionnaire. She interviewed three hundred lesbians in Berlin, London, Paris, and New York. However, she needed medical backing in order to legitimize and

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publish her research and in 1934 she began a collaboration with Robert Latou Dickinson, a noted gynecologist with progressive, feminist leanings who had published works on fertility, marriage, and sexuality. Dickinson believed it was important to study lesbianism in order to better understand heterosexuality. Gay recruited Thomas Painter, recent graduate of Union Theological Seminary who had independently begun a study of male prostitution, to assist in launching a study of homosexual men and women in New York. Because of funding problems, Dickinson eventually organized an independent group to supervise and fund Gay's and Painter's research: the Committee for the Study of Sex Variants.

The committee's extensive research is primarily known thanks to a two-volume monograph, *Sex Variants: A Study of Homosexual Patterns*, published in 1941 by committee member, psychiatrist George W. Henry. The committee's work has been well examined in Jennifer Terry's *An American Obsession: Science, Medicine, and Homosexuality in Modern Society* (1999). Minton, however, offers more extensive details on Gay and Painter's methodology and the psycho-ethnographic wealth of the more than 200 homosexual life stories they collected. Minton particularly criticizes the ideological distortions introduced by Henry in writing up the data. Gay and Painter had recruited informants eager to demonstrate that they led productive, well-adjusted lives; therefore they were willing to share intimate personal details and allow themselves to be subjected to intrusive physical examinations. Instead, Henry was able to manipulate the data to support his eclectic theories that homosexuality was a social maladjustment resulting from organic and psychological pathology.

Despite this pathologizing perspective, Henry was unusually sympathetic toward homosexuals at a time of increasing societal and police persecution. From 1937 until his death in 1964, Henry supported the research of Alfred A. Gross, a highly educated, closeted homosexual man who collaborated with Henry and most likely ghost-authored articles on men convicted for homosexual offenses and men who gathered at typical homosexual pick-up locales. Henry and Gross concluded that these largely underprivileged men were socially maladjusted because of both constitutional and developmental factors. However, as with other offenders, proper familial and social interventions might have prevented their sociopathy.

Painter, like Gross, was a highly educated homosexual with a privileged background and early aspirations to a religious life, although far more open about his homosexuality. After meeting Gay, he recruited hustlers for the Sex Variants study and eventually completed his own book manuscript on male prostitution. Through the intercession of Dickinson, the manuscript came to the attention of Kinsey in 1943. Although not prepared to sponsor the manuscript's publication, Kinsey befriended Painter and engaged him as a recruiter of subjects for Kinsey's own research. The two corresponded regularly and Painter donated his library, manuscript, and other materials to the Kinsey Institute. Painter was no queer activist (as Minton tries to suggest). He was deeply ambivalent about his sexuality and was committed to the medical model of homosexuality as a pathology, so much so that Kinsey criticized Painter for this moralistic prejudice. Yet Painter movingly appealed for social acceptance, and his scientific endeavors were driven by this desire for societal understanding.

The challenging task of destigmatizing homosexuality would be taken up in the 1950s and 1960s by Kinsey, Evelyn Hooker, and Frank Kameny. Minton provides an especially fine account of the role of gay firebrand Kameny in challenging accommodationist homophiles who believed only science could rehabilitate homosexuals in the eyes of society. Somewhat against the grain of Minton's own argument, Kameny argued vehemently and astutely that science was irrelevant because scientists only reiterated cultural prejudices and bolstered them with pseudo-objective data. The persistence of Kameny and other post-Stonewall gay radicals, assisted by newly emboldened gay psychiatrists, ultimately culminated in the 1973 declaration by the Board of the American Psychiatric Association that homosexuality was not in itself a form of psychopathology.

Minton's epilogue brings us up to date by noting the explosion of psychological and sociological work on homosexuality (often by gays and lesbians) that has argued for the psychological well-adjustment of gays, homosexual couples, and gay parents. Minton does not mention the recent debates over genetic research on homosexuality, which many gay critics, such as Terry and Edward Stein, view as a dangerous collaboration between gays and science that threatens to slip into eugenics. Minton's is a more optimistic, arguably meliorist, take on the liberatory potential of scientific research for gays and lesbians. As such, it provides a valuable, and richly documented counterbalance to the science critics in queer history and science studies.

VERNON A. ROSARIO
Los Angeles, California

M. L. TINA STEVENS. *Bioethics in America: Origins and Cultural Politics*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 2000. Pp. xv, 204. $39.95.

A relatively new field, bioethics rapidly established itself in research institutes, universities, and hospitals. M. L. Tina Stevens offers a critical re-examination of bioethics and its origins. In *Strangers at the Bedside: A History of How Law and Bioethics Transformed Medical Decision Making* (1991), David Rothman argued that the rise of hospital ethics committees and the Karen Ann Quinlan case (known as the "death with dignity" case) brought "outsiders" into medicine to interfere with and overrule physicians. Stevens analyzes things differently. Bioethics, in her view, did not subject

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medicine to outside rule but protected physicians and assisted in advancing biomedical research.

Bioethicists locate the beginning of their profession in the 1960s; Stevens locates it in the 1950s. The noise of the 1960s, she argues, has obscured the origins of bioethics and the fact that doctors and geneticists themselves first invited nonphysicians to offer guidance. As physicians used resuscitation machines, they found themselves enmeshed in the process of prolonging the suffering of the dying. The International Congress of Anesthesiologists sought help from Pope Pius XII, and a 1957 papal encyclical declared that stopping a resuscitation machine was acceptable if the purpose was to end suffering. The Quinlan case later gave the incorrect impression that physicians typically insisted on maintaining resuscitation of the dying. (Physicians' anguish over patient suffering and their desire to change the situation parallel physicians' distress about women dying in septic abortion wards, which led many to support legalization of abortion in the same period.)

Stevens focuses her attention on the 1968 Harvard Medical School Committee to Examine the Definition of Death. This committee produced a new code that "redefined" death. Death, it determined, need not be defined by cessation of breathing and heartbeat but could be defined by unresponsiveness and lack of brain activity. Although the committee pointed to the suffering (and expense) caused through the prolonged use of resuscitation devices when the patient's brain was irreversibly damaged, Stevens argues that this was misleading. Resuscitation technology was not new and, more important, physicians already had outside support for removing resuscitators. The truth was that a new definition of brain death was needed by researchers and surgeons involved in human heart transplantation. The best hope for successful transplantation was a still-beating heart. But by the standard definition, a brain-dead individual on a respirator was still "alive." Redefining death—and gaining a consensus within the profession and then in the law—might still potential public alarm and allow scientific research to progress. "Human heart transplantation was, in fact," Stevens declares, "experimentation on human subjects conducted in complete view of an awestruck public that believed it was seeing the latest miracle" (p. 82). Left unexamined is why Americans celebrated open experimentation.

The new "brain death criteria," Stevens writes, "wrought havoc for Karen Ann Quinlan and her family" (p. 109). Fearing potential liability, Quinlan's physicians took the unusual step of refusing to stop the breathing machines unless the patient was "brain dead." For Rothman, *Quinlan* (1976) replaced medical autonomy with court authority. Rereading the case, Stevens finds that the court affirmed a patient's right to "privacy" but immediately retreated from the implications for patient power. The court did not order physician or hospital to act in a specific manner. The Quinlans could ask the doctor to remove their daughter's ventilator, but the court did not require medicine to comply. Instead, the court said that removing a resuscitating machine could not be construed as murder, thus protecting medicine by removing the threat of criminal prosecution and affirming medical decision-making authority.

Insightful through it is, I find this slim volume to be too slim. For instance, Stevens argues that bioethicists were moderate in comparison to radicals who argued for more thoroughgoing change in medicine and society. Yet she limits her brief analysis to a handful of intellectuals. She mentions neither social movements, such as the medical left or the women's health movement, nor the many events in the early 1960s that provoked public, journalistic, and congressional concern about biomedical research and practices, such as the Thalidomide tragedy, the raging debate about the birth control pill, or, later, the Tuskegee Syphilis Study. Physicians' reliance on the pope for help also deserves greater attention.

Ultimately, the innovations and court decision most associated with bioethics, Stevens shows, were less rooted in concern about the abuse of patients than in researchers' and biomedical institutions' desires for the freedom to pursue new medical technologies and their need for protection from legal liability. Bioethics has served more as a "midwife" (p. 159) to new medical research and technologies than as a critic. These findings should concern all of us. Stevens's critical analysis of bioethics is a valuable revision.

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JOSEPH A. PALERMO. *In His Own Right: The Political Odyssey of Senator Robert F. Kennedy*. (Columbia Studies in Contemporary American History.) New York: Columbia University Press. 2001. Pp. xv, 349. $32.50.

Few have as profoundly influenced American political culture in so brief a time as Robert F. Kennedy, brother protector of the slain thirty-fifth president, attorney general (1961–1964), New York senator (1965–1968), and assassinated presidential candidate, still widely known by his initials. Focusing on RFK's pursuit of the presidency, Joseph A. Palermo concludes that his subject, "profoundly affected" by the 1960s spirt of "citizen mobilization" (p. ix), sought "common ground among peoples of diverse racial, ethnic, and class backgrounds" and consequently attempted to reshape the Democratic Party by building an electoral "coalition of working-class whites, African Americans, Latinos, youths and others" (p. 257).

Palermo amalgamates the titles of two early books, David Halberstam's *The Unfinished Odyssey of Robert Kennedy* (1968) and William vanden Heuvel and William Gwirtzman's *On His Own: Robert F. Kennedy 1964–1968* (1970), and he covers much the same ground as Jack Newfield's *Robert Kennedy: A Memoir* (1969). Positing that RFK's "life was intertwined with

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the social activism and elan of the 1960s" (p. 257), Palermo faults those first-hand accounts because none "utilize archival sources to explore [RFK's] relations with civic groups, citizen activists, and social movements of the period." Relying extensively on RFK's senate papers, correspondence, presidential campaign files, and other materials at the Johnson and Kennedy presidential libraries, Palermo's objective is to present RFK's "evolving critique of the Vietnam War, his views on racism and poverty, and his communication with his growing national constituency," particularly his "crucial dialogue" with the peace movement (p. x).

Students of the 1960s are apt to wince at use of the word "dialogue" to describe RFK's communications with the antiwar movement, which, as Palermo's sources make clear, consisted principally of RFK soliloquies in response to activists' challenges and the war's changing circumstances, especially the 1968 Tet Offensive. Opposition to the war, in Palermo's view, is the central issue of the times. Accordingly, he analyzes differences within the RFK camp between the centrist, pragmatic advisors (Fred Dutton, Theodore Sorensen) who counseled patience, warning against promoting dissension within the party, and the persistent prodding of younger antiwar staffers (Peter Edelman, Adam Walinsky, Richard Goodwin) who ultimately persuaded RFK to offer strategies to end U.S. involvement in the war. Yet, as Palermo notes, RFK refrained "from challenging the dominant national symbols of patriotic duty as well as the central tenets of the Cold War" (p. 117).

The author industriously catalogues RFK's positions on the Vietnam War, from first "reservations" expressed in January 1966 to the final break with President Johnson in February 1968; painstakingly dissects RFK's resulting political dilemma and tensions within the Democratic Party leading to his decision to challenge for the Democratic presidential nomination in 1968; and adroitly traces RFK's efforts to mobilize mass citizen involvement through a "New Politics," culminating with RFK's triumph over Senator Eugene McCarthy in the California presidential primary. Along the way, he documents RFK's contacts with activists in the antiwar, labor, poverty, and civil rights movements.

Generally sustaining Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr.'s monumental *Robert Kennedy And His Times* (1978), Palermo adopts a similarly liberal interpretation of RFK's motives and the political climate from 1964 to 1968. Subsequent developments in the trajectory of American liberalism beg a fresher interpretation. RFK and other liberal Democrats mistakenly assumed that President Johnson was the only issue (p. 61), thus ignoring the conservative issues abundantly evident by 1966. Similarly, Palermo's analysis, sympathetically focused as it is on left-liberal activism, ignores or degrades the conservative ascendancy, impugning its advocates as populist opportunists, relegating its nascent dimensions (concerns over rising taxes, personal security, and federal regulation) to "code words" used to conceal their contempt for the masses. Robert Kennedy better understood the complexities of those issues and responded to them with greater adeptness than Palermo attributes.

Palermo draws two particularly provocative inferences, evoking questions unanswerable by the resources marshaled for this study. First, he is convinced that at the time of his death RFK was "on his way to winning the Democratic Party's nomination for president" at the Chicago convention (p. 248), arguing that RFK was "the only Democratic politician who could speak the language of the old politics with machine stalwarts such as Mayor Richard Daley, while still engaging in a constructive dialogue" with protestors (p. 253). Second, he labels RFK the "indispensable leader" of 1960s progressive activism (p. xi), suggesting that his death alone stalled progressive momentum. All said, however, this agile and richly documented narrative contributes substantially to the political history of the 1960s.

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H. W. BRANDS. *The Strange Death of American Liberalism*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 2001. Pp. xiii, 200. $22.50.

"Who killed liberalism?" H. W. Brands opens with this provocative question. He provides a rough definition of liberalism as confidence that the federal government can "accomplish substantial good on behalf of the American people." Between the 1960s and the 1990s this belief died. Why? The breakup of the Cold War consensus undermined liberalism. For Brands, the Cold War was "anomalous" (p. x)—his favorite adjective—"by the standards of American history" inasmuch as it caused Americans to "put aside their traditional distrust of big government" (p. xi). Paradoxically, liberals, who undid the Cold War accord, killed liberalism.

To make this argument, Brands offers a breezy summary of history. By page twenty-six, he has already concluded that neither the Federalists nor the Populists and New Dealers had convinced Americans of "the merits of more-active government." Yet he turns to a "conspicuous exception." During periods of war and national emergency, Americans accept temporary government expansion and liberal state policies. However, World War II never ended—or it issued into the Cold War. Cold War liberalism peaked with Lyndon B. Johnson but prospered even under Richard M. Nixon, who sponsored the establishment of the Occupational Safety and Health Administration, a *bête noire* of conservatives. The Vietnam debacle broke the Cold War consensus and with it "the popular faith in government" (p. 125). Liberalism limped along through the presidencies of Jimmy Carter and Bill Clinton, but Ronald Reagan and George H. W. Bush sealed its doom.

This is not so much conventional history as a

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self-professed argument; it is also a smoothly written extended essay—sometimes too smoothly written, with overcute asides and subtitles such as "Saint Ron and the Dragon" or "Between Iraq and a Hard Place." Brands seeks to provoke, which is fine, but his argument sports so many holes and assumptions that even sympathetic readers will shake their heads. For starters, his thesis could be turned on its head. War and national defense emergencies may not be the exception but the norm. From the War of Independence in the eighteenth century to the Civil War in the nineteenth and the world wars of the twentieth, wars led to enlarged government power. The Cold War with its government funding of higher education and highways may typify American history. Moreover, while the September 11 attacks postdate this book, the "war on terrorism" ratifies the notion that wars regularly emerge to enlarge Washington's domain.

In addition Brands's interpretation of the Vietnam War seems perverse. For Brands, the fall of Nixon marks the end of the Cold War consensus and the demise of liberalism, which for him includes leftism. Apparently 1960s radicalism counts for nothing; his radar screen barely picks up feminism, the civil rights movement, or a youth rebellion. Moreover, he states several times that liberals invented the Cold War but makes no effort to explain what he means by this. Were anticommunism and McCarthyism simply liberal inventions?

Unfortunately, the author's definition of liberalism proves too narrow to support his argument. Liberalism demands more than faith in government; sometimes it entails attacking government. Even using his own definition, however, Brand's approach stays too much on the surface. His criterion for declining liberalism is falling confidence in government, and he cites Gallup polls as evidence. Yet this does not suffice. Americans regularly deride big government when asked and yet turn to it for Social Security, Medicare, flood control, education loans, safe airplanes, clean air, and highways. This is true for both conservatives and liberals. Indeed, Brands waffles when discussing the upshot of the antigovernment program of the Newt Gingrich years. He offers no nuts-and-bolts evidence that big government has diminished with conservative presidents, probably because it has not. The present conservative government wants national testing of students. Does this exemplify distrust in the federal state?

A conservative politics and ethos has blossomed in recent years, but exactly what does this mean? Brands does not take us very far. He might have dug deeper into the contours of liberalism. Fifty years ago, scholars like Lionel Trilling in *The Liberal Tradition* (1950) and Louis Hartz in *The Liberal Tradition in America* (1955) announced that American conservatism did not exist; Americans were fundamentally liberals. Now Brands proclaims the opposite, but he needs to add more muscle and bone to his argument. In an epilogue to *Liberalism and its Challengers* (1992), Alonzo L. Hamby stated that despite conservative presidents, the liberal "reverence for individual rights, an acceptance of majority rule, a basic welfare state, and a commitment to American international involvement remained the basic American ideology" (p. 395). To this familiar position Brands offers an intriguing but unconvincing rejoinder.

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CARIBBEAN AND LATIN AMERICA

RICHARD E. W. ADAMS and MURDO J. MACLEOD, editors. *The Cambridge History of the Native Peoples of the Americas*. Volume 2, *Mesoamerica, part 1*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2000. Pp. xv, 571. $89.95.

RICHARD E. W. ADAMS and MURDO J. MACLEOD, editors. *The Cambridge History of the Native Peoples of the Americas*. Volume 2, *Mesoamerica, part 2*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2000. Pp. xv, 455. $89.95.

This is an impressive two-part overview of the history of the indigenous people of Mesoamerica from earliest times to the present. Twenty-three scholars participated in the writing of twenty-one chapters. As is to be expected, the contributions vary in depth and quality, but fortunately the variation is between good and excellent. The press permitted the authors free use of maps, and as a result each chapter provides the reader with a good idea of where things are and what area is being studied.

Surveying a large collection of essays is not an easy task for a reviewer. Nevertheless, some comments can be made regarding the project and the results. First, although coeditor Murdo J. MacLeod made an effort to involve scholars from Mesoamerica in the writing of the book, he admits that for reasons beyond his control he had limited success. Only one Mexican, and no Guatemalans, ended up as participants in part two. Richard E. W. Adams, coeditor responsible for part one, gives no clue regarding the process of invitation, but since his bibliography includes very few entries in Spanish by Mexicans or Guatemalans, it is possible that none of the latter were invited. Indeed, Adams is dismissive of Latin American archaeology as a whole because of its "Marxist models" (part one, p. 12). Many archaeologists would find that characterization not only inaccurate but patronizing. Fortunately, not all the contributors share Adams's hostility, and many of them bring Mexican archaeology into their analysis. Nevertheless, part one seems to be an entirely Anglo-American project and is written from an Anglo-American perspective.

Second, the title of the books is misleading. Volume two is clearly history, but volume one would be better described as archaeology. There is nothing wrong with that, but the educated reader of history might be

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disappointed because of all the detailed descriptions of sites and the methods of "dirt archaeology" with few attempts to explain what all the data mean in terms of the history of the native peoples. In part this is because of the predilections of Adams, who is extremely hostile to theory and believes that the only valid form of study is fieldwork and field methods (pp. 14–15). And so fieldwork, based frequently on the assumption that facts speak for themselves, is what we get.

Third, both of these books were in effect written in the late 1980s and then revised in the late 1990s before publication. It is not clear just how much revision occurred as a result of almost a decade of scholarship taking place between first writing and rewriting. Patterns of thinking do not always change as fast as the accumulation of information, and therefore it is best to see these volumes as a decade old. They are not, therefore, exactly up-to-date, although presumably any significant discovery would have led to substantial revision.

Fourth, although the book is about Mesoamerica, the authors do not agree on what exactly that term means. Most of the native people studied in volume two by Susan Deeds and David Frye are beyond the boundary of the region as traditionally understood and as defined by Robert and Judith Zeitlin in volume one. Some might conclude, therefore, that the book is about more than just Mesoamerica. In fact, Shirley Gorenstein, in her chapter in volume one, criticizes the whole notion of Mesoamerica because it leaves out the people of western and northwestern Mexico whom she studies. She proposes the concept of a Greater Mesoamerica. Nevertheless, she presents no demographic evidence to support her conclusion, even though population density was always one of the characteristics used to distinguish Mesoamerica from the Mexican northwest. Readers will have to decide for themselves what the term means.

Despite these caveats, it should be emphasized that these books are extremely useful. Volume one is valuable even to those not that fascinated with the techniques of "dirt archaeology," because each chapter provides the persistent reader with information needed to correct past mistakes or misleading conclusions floating around for decades. One good example is from the contribution by the Zeitlins, which presents the nonspecialist with evidence that the earliest proven examples of corn agriculture date from only 2750 B.C., almost two thousand years more recent than once assumed (pp. 78, 96). Another example is George Cowgill's conclusion that the importance of trade to the Teotihuacan state has been greatly exaggerated (pp. 287, 289). The summary of research carried out by specialists can have an impact on how most nonarchaeologists think about history. In my case, I will be revising my lectures and am also trying to revise my thinking. Any book that makes me do that is worth reading.

Volume two is going to be more interesting to historians for the simple reason that it is written by and for historians. A history of native peoples in any case is not easy to write for the simple reason that the subject of inquiry changes its identity as time goes on. By the twentieth century, the definition of who is or is not a native is not clear, for technically the term could mean anyone descendant from the native people. All the authors by necessity throw out a genetic definition and employ a cultural one, which means using the term Indian. Because of cultural change, few people qualify any more as Indians, although that is less true in some areas than in others. In short, the book goes from being a history of the native peoples to a history of Indians.

With one exception, the scholars in volume two either present their subject from the newest historiographical perspective, which emphasizes the "agency" of the native people, or from the older perspective focusing on the Indians as victims. (The exception is the contribution by Susan Deans-Smith on the people of the Gulf Coast; this chapter is entirely bibliographical in nature, and while not very interesting to many readers will be useful to scholars.) A good example of the former is Frye's chapter on the people of northeastern Mexico, which shows how they used their "Indian" identity to their advantage when they thought it useful to do so. The interpretation of the native people as victims is best exemplified by the chapter by George Lovell, who details what was done to the highland Maya but tells us little about what they did in history. It is a narrative of good guys and bad guys, and he even concludes that the colonial system was "a regime of terror" (p. 420). Perhaps this is too much of the present projected into the past. In fact, Lovell says little about the colonial regime in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

Still, it is hard not to be affected by the sad history of the indigenous people of Mesoamerica and not to be furious over the atrocities committed against them. These books do a great deal to make a large part of that history accessible in a compassionate yet not overly emotional way. The authors and editors are to be commended.

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HERNÁN HORNA. *La Indianidad antes de la independencia latinamericana*. (Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis: Studia Multiethnica Upsaliensia, number 13.) Uppsala: Uppsala; distributed by Uppsala University Library. 1999. Pp. 147.

Hernán Horna attempts to write a history of indigenous peoples in exact chronological order that does not "bypass traditional western historiography" (p. 4). In part one, he presents an excellent overview of the achievements of the pre-Hispanic Maya, Aztec, and Inca empires. He also outlines the major debates in the field, presenting a variety of interpretations. For example, he relates the myriad possibilities for transat-

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lantic and transpacific contact prior to the European arrival. Basing his conclusions on archaeological finds, he convincingly supports contact that would foreground pre-Columbian movements from Asia to America rather than from Europe.

In part two, Horna focuses on the colonial history of indigenous peoples as they confronted the vicissitudes of European colonization. True to his objective to present an exact chronology, he begins with Christopher Columbus and ends with the wars for independence. In both sections, Horna leaves no stone unturned; he is thorough and thoughtful in his treatment of both the pre-Columbian and colonial inhabitants of Latin America, although he could have elaborated more on the role of women.

Horna's work is a selective synthesis of mostly secondary sources and published primary materials. Although one of his objectives is to write a history that does not bypass traditional Western historiography, he never tells the reader why he chooses to honor one source over another. Why, for example, is it legitimate to use uncritically Hernán Cortés's *Cartas de relación de la conquista de México* to document the circumstances of Cuauhtémoc's death (p. 96) but to reject other Spanish chronicles describing Atahualpa's dismissive treatment of the Bible (p. 88)?

Horna's eagerness to present a pro-indigenous history often leads him to take on battles that have already been fought and won. For example, his charge that Western history depicted Indians as savages (p. 9) and that Spanish chronicles defamed indigenous peoples to justify colonization on moral grounds (pp. 77–78) refers to old historiography that no one in the field even considers worthy of debate. In contrast to the care he takes in part one to present all sides of a debate, in part two he frequently presents, as fact, historical interpretations that are still being hotly contested. His characterization of Tupac Amarú's rebellion as anticolonialist, for example, is in serious question, since Tupac repeatedly emphasized his loyalty to both crown and church. Conversely, Horna's lengthy arguments in favor of the existence of a form of writing among the Inca are quite persuasive (pp. 65–71).

Horna's work clears up many misconceptions about indigenous peoples while perpetuating others. He successfully dispels the notion that Indians were afraid of horses and gunpowder and believed that the Spanish soldiers were gods. However, he also maintains the myth that all mestizos aspired to be white. There is little empirical evidence to support this widespread perception. Nor is his portrayal of the Inca state as socialist a viable concept. After all, the Inca were an elite group who lived off the surplus of a peasantry.

For the most part, Horna fulfills his objective of writing an indigenous history with a chronological focus. The only place where he falls short of his goal is when he digresses to a history of the Spaniards and the political economy of the colonial project (pp. 96–130). In this part, the status of indigenous peoples devolves from subjects to objects, as Horna describes the abuses of the tribute and labor systems. Although he does mention some forms of resistance and even uses the phrase "adaptive resistance," the account is, for the most part, a history of subjugation. If Horna had taken more advantage of the sizeable bibliography of the 1980s and 1990s on historical agency, he might have been able to continue representing indigenous peoples as actors in their own history.

This book is quite well written and engages the reader. Although it says nothing new to historians of the region, it will make an excellent classroom text for Latin American and Spanish universities and will probably appeal to a Spanish-speaking lay readership. It may also be valuable to scholars of indigenous peoples of other areas who wish to acquire a quick, comparative perspective.

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STEWART R. KING. *Blue Coat or Powdered Wig: Free People of Color in Pre-Revolutionary Saint Domingue*. Athens: University of Georgia Press. 2001. Pp. xxvi, 328. $45.00.

The past two decades have witnessed important strides in research on the free colored experience in Saint Domingue. Notably, David P. Geggus and John D. Garrigus, among others, have deepened our understanding of free coloreds as planters, soldiers, and political actors. Their research has explored the cultural and demographic dimensions of free colored life. Stewart R. King offers a significant contribution to this literature by presenting a striking examination of the free colored population in Saint Domingue upon the eve of the Haitian Revolution. Based primarily on notarial records from French archives, King's book studies the inner structural workings of the island's free colored society while assessing the avenues and impact of social mobility. In the process, King recaptures some of the complexity of free colored life. Indeed, this is one of the book's most exciting advances.

Many previous treatments of Saint Domingue have presented free coloreds as a unitary group. The caste categorizations employed by colonial French officials, who perceived free coloreds as separate from whites and slaves, historically served as a source that justified homogenizing the free colored population. The influential work of C. L. R. James cemented this view in the twentieth century. His Marxist interpretation of the Haitian Revolution depicted free coloreds as an almost monolithic, mulatto middle class. Refreshingly, King's analysis demonstrates more dynamism. He shows two distinct classes comprising the upper tiers of free colored society: a "planter elite" and a "military leadership group."

The planter elite was characterized as having particularly close connections with wealthy whites (who usually provided them with their initial startup capi-

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tal), a conservative investment strategy that stressed rural landownership, and a deep interest in replicating the bourgeois values of the French aristocracy in the metropolis. The military leadership group, which had connections either to the militia, police, or army, possessed significantly fewer ties with whites, perhaps a testament to their lack of direct (or at least semi-acknowledged) family ties to the white population. Instead, King shows that members of the military group aggressively cultivated relationships with fellow free coloreds through fictive kinship and patronage. Moreover, these individuals became deeply involved in manumitting slaves, an additional source of patronage. By and large, their close proximity with free coloreds of varying social ranks made the military group more of a leadership class for the free colored population as a whole. Unlike the planters, their wealth was created and sustained with great entrepreneurial vigor. They speculated heavily in urban real estate and became involved in risky business ventures such as commercial shipping. Given that many of their number were once enslaved, King argues that their tolerance for risk matched the profile of individuals who, after lifting themselves virtually independently from slavery, would take whatever risks were necessary to assure economic success. King shows that even as the military leadership class became increasingly successful economically, sometimes approaching and occasionally surpassing members of the planter class, they did not adopt their worldview or fiscal conservatism. The military class was not a transitional class of aspiring planter elites. They remained distinct. They exhibited a greater tendency to use African surnames, they treated their slaves with distinct African cultural biases, and they retained their ties to the mass of the island's free coloreds.

King's book is organized into three sections. The opening four chapters introduce the reader to the physical and human landscape of Saint Domingue. Because this is a multiregional study, the background provided here offers valuable information for understanding the regional nuances involved in the main thread of argument. The first section also discusses various tenets of the island's military institutions. In brief, those who were employed by the militia or the regular army had quite different experiences from those who were employed as *maréchausée*, or policemen.

In the second section (chapters five through nine), King delves more deeply into the particulars of free colored society. Attitudes toward slaveholding, landownership, and entrepreneurship are surveyed. These serve as a backdrop for understanding the markers of free colored social status and appreciating how family networks propelled social advancement. Additionally, the success of free colored plantations is assessed in comparison to the enterprises of whites. Generally, free coloreds proved to be excellent estate managers and lowered their overhead costs by using family members as overseers. King further notes that many free colored fortunes were created because of the relations that black women had with white men. The centrality of women in free colored society is discussed in chapter nine. They emerge as important economic actors and household heads. However, we also see how the fairly prominent status of free colored women contributed to white society's view of free colored men as effeminate. The book closes by examining the principal characteristics of the planter elite and the military leadership group.

King's rich study of free colored society offers ready comparisons with other parts of the colonial Atlantic world. While the means of wealth and status acquisition were different in each colony, there is room to explore King's central hypothesis: do military leadership groups form elsewhere in the experience of the African diaspora? Given the proliferation of racial mixture, especially in certain regions of Latin America, do we find similar ties evolving between whites and their mulatto offspring such as those seen among the planter elite class of Saint Domingue? While not explicitly stated in his text, King's analysis further brings into question the role of the colonial state in serving as a surrogate patron in place of other white benefactors. Quite simply, the military leadership class of Saint Domingue may not have needed to develop extensive contacts with local whites because of the status and pedigree offered by military service. At the very least, through the military institution the state provided an arena for free coloreds to develop significant social resources among themselves. Do we find analogous situations elsewhere? Again, did the metropolitan state serve as a surrogate patron that mediated the provincial lives of free colored colonists in other regions of the Americas?

Ultimately, the very sources used reveal the study's limitations. Some readers may hope that the book will offer new interpretations on the Haitian Revolution. This is not King's goal, nor do his documents speak directly to such matters. Many insights can be gained, but mainly by contextualizing the study in light of the existing historiography on the Haitian Revolution.

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Alejandro de la Fuente. *A Nation for All: Race, Inequality, and Politics in Twentieth-Century Cuba*. (Envisioning Cuba.) Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2001. Pp. xiv, 449. Cloth $55.00, paper $19.95.

Alejandro de la Fuente's book is a highly ambitious study of the role of race in Cuban politics from the establishment of the first republic in 1902 to the "special period" of the Cuban Revolution in the 1990s. No monograph on Cuban history to date has placed race so squarely and fruitfully at the center of Cuba's twentieth-century history; and none has been able to combine so successfully, the way this book does, a

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sweeping political narrative with careful attention to detail, nuance, and contradiction.

De la Fuente's argument takes as its point of departure the conviction that race—its construction and representation—is inseparable from the process of nation making. This conviction has informed work on the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, in the period when the nation was being imagined and made through armed insurgency against Spain and then through formal encounter with a new American empire. But de la Fuente's work takes this perspective further in time, showing the continuing and evolving centrality of race for national politics throughout the twentieth century. He argues that especially in "periods of crisis and transformation, when competing visions of the nation and its people openly clash for legitimacy and consolidation . . . the place of Afro-Cubans in society has been vividly contested." Moving beyond debates about the "dominance of racism" and the "possibility of integration," de la Fuente persuasively demonstrates how Afro-Cubans were able to act as players in Cuban politics, securing political and social advances even as racist practices and structures continued to evolve.

Two factors account for this moderate success on the part of Afro-Cubans. First, the dominant discourse of racial democracy limited the extent to which overtly racist and segregationist practices could take root. Second, the fact that the Cuban constitution guaranteed universal male (and later simply universal) suffrage meant that political parties had to engage and court black voters, who constituted a significant portion of the voting population. Black voters—through the work of black intellectuals, social clubs, labor unions, and political parties—were able to pressure the state and to secure some measure of social mobility.

This argument, important and innovative on its own, allows de la Fuente to challenge several entrenched assumptions in Cuban history. For example, it has long been thought that after the racist repression of 1912, black political agency (and more generally political talk of race) was suppressed. Yet this book shows that, in fact, there was substantial conversation about the events of 1912 and about the state's brutal repression of innocent black Cubans, especially around election time, as political aspirants struggled to win black support in order to secure political power.

While the study emphasizes the success Afro-Cubans had in securing rights from the state, it is also centrally about the limits of those successes. De la Fuente convincingly argues that even as Afro-Cubans secured social and economic advances, there were people who tried to minimize those gains. Especially at pivotal moments of transition, very audible arguments emerged about black support for delegitimized political movements as a way to try to reverse the social gains blacks had achieved. Thus, for example, during the revolution of 1933–1934, blacks were accused of being major supporters of the Machado regime; during 1959, blacks were accused of supporting the Batista regime; and now, among conservative detractors of the current regime, blacks are accused of being a major base of Fidel Castro's power.

No evualation of this important book would be complete without some reference to the way the author analyzes the revolution itself. One of the most important scholars of the revolution, Marifeli Pérez-Stable, once stated that the academic study of the Cuban Revolution sometimes resembles trench warfare. De la Fuente provides a balanced, sophisticated account of the role of race in the revolution of 1959 in a way that avoids the kind of acrimonious debate that so often accompanies treatments of the revolution. He shows how Afro-Cubans were able to make substantial social gains in areas where the revolution succeeded (education, access to health care, job mobility), yet were unable to reverse patterns of discrimination in those where the revolution did not successfully intervene (e.g. housing, discrimination by police). Moreover, rather than treat the revolution as a coherent, unchanging entity, he stresses differences within the revolution, showing how lively debates about race, which occurred at the very beginning of the revolution, gave way to a kind of taboo around race by the early 1960s, and later to a willingness to approach the question again in limited ways after the start of "rectification" in 1986.

The breadth of the narrative, and the care and nuance with which the author makes his arguments about the centrality of race at every important transition in national history, make this book a lasting contribution to the field of Cuban history, as well as to the contemporary study of the revolution and its uncertain future.

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Eric Van Young. *The Other Rebellion: Popular Violence, Ideology, and the Mexican Struggle for Independence, 1810–1821.* Stanford: Stanford University Press. 2001. Pp. xvii, 702. $75.00.

Mexico achieved its independence from Spain in 1821 after a protracted conflict that lasted more than a decade. Understanding the course of the war and its outcome, as well as the identities and objectives of participants, remain major challenges. To these ends, Eric Van Young has made a major contribution. His book is ambitious in size, scope, and revisionist objective. Its theoretical and methodological sophistication and ecumenism challenge and reward the reader. The end result is essential reading for those interested in the history of Mexico, and a work that provides ample rewards to those drawn more generally to the study of popular upheaval in the modern world.

Most narratives of Mexico's path to independence focus on a few prominent leaders, elite ideologies, and cosmopolitan events. Rabble-rousing creole priests confront ambitious military officers, liberals and mon-

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archists debate the Enlightenment, and events in Spain drag the entire empire on a roller coaster ride, set off by the Napoleonic Wars, from absolutism through constitutional monarchy and around again. Van Young does not negate the value of these lines of exploration but notes their almost complete inability to explain the ways in which the majority of Mexicans—rural, indigenous peoples—thought about and participated in the events of 1810–1821. This, then, is "the other rebellion" to which the title refers: the actions, goals, and world views of the rural masses at the time of the Independence War.

The book is divided into three parts. The first is a collective profile of participants, drawn primarily from the evidence gathered by the colonial authorities on almost 1,300 captured insurgents. The quantitative data, supported by a close reading of a wide variety of qualitative sources, yield provocative results. The findings suggest that rebels included more indigenous men than generally acknowledged in other studies of the war. Comparison of places of origin and arrest indicate that the rebels' universe of action was intensely local. Van Young also concludes that a complex web of social relationships and understandings, rather than economic distress or ideological commitment, drove insurgent participation. The second part of the book analyzes local and regional leaders whose names are much less familiar to the audience than those of Miguel Hidalgo y Costilla, Ignacio de Allende, and José María Morelos Pavón. The roles of indigenous notables, parish priests, and bandit-rebels all come under scrutiny, as Van Young presents the consequences of New Spain's feudalization for local power relations. The bulk of this section focuses on parish priests, with results that challenge much of the received wisdom about priestly relationships with the insurgency and indeed the broader place of the clergy in colonial rural society. A dazzling deconstruction of popular violence and ideology highlights the third section of the book. A multichapter "anatomy of a riot" in the village of Atlacomulco in 1810 serves in many ways as the book's centerpiece. Here, the author emphasizes the historicity of rural uprising during the insurgency, though the broader crisis of the Spanish empire and insurrection across New Spain added further dimensions to long-term local conflicts and patterns of contention.

This book must be read with care. It is filled with complex arguments, subtle distinctions, and thick description. Throughout, the author engages in an autocritique and responds directly to potential objections to his methods and data that might come from scholars as varied as poststructuralists and historical sociologists. Indeed, along the way to his conclusions about rural folk and Mexican independence, Van Young provides a thorough tutorial on the dilemmas and possibilities of contemporary historical inquiry.

The book's conclusions reiterate the intense localism and continuity of modes of action and ideologies that characterized rural upheaval during the Independence War. Van Young asserts that indigenous peasants thought and spoke of community, not state or nation. There was little cross-class, cross-ethnic alliance, and little ideological common ground between the rural masses and those with state-level visions. The "other rebellion" of local, indigenous cultural resistance and defense of community shared the historical moment with Mexico's achievement of independence and, almost inadvertently, contributed to it, but it would be inaccurate to conflate the two into a unified phenomenon.

The book's conclusions place the author's findings in a comparative context, focusing on studies of the U.S. War of Independence and the French Revolution. This exercise strengthens Van Young's critique of models of revolutionary upheaval that emphasize materialist explanations and allow little room for cultural and ethnic structures and understandings. With treasures throughout, readers with specialties beyond those of the book's primary audience, as well as those squarely within it, will be greatly enriched by sticking with this book to the end.

RICHARD WARREN
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ENRIQUE C. OCHOA. *Feeding Mexico: The Political Uses of Food since 1910.* (Latin Ameircan Silhouettes.) Willmington, Del.: Scholarly Resources. 2000. Pp. xiii, 267. $55.00.

The management of the social conflicts inherent in food distribution have posed dilemmas for all postrevolutionary regimes. When ruling elites claim to govern in the interests of workers and peasants, popular access to food becomes an ineluctable symbol of their political legitimacy. Postrevolutionary regimes therefore face the contradictions inherent in trying to keep wage foods cheap and available for urban consumers at the same time that they must induce producers to generate an adequate supply. Like most postrevolutionary regimes, the Mexican state usually put the interests of urban consumers first, ahead of peasant grain producers. What made its strategy quite distinct, however, was its combination of pragmatism and flexibility, which allowed its extensive intervention in grain markets to become a successful tool for managing conflict and reproducing the regime's long-term political stability. Enrique C. Ochoa reveals the workings of the often opaque political process that drove the changing patterns of state intervention in grain procurement and distribution from the 1930s through the 1990s, meticulously charting its rise and fall.

This book is the first serious political history of food distribution in twentieth-century Mexico, making it an original contribution to the rich existing historical literature on Mexican social policies (e.g. social welfare, agrarian reform, housing, labor). Ochoa shows how the changing nature and degree of state intervention were closely tied to the broadly political impera-

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tives facing the regime. By keeping wage goods cheap, especially in Mexico City, the government could reinforce its more overtly political controls over organized labor and thereby benefit national industrialists—another example of what Ochoa terms the state's "authoritarian responsiveness" (p. 15). The agency mandated to carry out this mission of assuring urban food supplies and balancing urban and rural interests took different forms and names over the decades, but for clarity Ochoa refers to it as the State Food Agency. The study's main focus is on the national-level political economy issues, rather than region-specific or local dynamics such as the neighborhood or village politics of food prices and clientelism.

This book shows convincingly that government food policy was driven primarily by interest group politics. Ochoa's study therefore makes a significant contribution to the broader rethinking of the "long wave" of mid-century Mexican political stability and economic growth. This period has been cast as relatively static, as though the regime simply coasted on its revolutionary legitimacy until the 1968 student movement challenge, but recent reassessments have revealed that apparent social peace required continuous reproduction, as the regime was constantly engaged in a strategic balancing act. Ochoa's study highlights the shifting social and political pressures on the state, leading to different patterns of winners and losers from state intervention in grain markets.

The book is crisply written and clearly organized, including useful snapshot chapter conclusions. Drawing on highly original archival materials, Ochoa presents a wealth of tables and original data. The chapters are divided in terms of persuasively distinct stages of the ebb and flow of state intervention, concluding with an analysis of the puzzling compatibility between long-term state intervention in grain markets and Mexico's persistent poverty.

The study's main limitation is that the detailed, systematic coverage of state policy during most of the twentieth century is not sustained in the final discussion of the contemporary period. The State Food Agency was dismantled, but several of its key food distribution programs live on, most notably the means-tested "targeted" subsidies such as the urban milk and tortilla distribution programs that still reach millions of families. While the government abandoned grain producers under the cover of NAFTA, it continued to subsidize millions of rural consumers by supplying more than 20,000 village food stores (a program that survived in spite of repeated attempts by neoliberal policy makers to eliminate it). The state withdrew from grain markets with one hand but reintervened with the other, sustaining a set of large-scale policy tools that helped to buffer the political cost of Mexico's wrenching economic restructuring in the late twentieth century. This point only serves to bolster Ochoa's main conclusion, however, which is that when it comes to an issue as politically sensitive as food, state imperatives and interest group politics can trump the ideologies of state managers.

JONATHAN FOX
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SILVIA BRENNWALD. *Die Kirche und der Maya-Katholizismus: Die katholische Kirche und die indianischen Dorfgemeinschaften in Guatemala 1750–1821 und 1945–1970.* (Beiträge zur Kolonial- und Überseegeschichte, number 81.) Stuttgart: Franz Steiner. 2001. Pp. 287.

This book analyzes the Catholic Church's work in the rural parishes of western Guatemala during the Bourbon reform era of Spanish colonialism and the quarter century between the overthrow of the republic's "liberal" regime in 1944 and the onset of the genocidal military repression after 1970. Silvia Brennwald's primary conclusion is what she describes as a paradox: while institutionally and economically powerful, the Catholic Church of the late colonial period had little success in reforming the Mayas' practice of Catholicism. By contrast, during the mid-twentieth century, when Guatemala's Catholic Church had lost much of its privileges and wealth and started from a position of weakness in the rural areas, it was able to achieve major changes in the Mayas' religious practices.

During the Bourbon reform era, most priests in the Maya regions tolerated unorthodox religious practices and superstitions, such as ancestor worship, nahualism (the belief in animal alter egos for each human), and shamanism. The priests and bishops were highly dependent on the Maya communities for their income and well being. In the conflict between their mission to dominate the Mayas spiritually in accordance with orthodox Catholicism and their own material interests, they frequently chose the latter. While harshly repressive of any Maya behavior that threatened ultimate control and resource extraction, the clergy frequently considered it in its own best interest to pursue a policy of toleration and looking the other way regarding Maya religious practices.

After over seventy years of domineering Liberal regimes, by 1945 the Catholic Church was extraordinarily weak in Guatemala, with just over one hundred priests in the entire republic and no resident priests in most rural Maya parishes. When priests finally did return to the western highland's rural parishes in the 1950s, they confronted a flourishing Maya folk Catholicism, directed by traditional village elders, heads of *cofradías*, and shamans. Brennwald recounts the entire spectrum of developments that lead to the renaissance of the Catholic Church in Guatemala between the 1940s and 1970. It began with the vigorous campaign by Archbishop Mariano Rossell y Arellano (1939–1962) to restore the influence of the church hierarchy in national politics and institutions, combining anticommunist crusading, nationalism, and social work. The breakthrough came in the 1950s and 1960s, when

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the Vatican made Guatemala a focal point in its campaign to recover lost ground in Latin America. Just as in the original missionary campaigns of the sixteenth century, entire departments of the western highlands were now given to foreign religious orders, especially the Maryknoll Missionaries from the United States and the Sacred Heart congregation from Spain. Shocked by idolatrous, superstitious, and sacrilegious elements of Maya religious practices, the foreign priests often saw their mission as a reconquest of their parishes for Catholic orthodoxy. Their methods were accordingly draconian. They often succeeded because agrarian reform under Jacobo Arbenz Guzmán, increasing commercial penetration, and the preceding work of Catholic Action catechists had split Maya communities and weakened the traditional leadership. From eurocentric orthodox beginnings, quite a few foreign priests gradually shifted their position to one of considerable sympathy for Maya religiosity by the late 1960s, some going as far as joining guerrilla movements against the military regimes. Conservative Catholic Action groups by 1970 had often transformed into grass-roots "base communities" advocating liberation theology and demanding political reforms. Brennwald sees similarities between the early phase of these "neo-Catholic" groups and the wave of Pentecostal church foundations in the Maya regions during the 1970s and 1980s.

The author has done thorough research on both periods of her study. Her interpretations are usually sound, well grounded, and judicious, and she writes in a fresh and unpretentious style. She probably underestimates the dynamics of Maya society between the late colonial period and the 1940s, portraying the communities as more homogeneous and "closed" before the 1950s than they were. While she has more text on the late colonial period than on the mid-twentieth century, the complex and conflictive story of the Catholic renaissance of 1945–1970 to this reader appeared more innovative, and its importance for Guatemala's subsequent traumatic history can hardly be exaggerated. It is a pity that Brennwald chose to end her story just before those events. In conclusion, this book offers an informative, succinct, and judicious account of important episodes in the relation between the Catholic Church and Maya religious practices in Guatemala.

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Stephen M. Streeter. *Managing the Counterrevolution: The United States and Guatemala, 1954–1961.* (Research in International Studies, Latin American Series, number 34.) Athens, Ohio: Ohio University Center for International Studies. 2000. Pp. xv, 384. $30.00.

As the United States worked to incite a military rebellion in Guatemala in 1954, a frustrated Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) officer reminded his reluctant collaborators that "the US is the most generous and tolerant taskmaster going, that cooperation with it is studded with material reward, and that the US permits much more sovereignty and independence in its sphere than the Soviets." These propositions, which some historians cite as the principal appeals of the American empire by invitation, were tested over the following four decades by the Guatemalan people. When a United Nations historical clarification commission investigated the result in 1999, it found all the hallmarks of totalitarianism: eradication of the public sphere, a retrograde economy, systematic state terror, "acts of genocide," and the murder of 200,000 people. If the United States was so considerate of its clients, why was the cost of the Cold War so high in this corner of its backyard?

In addressing this question, Stephen M. Streeter finds abundant evidence of good intentions. The Eisenhower administration wanted to make Guatemala a thriving, centrist "showcase" of anticommunist reform and was prepared to commit funds to the enterprise. President Carlos Castillo Armas won powerful friends in the White House, industry, the press, and Congress by his willingness to cooperate with U.S. plans. "Tell me what you want to do and I will do it," he assured Richard M. Nixon. Guatemala was set for a first-rate counterrevolution, until things went wrong.

Within months of taking power, the new leadership exhibited a noticeable pull to the right. Three years later, Castillo Armas was assassinated. By then, Dwight D. Eisenhower's nation builders were sponsoring the kind of regime they had most wanted to prevent: an expensive, dependent, and embarrassingly brutal dictatorship. Exhausting the store of Guatemalan and newly released U.S. documents, Streeter reveals how U.S. officials unwittingly locked themselves into rhetorical and policy positions that destroyed their project.

The Cold War frame of reference applied to Guatemala only at a distance, and the counterrevolution's first failure was its inability to draw Guatemalans into its imaginary. To justify the coup, the United States characterized the popularly elected, modernizing administration of Jacobo Arbenz Guzmán as a servile communist dictatorship that the "liberator," Castillo Armas, had replaced with democracy. Disconcertingly, Arbenz's party, even without Arbenz, remained overwhelmingly popular. Staging an electoral victory for the counterrevolution required exertions—outlawing parties, strongarming the press, riot control—that embarrassed the propagandists. Washington interpreted the growing unrest as a public relations problem and dispatched teams of consultants to scrub the regime's image, but after two failed attempts at the polls, Guatemala's democrats concluded that nonviolent routes to power were effectively closed.

Similar problems afflicted the economy. The Eisenhower administration's grand plans to diversify Guatemala's economy with tourism, banking, and oil development vanished into the gap between rhetoric and

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reality. Measures to "open" Guatemala's markets attracted few investors. Coffee prices dropped, and for three quarters of the population incomes actually declined. Before the coup, Guatemala ran regular budget surpluses, but Castillo Armas and his successors were chronically dependent on aid to make up for the regime's unwillingness to tax its elite clients. Washington conferred aid as a marker of legitimacy, virtually assuring that lots of money would be spent with no developmental effect. Streeter shows how Guatemalan nationalism, either the economic chauvinism of the regime or popular resentment against U.S. manipulations, stymied development experts at every turn.

Guatemala confirms the observation that the United States can accomplish least where its influence is greatest, but Streeter moves beyond standard explanations for this paradox. U.S. officials had little leverage over their clients, but they were more troubled by their own inability to formulate and hold to a plan. Control over the vague counterrevolutionary agenda slipped from the administration to a self-appointed "Guatemala lobby" and the growing crowds of advisors surrounding the junta. The first victim was language: the term communist applied to a specific list of individuals at the time of the coup but within months had become an all-purpose smear against critics of the regime, the embassy, corporations, or anyone capable of sending a memo. Consultants generated inflated expectations and contributed to the general miscommunication. Meanwhile Guatemala moved steadily downward on the list of the administration's priorities. The United States is an inattentive hegemon, engaged during a crisis but losing focus shortly afterward. Streeter's remarkable book offers a timely warning of the price Afghans, Kosovars, and perhaps Iraqis may soon pay for this tendency.

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BRIAN S. MCBETH. *Gunboats, Corruption, and Claims: Foreign Intervention in Venezuela, 1899–1908.* (Contributions in Latin American Studies, number 20.) Westport, Conn.: Greenwood. 2001. Pp. xii, 307. $69.95.

This book is a critical study of the tumultuous regime of Cipriano Castro, dictator of Venezuela between 1899 and 1908. Placed in the broader context of numerous foreign interventions in Venezuela, it begins with the origins of his Revolution of the Liberal Restoration in 1899 and ends with the aftermath of Castro's ouster from power by his top aide, Juan Vicente Gómez, in late 1908. Brian S. McBeth provides some new detail on the economic and political conditions that led to the 1899 revolution, a movement led by *andinos* (Andeans) mainly from the western state of Táchira. Although newcomers to national politics and unconnected to the traditional alliance of regional caudillos and commercial elites, they prevailed politically and militarily, launching a regional dynasty that would rule Venezuela for forty-five years.

Scarcely two years after the triumph of Castro's Liberal Restoration cause, the Liberating Revolution (1901–1903) broke out—the bloodiest civil conflict in Venezuela since independence. Confronted by a coalition of most major regional caudillos, who were aided and financed by American and European companies, the Castro regime eventually prevailed, thanks to the military prowess of Castro's fellow Andean general, Gómez. McBeth concludes, as have earlier historians, that the defeat of the Liberating Revolution put an end to any further successful regional revolts and sealed the central state's victory, now bolstered by a permanent and increasingly professional national army.

Much of the book examines, in sometimes painful detail, the numerous foreign claims against the Castro government, the nature and evolution of foreign mining and infrastructural investments, and the often harsh treatment of foreign investors, prime examples being the American New York & Bermudez Company (asphalt), the French Cable Company, and the German Great Venezuelan Railway. Although the author rebukes these foreign investors for questionable business practices and meddling in domestic affairs, he is even more critical of Castro's motives and policies, which he describes as totally self-serving. What McBeth provides, more than most previous historians, are the specifics of the spoils-of-office arrangements engaged in by Castro and his cronies. He lists an amazing number of personal monopolies over virtually every existing form of economic activity, including railroads, ports, mining concessions, alcohol, tobacco, matches, and beef and milk distribution. What is striking is just how rapacious a grip Castro and his cronies had on the national economy. Unfortunately for Venezuela, while they were enriching themselves, they were simultaneously stifling whatever independent productive forces were at work.

The author also gives considerable attention to Venezuela's acrimonious relations with its neighbor, Colombia, and with European powers. He highlights the famous "peaceful blockade" of 1902–1903, when Britain and Germany (and, briefly, Italy) blockaded key Venezuelan ports to coerce Castro into settling outstanding foreign claims. Internally, the "peaceful blockade," states McBeth, was actually a boon to Castro since the Liberating Revolution lost momentum in an atmosphere of ardent nationalism and united support for the regime against the foreign threat to Venezuela's sovereignty. Externally, he argues, as have others, that that affair led directly to the Roosevelt Corollary to the Monroe Doctrine and the shaping of U.S. Caribbean policy for years to come: in particular, to "assisting" Caribbean nations in their financial management in order to avoid similar incidents.

Perhaps the book's most important contribution is its reassessment of Castro's nationalism. For half a century, revisionists have portrayed the Andean gen-

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eral as a true nationalist and anti-imperialist, as evidenced by his famous proclamation in reaction to the Anglo-German blockade. McBeth, however, rejects the notion of Castro as a sincere nationalist hero and enemy of imperialism, contending that the strongman feared foreign investments would rob him of maximum control and that his antiforeign policies were dictated by his greed. The general, as so many other Latin American caudillos, never made the distinction between his personal interests and the interests of the nation.

The book is well researched, especially in archival sources, with some chapters based almost exclusively on primary sources. These include British Foreign Office records as well as numerous other British, U.S., and Venezuelan published records and contemporary newspapers. The book's greatest defect, however, is the writing itself, which is at best, pedestrian. The narrative, often hard to follow, is filled with minutiae of ownership transfers of foreign concessions, details of diplomatic negotiations, and tedious litigation. Even the chronology is sometimes confusing. Nevertheless, this book fills in some gaps in our understanding of Venezuela's turn-of-the-century transition from a semifeudal, caudillo-ridden country to an autocratic centralized state backed by a formidable national army. McBeth places Venezuela's chaotic politics and economic stagnation within the broader context of foreign power ambitions and displays of naval force and, ultimately, the rise of the United States to dominance in the Caribbean region.

WINFIELD J. BURGGRAAFF
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DAVID SOWELL. *The Tale of Healer Miguel Perdomo Neira: Medicine, Ideologies, and Power in the Nineteenth-Century Andes*. (Latin American Silhouettes.) Wilmington, Del.: Scholarly Resources. 2001. Pp. xix, 171. Cloth $55.00, paper $19.95.

This work offers a sound contribution to the growing field of the social history of medicine in Latin America. This field is very different from the descriptive, hagiographic, and institutional history of medicine practiced in some countries of the region until a few decades ago. David Sowell employs two novel approaches. First, he demonstrates the influence of political, cultural, and even religious developments on medical issues. Second, he analyzes popular healing experiences that were alternative, and sometimes opposed, to the official system of Western medicine. The latter topic has been studied by medical anthropologists in contemporary Latin American societies; however, few accounts of Latin American popular medicine respect the craft of historical research as well as Sowell does.

Antagonism, tolerance, and interactions among Western, indigenous, and hybrid medical systems are part of the fascinating story of Miguel Perdomo Neira, a traveling healer who worked in nineteenth century Colombia and Ecuador. Perdomo Neira used a variety of therapies that cannot be ascribed to a single source. He was a charismatic figure who attracted widespread support and generated public controversies. Professional physicians considered him a quack or a *curandero* (the name given in Spanish to empiric indigenous healers). Frequently, the disputes appeared in newspapers, which indicates the important role played by periodicals in validating the medical and public health ideas in Latin America.

Perdomo Neira worked during a historical period characterized by the emergence of liberalism in Colombia. For Colombian liberals, the enemies of cultural development were indigenous superstition and the traditional beliefs of the Catholic Church. They thought that medicine, science, and rationalism should be encouraged in education and society. In opposition stood Perdomo Neira, a Catholic who believed in the close relationship between Christian charity and healing and considered his work to be holistic therapy for the body and soul. Elite local physicians influenced by European medicine encouraged a reductionist and secular trend that placed the knowledge of specific anatomical and pathological lesions over the beliefs and perceptions of the patient. Such doctors saw in Perdomo Neira a menace to their attempts to control an emergent urban medical market. They tried to consolidate their precarious hegemony by diverse means such as favorable legislation and the reform of medical education.

Sowell presents details about the history of pre-Columbian and colonial medicine and the northern Andes that are not always relevant to his argument. (However, such details might be useful to readers with no background in these topics and make the book suitable for university courses.) It is also important to mention that, as a specialist in Colombia, Sowell deals more with Colombia than with Ecuador. In addition, an ideal study would have had some information on what was going on inside the hospitals and in public health. It is mistaken to consider social medicine as "household or domestic medicine" (p. 4). Social medicine was a medical current that appeared in Europe and some Latin American cities during the early twentieth century in the form of university chairs, journals, and institutes. It is understandable that the information on domestic medicine—a medical subsystem practiced by women at home—would be scarce; however, it is remarkable that the author has gathered sufficient and valuable information on the life of a popular healer, a subject that usually leaves little traces in archives and libraries.

The main achievement of Sowell's book is the adaptation of the diachronic perspective of medical anthropology to social history. His presentation of the voice and activities of a popular healer is still rare in Latin American historiography and hopefully will encourage other investigators to work in the same direction. A remarkable section is chapter four, "The Emergence of Medical Pluralism," which deals with

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the interaction and partial intermingling of Spanish, indigenous, and African medicine. Medical pluralism has been used by anthropologists to understand how Latin American people choose eclectically among different health systems such as Western, indigenous, and domestic medicine. The comparison of Perdomo Neira to other popular healers, healing cults, and folk saints in Latin America done in this chapter summarizes important studies dispersed in different articles. An appendix includes testimonials of patients treated by Perdomo Neira. This book will be read with great interest by Andean historians and medical anthropologists.

MARCOS CUETO
Cayetano Heredia Peruvian University

SARAH C. CHAMBERS. *From Subjects to Citizens: Honor, Gender, and Politics in Arequipa, Peru 1780–1854.* University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press. 1999. Pp. x, 286. Cloth $55.00, paper $19.95.

Nearly all books in modern Peruvian history fall neatly on one side or the other of independence. This distribution originally resulted from the assumption that the essential elements of the colonial construction were swept away in the two decades or more of violence and political interventions that followed 1808. The periodization has endured because of the difficulties historians have confronted when trying to master the very different documentary worlds of colony and nation. Although many have urged their colleagues to put aside their assumptions and master the archives, only a handful of historians have persevered in doing so. This book may be the very best demonstration we have had of the rich potential to be found in transgressing the old boundaries between colony and nation.

Sarah C. Chambers explores a bundle of deeply related topics in the history of Arequipa and its immediate hinterland. Her study is focused on changes in regional political culture and the conflicted process whereby subjects of a distant king were transformed into citizens of Peru. She arrives at this destination using an impressive array of archival sources that have more commonly been interrogated by historians interested in topics like identity, criminality, and family life than political culture. As a result of her ambitious research agenda, Chambers is able to offer an original and convincing discussion of how the meanings of identity and citizenship were altered by independence.

Chambers begins with a very rewarding exploration of late colonial ethnicity, class, honor, and gender. Her discussion of these now-standard topics offers surprising revelations and deepened meanings. She points out that the economy, with its somewhat compressed distribution of wealth and smallholdings, facilitated social mobility and undermined bureaucratically installed ethnic categories. Ethnicity in Arequipa was therefore complex and, in many cases, negotiable. Chambers looks closely at the relations between nearby indigenous communities and the city, finding that miscegenation and cultural adaptation did not simply mean the transformation of native Andeans into urban *castas* (castes). Instead, individuals and families moved back and forth across economic and cultural borders. In the decades after independence, indigenous self-identification declined as these communities lost political influence and suffered new economic pressures.

I was particularly impressed by Chambers's convincing analysis of honor in the postindependence era. In this case, the courts, periodicals, and streets of Arequipa witnessed an explosive convergence of inherited understandings about precedence, ethnic hierarchy and social position, and the still-plastic ideals of a newly minted civic culture and citizenship. The result was the extension of honor to new groups and the use of the language of honor in new settings. Chambers points out that this was possible in part because occupational mobility, miscegenation, and the widening orbit of Spanish cultural hegemony had already led to a broad use of *Don* and *Doña* and "white" self-identification in colonial Arequipa. By the 1830s, artisans, small-scale agriculturalists, and men and women of color self-consciously referred to themselves as honorable when confronted by authorities. Many claimed that steady work and citizenship were proxies for honor and therefore an adequate defense against the suspicions of police and courts.

Chambers is also a very useful guide when discussing the place of women in Peru's early national period. Although this is a topic with a deeper historiography, she is able to make a significant contribution. She begins with a close examination of the reforming project of the Bourbons, a period when enhanced surveillance and state intervention in local understandings of morality, marriage, and family were given a hard edge by the passions of the local bishop. Despite the ambitions of bureaucrats and ecclesiastical authorities, local customs survived the collapse of the colonial order. Chambers argues convincingly, however, that the place of women was significantly altered in the period after independence. As plebeian men gained access to the political process, women were denied the rights of citizenship and marginalized politically. Moreover, masculine domination of home and family was expanded in statute and practice with a corresponding decline in the influence of women. Judges routinely granted abusive husbands broad discretion in the use of violence against wives and daughters as a means of defending their honor. Ironically, even anticlerical liberals supported male authority as a way to diminish the presumed ability of priests to influence women.

This is a very important book that deserves a broad readership among historians of both the late colonial and early national periods. The research is impressive, the argument compelling, and the writing clear. For-

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tunately, the book is available in paperback and can be assigned for class use.

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CHARLOTTE DE CASTELNAU-L'ESTOILE. *Les Ouvriers d'une vigne stérile: Les Jésuites et la conversion des Indiens au Brésil 1580–1620*. (Publications du Centre Culturel Calouste Gulbenkian.) Paris: Centre Culturel Calouste Gulbenkian. 2000. Pp. 557.

The historiography on missions, especially of the Jesuits, in the Portuguese overseas empire favors Asia and techniques for evangelization and conversion in the context of intercultural relations. Charlotte de Castelnau-L'Estoile's important monograph takes its title from a 1582 characterization of the Jesuit province of Brazil as a "sterile vineyard." Her focus is not on the pastoral flock, on how Indians were transformed by exposure to Christianity, or on numbers of converts. While recognizing the validity of anthropological and ethnographic approaches, Castelnau-L'Estoile's purpose is to understand Jesuit culture from within, by textual analysis of the *Constitutions* and the *Spiritual Exercises*, of administrative documents produced in Rome, Lisbon, and Brazil, and of literary works by Jesuits in Brazil. She emphasizes the centrality of mission to the Jesuit ethos and to the Society of Jesus's work for the greater glory of God. Meticulously researched, written with clarity of style, and cogently and coherently argued, Castelnau-L'Estoile's fascinating and important study transcends Brazil and the Society of Jesus and reveals much about the human condition, values, belief systems, and mentalities in the early modern period.

Initial enthusiasm by Jesuits in Brazil gave way to disillusionment as to the potential of Indians for conversion and to doubts as to the most appropriate form of missionary endeavor. This monograph examines the period 1580–1620. Judicious use of different types of documentation permits Castelnau-L'Estoile to employ analytical categories and perceptions as used by contemporaries to measure success or failure. Her monograph is divided into five parts. The first describes the province of Brazil as portrayed by Fernão Cardim, who accompanied (1583–1585) the Visitor Cristóvao Gouveia on a voyage of inspection to assess what had been accomplished since 1549. Gouveia's charge was to maintain religious discipline; ensure that orders of the general in Rome were followed; mediate between metropolitan and provincial concerns; address polemical issues such as slavery, Indian marriages, and Jesuit involvement in cane cultivation; establish governance where necessary; and report his findings.

How missions were conceived of in Rome and how missionary activities were carried out in Brazil is addressed in part two in a discussion of Gouveia's regulations to bring mission centers (*aldeias*) into compliance with norms established by Rome while making allowance for local conditions. This raised the issues of governance, of linguistic skills, and the place of the mission and of Jesuits in Brazilian society. Catalogs of personnel provide the basis for part three. A limited prosopographical exercise identifies the 164 Jesuits in Brazil in 1598 by name, place of birth, age, state of health, date of admission into the society, studies, ministries, and higher education. A rare insight is provided by the profile of each member—skills, aptitudes, and temperament—recorded in a confidential second catalog. Castelnau-L'Estoile uses these sources to identify those matching the profile of missionaries. Her finding is that, paradoxically, those at the heart of the Jesuit mission in Brazil were less educated, of lower intellect, less likely than their fellows to gain advancement, and, despite a mastery of native languages, marginalized within the Society of Jesus.

"The administration of conversion" (part four) discusses the crisis affecting the Society of Jesus at the turn of the century and is an account of the vigorous dialogue between Rome and Brazil on fundamental issues: on *aldeias* as dangerous to the spiritual and physical well-being of missionaries; on the very existence of *aldeias*; and on a Jesuit role in the temporal administration of Indians. There was a fundamental difference of opinion on Jesuit engagement in the "outside" world of Brazilian economies and society, balancing exposure to conflict and controversy against establishing potentially valuable contacts and allies. The fifth part is based on literary sources—spiritual, political, and hagiographical—whose hallmark is stylistic elegance and rhetoric, each written with a specific but varied readership in mind. Missions stimulated diametrically opposed assessments, and the stationary quality of the *aldeia* and its missionaries was compared to *entradas do sertão* (expeditions to the backland), which better met a general's ideal of an itinerant mission, action, and greater edification. Such expeditions had political and diplomatic dimensions. The centrality of the written word to the process of canonization is described and the nuances and subtleties revealed in the hagiography on Father Anchieta. The volume concludes on a triumphal note with the canonization in 1622 of Ignatius Loyola and Francis Xavier. In Salvador, celebrations for St. Francis Xavier underlined the importance of feast days and festivals in the Jesuit province of Brazil and their role as bridges between Jesuit culture and Amerindian belief systems.

This is a study in the art of negotiation and of compromise. It bears testimony to how an orderly and systematic production of documents was central to the organization and authority of the society, to the power of the written word in forging and maintaining Jesuit identity, and to the intellectual acuity, mental agility, and eloquence of the producers of documents, who revealed a silver lining where others saw failure. It is a story of how experience prevailed over tenets, of

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Brazilian exceptionalism, of how the province of Brazil achieved a degree of self-determination without loss of its Jesuit identity, ethos, and sense of communion, and of how the vineyard could be made to appear to bear fruit. This book joins recent studies by Dauril Alden (*The Making of an Enterprise: The Society of Jesus in Portugal, Its Empire, and Beyond, 1540–1750* [1996]) and Gauvin Alexander Bailey (*Art on the Jesuit Missions in Asia and Latin America, 1542–1773* [1999]) to form a trilogy of works of outstanding scholarship and originality of interpretation that contribute to greater recognition and understanding of the complexity and variety of the many facets of the Society of Jesus.

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Sueann Caulfield. *In Defense of Honor: Sexual Morality, Modernity, and Nation in Early-Twentieth-Century Brazil*. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. 2000. pp. xiv, 311.

A young man in Rio de Janeiro wrote a male friend in 1922 to say that he had ended his relationship with a woman "because her parents wanted me to marry her. But I'll marry only at the police station." Describing himself as "a little gluttonous for women," he also boasted of taking the "three pennies" (virginity) of another: "I'm still feeling the pleasure but I am so scared that my heart hurts." This incriminating letter was seized by the police as part of a deflowerment case brought on behalf of a nineteen-year-old Portuguese domestic servant. Three weeks after his foolhardy admission, the young man made "right" his violation of her sexual honor by marrying his "honest" victim (pp. 1–3).

This fine monograph by Sueann Caulfield is enriched by such vignettes of interpersonal attraction and betrayal, gender conflict, and state intervention on behalf of young women of the poorer classes in Rio de Janeiro. Caulfield makes good use of 450 police investigations and trials for deflowering between 1918 and 1941 to explore notions of family respectability, the "protection" of daughters, and the art of courtship. We can see a predatory male sexuality that coexists with female naïveté in a world of double standards where even the ideal of virginity could contribute to a woman's dishonor (many men admitted having said "show me you're a virgin and I'll marry you" and then claimed she wasn't). We also learn about dubiously respectable young women (semi-virgins) who were "materially" virgin but judged not honorable (another line of male defense).

Caulfield also offers us surprises: unmarried single mothers accepted by the police and judges as "honest" heads of households as well as rebellious daughters who used sex to free themselves from unwanted familial authority. In her admirable use of these records, Caulfield joins in a rich tradition of creative research on Rio that goes back to Sidney Chalhoub's *Trabalho, lar e botequim* (1986) while extending and broadening Martha de Abreu Esteves's book on deflowering, *Meninas perdidas* (1989). Whereas those authors highlighted the cultural autonomy of the popular classes, Caulfield is far more impressed by the shared vocabularies between working-class folk and their social superiors who wrote, enforced, and endlessly debated such laws (pp. 13–14). Yet Caulfield does recognize divergences, especially a widespread popular acceptance of consensual unions and premarital sex (this did not lessen, however, the cultural and moral value accorded to the legal institution of marriage).

Her conclusions about Rio's most common recorded sexual crime could have been further strengthened through a conscious focus on masculinities. The ubiquitous *malandro*/hustler figure is clearly relevant and figured centrally in Rio's rich world of popular culture and music. Judging by José Jorge de Carvalho's recent essay, 1930s samba lyrics also fused sexist and racist stereotypes in ways that shed light on the Brazilian peculiarities that figure in chapter five's sharp but somewhat inconclusive discussion of the "importance of color in sex and marriage" (p. 145).

Caulfield innovates most radically in framing her study so as to highlight the centrality of gender in the construction of alternative national imaginaries. As she communicates quite well, the establishment of the republic in 1889 inaugurated a period of institutional and ideological ferment that intensified after 1920, especially with Getúlio Dornelles Vargas's rise to power in 1930. In her exploration of legal discussions of women's honor and honesty, Caulfield embraces legal history while avoiding the most common error made by social historians: to allow the legal setting, the grammar of the law, and its procedures to recede into the background.

Too often, discussions of honor end up reifying it more than they unravel its meaning and social significance. This book approaches honor as an evolutionary concept and shows that no one agreed on what the term meant in the Old Republic. The energy and effort the author spends in decoding legal commentaries and studying the criminal and civil codes also deserves praise, as does her preliminary effort to connect republican legal discourses of honor to the preceding colonial and imperial periods. (Linda Lewin's forthcoming monograph, *Surprise Heirs: Illegitimacy, Inheritance Rights, and Public Power in the Formation of Imperial Brazil, 1821–1889*, may answer many of these questions.)

In summary, this book opens fruitful paths for further research into the role, function, and dynamics of the production and appropriation of law by both republican legal elites and working-class common folk. In this regard, Caulfield tackles, with significant initial success, the difficult task of grasping the interconnection between elite prescription and popular practice(s) through the study of how law is made and applied.

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KENNETH P. SERBIN. *Secret Dialogues: Church-State Relations, Torture, and Social Justice in Authoritarian Brazil*. (Pitt Latin American Series.) Pittsburgh, Pa.: University of Pittsburgh Press. 2000. Pp. xx, 312. Cloth $50.00, paper $24.95.

Kenneth P. Serbin has written a marvelous book on the little-known but much-suspected dialogue between the Brazilian military regime and the Catholic Church. It is a biography of the Bipartite Commission that the army and church forged to prevent potentially explosive human rights abuses during the most repressive era in history. The army chief of staff of the Costa e Silva and Médici governments, representatives of the navy and military intelligence, bishops, and Catholic lay leaders met regularly at the headquarters of the Brazilian National Bishops Council between 1971 and 1974. The country's two most important institutions saw in each other a powerful ally that could strengthen and advance the other's agenda. The military hoped to gain legitimacy for the regime's actions. The church sought to bring the military's repressive rule to an end by infusing the ecumenical vision of social justice into the military-technocratic strategy of development (p. 223). Bishops and lay leaders were convinced that a meaningful dialogue was possible. The army's moderates hoped to shed the domestic and external image of the repressive regime by accommodating the church's human rights demand and curbing "torture by the armed forces" (p. 172).

But both the military hardliners and the church's insurgent left preferred confrontation. Ernesto Geisel and Golbery da Covto y Silva succeeded in neutralizing the army's hardliners by sacking the Second Army commanding general for his failure to prevent the death of a journalist and firing the hardliner Army Minister General Sylvio Frotas for coercing the high command to support the hard Right. But the church was not successful in reining in its left wing. Lower clergy continued to oppose the regime, and Liberation Theology became the staple of pastoral preaching by foreign and Brazilian priests. Several were arrested and tortured, and some even died at the hand of the military. It is a complex story of devout Catholic men in the armed forces, brave bishops, and idealistic lay leaders who together saved Brazil from further descending into the worst inferno.

One story in the book is particularly revealing: the death of Alexandre Vannucchi Leme, a twenty-two-year-old geology student and leader of the militant Marxist revolutionary ALN, or National Liberation Action. The Dominican Order supported ALN activities. In the late 1960s and early 1970s, both rural and urban guerrilla movements were thriving in Brazil. The United States was losing the war in Vietnam, and the Cuban Revolution set the model to emulate. The Brazilian revolutionary Left saw opportunities to end military rule. Leme was captured and brutally tortured by men and officers of the DOI-CODI (the army's Intelligence Operations Group and Internal Defense Operations Center). In one of the torture sessions, Leme died. The regime sought to cover up the incident, while the church, university friends, and Leme's family rallied, asserting that he was not a member of the ALN group. Due to the good family connection to the church as well as the growing opposition within the church to the regime, bishops, especially those in the São Paulo archdiocese, drew the line. The archbishop and cardinal of São Paulo publicly condemned Leme's death.

Serbin states that the bishops did not know Leme's connection to the ALN, and the generals were surprised to learn that torture was actually taking place. This is a bit naïve. Geisel admitted in his autobiographical interviews with researchers from the Center for Brazilian Contemporary Historical Research and Documentation (CPDOC) that an air force unit regularly ferried the regime's opponents (presumably already dead) to the Atlantic Ocean to be thrown out of the plane. Serbin raises an intriguing question: the Right also lost lives at the hands of leftist revolutionaries, but no one remembers if bishops ever presided over the funerals of these men and spoke out for them (p. 218). The church chose to be on the side of the opposition. It was not the pastor for all, and Serbin concludes that "not every one had the same human rights" (p. 218).

The book is thoroughly researched in three continents, full of insightful comments, and highly readable. The author's use of public and private archival sources and interviews with the principal participants in the Bipartite Commission, their friends, and their relatives is masterful. Serbin even interviewed the families of the tortured. It is a pathbreaking book that sets a new standard for contemporary Brazilian political history.

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DANIEL JAMES. *Doña María's Story: Life History, Memory, and Political Identity*. (Latin America Otherwise: Languages, Empires, Nations.) Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. 2000. Pp. xv, 316. Cloth $54.95, paper $18.95.

Historians frustrated by what has been written for and against *I, Rigoberta Menchú: An Indian Woman in Guatemala* (1984) should rush to read this book. Daniel James presents the testimony of María Roldán, a Peronist trade union leader, along with his acute analysis of the opportunities and tensions of oral history. One would think that historians would consider it de rigeur to twin testimony with analytical commentary, especially after the Menchú furor, but James is one of the first to do so, and he does it exceedingly well.

Doña María's testimony is an account of Peronism from the perspective of a party activist in Argentina's meatpacking industry in Berisso. The transcript is riveting for the story of a remarkable trade union leader, as well as for the ambiguities and factual

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inconsistencies in Roldán's telling of her life history. James judiciously made little attempt to "clean up" the text, not least because many of the "problems" in Doña María's narrative reflect contradictions of the historical epoch, both political and personal. The result is a highly readable life history that combines politics, personal triumphs and tragedies, and humor. Doña María's life story illuminates many of the complexities of Peronism that have long vexed historians, especially the politics of class conciliatory unionism. The narrative demonstrates, borrowing James's phrase, how Peronist unions were more about control over workers than workers' control. Yet Roldán's testimony also depicts how the rank and file pressured Peronist leaders from below. She describes how she struggled to make leading Peronists put workers' interests before capitalists' demands, threatening to quit the party if Juan and Evita Perón betrayed their promises to the working class.

James privileges four themes in the essays that follow the transcript: the problematics of oral history, memory, and the politics of gender and class. These essays are interestingly diverse. One interprets part of Doña María's story as fable and then dissects the fable to examine memory and misremembering. Another analyzes a poem written by Doña María less for its poetics than for its representation of conflicting aspects of Peronist class and gender politics. All of the essays are insightful; two are outstanding. "Listening in the Cold" is a highly original exploration of the opportunities and challenges of oral history. It is an excellent conceptual reflection on the oral historian's craft and should be required reading for everyone in the field. Informed by a sophisticated study of different approaches to "what is oral history," James maps debates on orality and memory, and in the process he advances these debates significantly. He examines the shift from a defensive position regarding the objectivity of oral sources to a celebration of oral history for providing insights into how people make sense of the past and of themselves. He concludes that, like all sources, oral histories are subjective and partial windows on the past. James recommends that historians approach testimony and oral history as they do all other material by scrutinizing their processes and relations of production. One of James's caveats is that protagonists of oral history generally endeavor to construct a meaningful narrative out of their life's raw material. Historians working with oral sources would do well to keep this insight in mind.

"'Tales Told Out on the Borderlands': Reading Doña María's Story for Gender" is another remarkable essay. James shows that Doña María's self-representation is the prototype of the Peronist ideal of the good wife and mother. Roldán justified leaving hearth and home, entering the factory, and devoting her life to trade unionism in order to provide bread for her children. As Doña María explained it, political activity was forced on her by the duties of mothering. However, James proposes that Doña María was the good mother with several twists: first, she repeatedly represents herself as born to rebel; second, she usurped her husband's role as the family's main breadwinner. James skillfully traces the gender tensions in Doña María's narrative and argues that the lack of fit between social conventions and what Doña María actually did led Roldán to represent her life in terms of the acceptable cultural models of her milieu.

James's personal reflections and his politics add to the book's considerable merits. In a refreshing departure from most history books, scholarly or otherwise, James describes his own difficulties doing oral history. Meditating on his slowness in grasping issues of importance to Doña María, James explores the reasons for what he calls his "deafness." A failed ethnographic experience with a right-wing Peronist leader leads James to ask whether empathy between oral historian and interviewee is a necessary precondition for good oral history. These and other discussions of the problems confronting historians using oral sources make this book a very sophisticated manual on how to do oral history.

The book is powerful in part because James is a politically committed historian whose research project seems not to have been driven by academicist pursuits. He explains that deindustrialization in Berisso destroyed not only factories and working-class community but also the social memory of Berisso's labor history. So his book might contribute to creating a common understanding of Argentina's past and present, James shared his research with ex-meatpackers, their children, and their grandchildren.

This important book makes original contributions to oral history, Latin American history, labor history, women's studies, and cultural studies. It will be widely read and discussed for a long time, I am sure.

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EUROPE: ANCIENT AND MEDIEVAL

CAROL G. THOMAS and CRAIG CONANT. *Citadel to City-State: The Transformation of Greece, 1200–700 B.C.E.* Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 1999. Pp. xxxii, 199. $29.95.

Why would any scholar be attracted to Dark Age Greece? It lacks all the glamour of Bronze Age palatial civilization or the freshness and brilliance of archaic and classical times. Even if one supposes that the Homeric poems provide some historical framework, the period remains essentially prehistoric, while its material culture is generally impoverished and still rather poorly known. Yet the early Iron Age (EIA) in Greece represents an era crucial for the processes whereby bureaucratic, regional kingdoms of the Mycenaean world were replaced, in the same area several centuries later, by the polis—from citadel to city-state, as Carol G. Thomas and Craig Conant put it.

Archaeologically, this ground has been traversed by

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comprehensive though austere syntheses by V. R. Desborough, Anthony M. Snodgrass, and J. N. Coldstream, all now outdated. Newer, theoretically sophisticated approaches have since been developed by Ian Morris and Susan Helen Langdon, among others. But this book is by two historians; and, although they perforce draw heavily on archaeological evidence, the goals and framework of their book are historical, putting it more in company with Moses I. Finley's *World of Odysseus* (1954) or Chester G. Starr's *The Origins of Greek Civilization, 1100–650 B.C.* (1961). The authors aim to construct a narrative of these transformational centuries but lack historical names or secure personalities to do so (only a dozen pages from the end, when they reach Hesiod and Ascra, can they write that "the story of early Greece is no longer anonymous" [p. 149]). What makes their book distinctively original is that they circumvent that anonymity by focusing on just six well-excavated sites and trying to recreate what life would be like for real people in these communities—"a Plutarch's *Lives* of places not individuals" (p. xiii). These key places (Mycenae, Nichoria, Athens, Lefkandi, Corinth, and Ascra) are arranged in chronological sequence, each supposedly representing a century from 1200 to 700 B.C. and illustrating its major features.

This novel organization has its attractions: not feeling the need to synthesize a mass of intractible and patchy data from all over Greece, the authors can concentrate on a detailed, sometimes lively sketch of each site, written in language reasonably accessible to their presumed main (student) audience. Yet structuring the book this way also serves to emphasize weaknesses in the whole approach. The six case studies are set in the Peloponnese and Central Greece only: what about the islands, or Greece north of Thessaly (where there *were* no palaces to collapse), or—especially—Crete, about which there has been a flood of recent publications reporting EIA excavation and survey work? So exclusive a focus results in the total occlusion of a primary characteristic of EIA Greece: its marked regional differentiation. In fact, the regional perspective is altogether lacking, since (despite the statement that survey archaeology is vital in providing a viewpoint other than that of excavation alone) almost no use is made of survey data, even when it exists on the very doorstep of the settlements discussed, as is the case for Mycenae, Nichoria, and (especially) Ascra.

Most unfortunate, however, is the authors' uncritical adoption of a very simplistic and outmoded unilinear model of social evolution: once the palaces are gone, the whole story becomes merely the inevitable development of complex societies from "much simpler cultures" (such as Nichoria [p. 32]). "Simple" and "complex" are themselves ill-defined terms involving dubious linkages. Pastoralism, nomadism, regionalism, and even instability are all considered hallmarks of simpler cultures. Thomas and Conant use ethnographic analogies involving big-men and chiefs and thus should know that instabilities leading to collapse can occur in all sorts of societies, sometimes regularly; their categorization (borrowed from James Whitley) of sites as "stable" or "unstable" lacks subtlety.

If we add to these shortcomings the poorly reproduced and often bizarre illustrations, the eclectic footnotes, and the poorly checked references, this becomes a book to recommend to students only with caution. Personally, I would rather have them read the earlier chapters in Robin Osborne's *Greece in the Making, 1200–479 BC* (1996) or Whitley's *The Archaeology of Ancient Greece* (2001).

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ELIZABETH DONNELLY CARNEY. *Women and Monarchy in Macedonia*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 2000. Pp. xiii, 369. $42.95.

Elizabeth Donnelly Carney's book presents an exhaustive account of the careers and identities of the royal women of ancient Macedonia from the beginnings of the Argead dynasty in the sixth century B.C.E. to the defeat of the last Antigonid king by the Romans in the second century B.C.E., discussing in total some forty-two women from the relatively well known to the completely obscure. In her first seven chapters, Carney alternates between a main narrative, with a chronological, institutional emphasis, and individual biographical essays or inserts that consider motivation and personal perspective. The inserts actually comprise the majority of the text of these chapters (in the twenty-five pages of chapter six, for example, there are roughly eighteen pages of insert on seven different women). The dual approach also extends to the book as a whole; the biographical approach dominates the first part of the book, while the final two chapters abandon the biographical approach for analytical narrative.

Although the reader can appreciate the author's desire to give these women their due, the strategy of biographical inserts frequently results in a repetitious and hard to follow narrative. A greater problem, however, is the use of the term biography for women about whom so little is known. Indeed, far from discussion of motivation and personal perspective, the essay on Apamea I is concerned with the question of whether or not she actually existed (p. 187). Even in cases of women of undisputed historical substance and significance, true biography seems beyond reach; and in her desire to speak of personal motivation, Carney frequently moves from one hypothetical may have to another, as for example, in her discussion of Thessalonice's marriage, which, depending on when she was born and where she was brought up, may have been arranged or perhaps postponed by her stepmother, Olympias. Thus, the conclusion follows that we have no information about whether Thessalonice resented the postponement of her marriage. If she did, she may have blamed Olympias, but because Olympias was

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probably the only mother she had known, perhaps not (p. 156). Similar may or may not scenarios occur throughout the biographical essays, from Cynnane may well have resented Alexander, her husband's murderer (p. 129), to Polycrateia may not have been the mother of Perseus, but it is possible she was (p. 194).

The problem lies in the evidence or lack thereof. Although Carney devotes a few pages to primary and secondary sources, her argument here essentially supports the hypothetical (or sometimes interrogative, see the series questions on page 142) mode of the narrative with the observation that ancient evidence about Macedonian women, when it exists, is usually biased and unappreciative of their distinctive participation in monarchy. Thus, interpretation and interrogation of the evidence are both legitimate and essential. Basic factual reliability as well as bias is also an issue for many of the late sources (e.g. Diodorus, Justin, and Athenaeus) on which Carney relies. The reader is warned.

Whatever one makes of the biographical sections of the book, the arguments of the main narrative about the distinctive way in which royal women participated in the Macedonian monarchy merit attention. Here, Carney is more successful in her general portrait of the dynastic character of Macedonian monarchy than in her specific argument for historical change; although her thesis is that the explanation for the fluctuations in the prominence of four royal women in the public life of Macedonia can be found in changes in Macedonian monarchy itself, that argument emerges only in the last biographical chapter on the Antigonid period, when she argues that the monarchy became (or may have become, p. 200) more of an office held by an individual than a family dynasty. (Thus the reduction in the evidence about royal women, including evidence that they had been murdered: in Antigonid Macedonia, royal wives were too insignificant to be worth murdering.)

The conclusion seems somewhat undercut in chapter eight, "Changes in the Public Role of Macedonian Royal Women in the Hellenistic Period," which shows very effectively the way in which royal weddings (beginning with that celebrating the marriage of Alexander's sister Cleopatra to her uncle and continuing on through the Antigonid period) were international events, and also how royal women came to be honored along with their husbands or sons as eponymous founders of cities or as subjects of religious worship. The latter topic leads Carney to discuss the Olympieion, Philip's monument to his family set up in the sanctuary of Zeus at Olympia after the battle of Chaeronea in 338. According to Pausanias, the round building called the Olympieion contained in his day three chryselephantine statues—of Philip, his father Amyntas, and his son Alexander—while two additional statues of Olympias and Philip's mother Eurydice that had once stood beside the male figures had been moved to the nearby precinct of Hera (Carney, p. 212; Pausanias 5.17.4). It is frustrating to have this important evidence introduced so late in the book, and, in general, archaeological and epigraphic evidence is underrepresented in the first seven biographical chapters. The important recent archaeological evidence produced by the excavations of the Vergina tombs seems to be included here almost as an afterthought in the last chapter, "Royal Female Burials."

In sum, although this is an important update and supplement to Grace Harriet Macurdy's discussion in *Hellenistic Queens: A Study of Woman-Power in Macedonia, Seleucid Syria, and Ptolemaic Egypt* (1932), less emphasis on biographical may haves and more on discoveries and developments in the field of Macedonian history and archaeology since 1932 would have produced a better book.

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KARL-JOACHIM HÖLKESKAMP. *Schiedsrichter, Gesetzgeber und Gesetzgebung im Archaischen Griechenland.* (Historia/Einzelschriften, number 131.) Stuttgart: Franz Steiner. 1999. Pp. 343. DM 98.00.

Karl-Joachim Hölkeskamp has written a comprehensive and thorough study of the earliest Greek legislation (beginning *ca.* 650 B.C.E.). The evidence consists primarily of inscriptions of laws on stone and reports by later authors such as Aristotle and Plutarch. Most of the inscriptions are incompletely preserved and their language is archaic and often elliptical, making their study difficult even for specialists. The latter, however, will welcome Hölkeskamp's study, for it certainly makes a most useful contribution to the growing literature on the subject. Especially helpful is chapter three (more than two-thirds of the book), which compiles the evidence city by city. For those not already familiar with the study of these fragmentary texts, however, this is not the place to start.

Nonspecialists need not despair, however, since Hölkeskamp has foreshadowed this present study with two earlier articles in English (as well as others in German) that set out his views in preliminary form. Briefly (and no summary can do justice to the full complexity of his views), Hölkeskamp challenges the traditional picture, inherited from antiquity, that Greek legislation originated as large-scale collections or "codes" of laws promulgated by a small number of extraordinary individual "lawgivers" in different cities (such as Solon in Athens or Lycurgus in Sparta). Rather, he argues that written laws presupposed the growth of the polis, complete with authoritative public magistrates and a central public space (the *agora*) in addition to its sacred areas. Written law began as these magistrates responded individually and piecemeal to specific crises and needs by enacting detailed and specific written laws. There is no evidence for codes in the strict sense of the term; early legislators were not thinking in broad terms of creating a comprehensive structure of rules governing the affairs of the polis but

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were responding in a pragmatic, ad hoc fashion to problems as they occurred.

Despite Hölkeskamp's diligence in accumulating evidence to support his position, many scholars remain unpersuaded by his characterization of early legislation. One major difficulty is that the surviving inscriptions probably represent only a very small fraction (quite possibly less than one percent) of what originally existed, and the fragmentary nature of much of what survives often makes our understanding of these laws problematic. Although codes in the strict modern sense certainly did not exist (and no one has ever claimed that they did), a fuller record of the archaic evidence might reveal examples of just the sort of large-scale, and to some extent comprehensive, legislation Hölkeskamp seeks to deny. And Hölkeskamp's attempt to make almost all early laws fit a single pattern often leads him to distort the meaning of the surviving texts.

That said, his careful study sets out most of the relevant evidence and sheds much light on individual texts. Moreover, his analysis of the development of the polis in this period and the place of written laws in this historical process leads to a coherent and not implausible picture that, while unprovable, provides much material for thought and should not be rejected out of hand. In sum, Hölkeskamp's full study will be indispensable for specialists in archaic Greek history and law. Others may find his articles of more interest; they are certainly more approachable.

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DAVID S. POTTER. *Literary Texts and the Roman Historian*. (Approaching the Ancient World.) New York: Routledge. 1999. Pp. x, 218. Cloth $60.00, paper $20.99.

This contribution to Routledge's "Approaching the Ancient World" series comprises four main parts "that mirror, to some degree, the process that an aspiring Tacitus or Ammianus . . . might follow in approaching the task of writing an historical work concerned with the Roman world" (p. 2): "Definitions," "Texts," "Scholarship," and "Presentation." These are complemented by extensive endnotes, a brief biographical listing of ancient authors treated (omitting, presumably by accident, Livy, who is discussed in the text), a select bibliography, and index of subjects, persons, and themes. David S. Potter discusses a broad range of ancient authors, including both the Greek and the Christian writers of the principate and considering (often by way of comparison) epigraphic and other documentary texts in addition to literary historical narrative and the ancient theoretical analyses of *historia* found in Cicero, Dionysius of Halicarnassus, and Lucian. The author also usefully traces the roots of Roman historiographical practice back to the Greeks. In contrast to C. B. R. Pelling's masterful treatment of the same subject for the Greek historian (*Literary Texts and the Greek Historian* [2000]), however, Potter's volume lacks any coherent focus. While laudably—and necessarily—touching on much recent historiographical debate (he ranges comfortably from Pierre Bourdieu to Fernand Braudel, Hayden White to Arnaldo Momigliano), Potter does not succeed in integrating discussions of, say, Leopold von Ranke and developments in the American university system with Thucydides and Lucian. Even more surprisingly, perhaps, I felt at sea when the discussion moved from ancient grammar and rhetoric to historiography, despite the author's interest in showing the connections among the three. These difficulties are exacerbated by the lack of any real attention to chronological development: the discussion is primarily synchronic, providing little sense of how (pagan) Roman historiography changed through time.

Given the constraints of the series, Potter may have been unable to spell out as carefully or in as much detail as is needed the various issues involved. (It must be said, however, that this problem does not affect Pelling's companion volume.) This leads him sometimes to oversimplify, often to introduce potentially interesting material that remains unconnected to the main argumentative thread (e.g. Jacoby's classifications, pp. 62–70; von Humboldt, p. 103; freed slaves, p. 162). Despite Potter's inclusion of many different kinds of text and his clear, and welcome, reluctance to concentrate on the "standards" (Sallust, Livy, Tacitus, Ammianus), there is no sustained discussion of any text, and those bits of Latin and Greek quoted are often mistranslated (e.g. pp. 16, 135) or mistranscribed (e.g. pp. 12, 191 n.71). There is omnipresent evidence of poor editing: in such a short book, one does not expect to find substantial repetitions (e.g. pp. 38–39, 104), and the level of fact checking and proofreading is well below par.

Beyond this, I was surprised to see comparatively little attention paid to the rhetorical aspects of Roman historiography. Although Potter concedes the oratorical nature of the genre, he looks primarily to ancient grammatical and textual scholarship rather than to rhetoric for the roots of history's preoccupation with *to prepon*, "what is appropriate" (pp. 103–106, 132–33). The connection with the grammarians is interesting, but not, I think, sufficient. Nor does he connect the fondness for "probable" narratives in historical texts with rhetorical arguments from *eikos* ("probability"). Further, Potter omits discussion of *evidentia*, *enargeia*, or other devices of "vivid narration" shared by history and rhetoric. Finally, there is no treatment of exemplarity or Roman historical memory and only a passing mention of conventional motifs in ancient historiographical writing. In a book so concerned with how "full participants in the literary culture of the Roman empire constructed their own history" (p. 1), it would seem essential to consider these extraordinarily productive areas of modern scholarship. Although a sensitive and balanced introduction to this general topic is

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badly needed, Potter's treatment is too flawed to be recommended.

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SUZANNE DIXON, editor. *Childhood, Class and Kin in the Roman World*. New York: Routledge. 2001. Pp. xvi, 282. $80.00.

This impressive volume, a tribute to Beryl Rawson, who pioneered the study of Roman children, is ably edited and introduced by Suzanne Dixon. Rawson's own essay, "Children as Cultural Symbols," focuses on the iconographic evidence, especially coins, for the system of child support initiated by Trajan. Keith Bradley exploits Artemidorus's handbook on interpreting dreams to show how people of all classes all over the empire worried about their children. (Artemidorus drew examples from travels in the Greek East and Italy and from people as diverse as a goatherd, a sophist, a midwife, a beekeeper, and a juggler.) Three themes emerge, known also from studies of the upper classes: "the high social valuation of children, the distinctiveness of childhood as a stage of life, and the fragility of children's lives."

Mireille Corbier, after warning against collecting sources uncritically, without thinking of differences of genre and not distinguishing between Roman citizens and others in a multicultural empire, collects data on what happens to a citizen child after birth: being placed briefly on the ground and raised *by the midwife*, put to the breast, ritually purified, given a name, registered. The next three articles exemplify attention to the complexities of inscriptions. All depend on Rawson's work on data and methodology. Janette McWilliam discusses the commemoration of 782 children in epitaphs from city *columbaria*, Ostia, a section of *Regio* I and *Regiones* II, VII, VIII. In contrast with the reserve preached by philosophers, the middle and lower-class parents who commemorated children (like aristocrats whose reaction to children's deaths is attested by literary sources) wanted their children remembered. Initially, they may have been inspired by fashions set by the elite. But, increasingly, what they chose to say on tombstones was influenced by the need to speak to their peers (a conclusion reached also by Nicholas Cofod in a recent thesis on Spain). Paul Weaver analyzes four inscriptions, two from the museum of the Australian National University Classics Department, and two from his corpus on the *familia Caesaris*. He highlights the uncertainties that remain even after expert disentangling of what an epitaph explicitly tells us. "Provisional Rule One of Sepulchral Nomenclature affirms that, 'In the absence of other evidence to the contrary, a single name without status indication implies slave status.'" But the rule cannot be applied automatically. The second rule, that three names (two for a woman) imply citizenship, is defective, since informally manumitted slaves used three names but were not Roman. Suzanne Dixon also usefully highlights what inscriptions do and do not tell us. Applying prosopography to four surviving inscriptions which attest Veturii active in textile production/trade (as purple dyers/dealers and *lanarii*, who handled wool), she emphasises the recent scholarly realization that "silences and exclusions are part of what we need to 'read' in any text ... *Genre* conventions largely determine what is included or emphasized in epitaphs."

It is good to see a published version of Andrew Wallace-Hadrill's stimulating thoughts on the domestic architecture of Rome, a foretaste of his chapter in Elio Lo Cascio's forthcoming volume on Rome as metropolis. Fiona Crowe, exemplifying the trend toward the later period and the provinces shown in the last two Roman family conferences (launched by Rawson), investigates a fourth-century cemetery at Lankhills, Winchester, and finds "a multitude of ways in which women (and children) were signified" in where and how and with what objects they were buried. Hanne Sigismund Nielsen, after showing that epitaphs in *columbaria* and in Christian catacombs had a more select audience than pagan epitaphs in general, analyzes the epithets used in a sample of city inscriptions and concludes that Christians were concerned to stress the innocence of baptized children and the sexual continence of wives. This must mark the impact of new ideas about the afterlife. A statue group of a girl and her mother (now at Montemartini), which must originally have included the father, is shown by Michele George to belong to the late republican/Julio-Claudian fashion for freed slaves to represent their success in founding a family. The mother here claims that she adheres to the standards appropriate to a *matrona*; the girl's toga underlines her free-born status and her serious expression her potential to be a good wife. Hugh Lindsay provides a useful cross-cultural survey of the law of adoption in ancient cultures. Jane Gardner characteristically casts a flood of light on the topic of who had to pay the Augustan inheritance tax and on who counted as close family. Tim Parkin contributes an illuminating discussion of the ages at which the Julian and Papian laws and later amendments expected people to be married and parents. This rich variety adds up to a substantial picture of the *status quaestionis*.

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ANTONIO SANTOSUOSSO. *Storming the Heavens: Soldiers, Emperors, and Civilians in the Roman Empire*. (History and Warfare.) Boulder, Colo.: Westview. 2001. Pp. xi, 265. $26.00.

Antonio Santosuosso has written an account of Rome's military history from the late second century B.C. to the end of the Roman Empire in the West in A.D. 476. He discusses the development of the early Roman army and its transformation in the last century

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of the republic, when the army of the Roman state was replaced by armies personally loyal to individual commanders whose soldiers felt free to pillage and murder their fellow citizens. The charismatic Julius Caesar had a role in this, using his devoted army to seize political power. Augustus, the first emperor, organized the full-time professional army permanently stationed in the provinces and closely associated with the ruler, who had suitable military trappings. This set the scene for the subsequent place of the army in society and government. Under Septimius Severus, militaristic tendencies developed, and the role of the army and individual soldiers became more important, undermining the senate and traditional practices of government. Then, as ever-greater pressure was exerted by external enemies, there was a desperate search for recruits and the money to pay them as warlords in command of private armies presided over the disintegration of the empire in the West.

The main value of this book is found in its broad sweep, engaging style, and generally clear presentation. Santosuosso correctly keeps the emperor center stage, vividly describing him as "manager of war" (p. 1), and emphasizes the role of the army in Roman ideology, the emperor's personal control of military power, and the political implications. There are interesting discussions on frontier strategy (pp. 117–27) and the late Roman army (pp. 188–93) and occasional useful insights, such as the divorce of the army from society in the later empire (p. 215).

Some generalizations are rather indiscriminate, however. It is inaccurate to characterize post-Marian soldiers as the enemy within, since much of the responsibility lies with their commanders. The discussion of the Severan dynasty overestimates the role of the army and the degree of change from previous practices. Elsewhere, nuances of interpretation are lost, as when Santosuosso does not appreciate that the account of Quinctilius Varus's defeat in Germany in A.D. 9 (pp. 139–43) was the government version designed to deflect blame from Augustus. Recent investigations have helped to identify the site of the battle at Kalkriese (e.g. W. Schlüter, ed., *Kalkriese, Römer im Osnabrücker Land: Archäologische Forschungen zur Varusschlacht* [1993]).

Important themes are omitted or treated perfunctorily: the mechanics of the emperor's relationship with the troops, the economic impact of the army through its need for supplies, the social effects of the spread of citizenship through military service and integration into the Roman way of life, and the avenue of social mobility provided by the army through promotion via the centurionate. The oppression of the local civilian population by soldiers certainly should receive more attention, especially in view of the book's subtitle.

It is regrettable that there are many small but irritating errors especially in a book partly aimed at the general reader, who might not have the means to check the facts. For example: the dates for Diocletian and Constantine are wrong (p. 3); for Decimius Brutus read Decimus (p. 80); Octavian is unusually described as Thurinus (p. 81); for Jupiter Ferentius read Feretrius (p. 85). Despite these and other blemishes, for students and the general reader this is a useful guide to broad concepts and trends involving the military and political context in which the Roman army operated, and the role of the emperor as supreme commander.

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PATRICK WORMALD. *The Making of English Law: King Alfred to the Twelfth Century*. Volume 1, *Legislation and its Limits*. Malden, Mass.: Blackwell. 1999. Pp. xviii, 574. $99.95.

Patrick Wormald is one of the foremost scholars of Anglo-Saxon England. He has long shown a special interest in the workings of the Anglo-Saxon legal system and in the significance of the considerable body of surviving Anglo-Saxon legislation. This substantial volume is the first of two projected volumes on Anglo-Saxon law. In its opening chapter, Wormald locates his work within the broader historiographical context of four centuries of scholarly and academic work on Anglo-Saxon law and legislation, beginning with William Lambarde, who was responsible for the first printed edition of Anglo-Saxon legislation (1592). Apart from this chapter and part of chapter three, the remainder of the volume is concerned specifically with Anglo-Saxon legislation and, for the most part, more specifically with the legislation of King Alfred and his successors as kings of England. The earlier seventh-century legislation of the kings of Kent and Wessex is only covered fairly briefly in chapter two because it is soon to receive monographic attention from others. Chapter two is also concerned with the continental context of Anglo-Saxon legislation: the law codes of the later Western Empire and its successor kingdoms; the tribal law codes of the Salian Franks and others; the capitularies of Charlemagne and his successors. Wormald looks at the evidence for the copying and ownership of these various different types of written law codes and for the use made of them in the conduct of litigation, so far as this can be discovered from the surviving records of individual cases.

This is a very useful synthesis of much recent scholarship (including Wormald's own) on these topics. The real heart of the volume, however, lies in chapters three through six. Chapter three looks for contemporary or near-contemporary references to the legislation of the Anglo-Saxon kings in narrative sources and the records of Anglo-Saxon lawsuits, in the belief that this should shed some light on contemporary reactions to royal lawmaking. It turns out that there are few reliable references to legislation before the twelfth century, with the historian William of Malmesbury showing the greatest knowledge of it. There are no explicit references to legislation or citations of it in recorded litigation. In chapter four, Wormald turns to the manuscript context of surviving

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copies of the legislation. There are no more than twenty relevant manuscripts. He shows that there is not a single surviving manuscript of the Anglo-Saxon period containing legislation whose only or principal concern is itself legal. Laws occur in manuscripts with texts of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle and other historical material or in the context of Gospels or pontificals or with homiletic or penitential material. The earliest manuscripts in which Anglo-Saxon legislation survives (either in the original language or in Latin translation) in a specifically legal context all date from after the Norman Conquest. Just how much significance can or should be attached to this seems to me, however, to be more doubtful. The political upheaval of the Conquest period seems likely to have led to the loss and destruction of copies of legislation in secular hands, and the best chances of survival were enjoyed by legislation copied into largely nonlegislative manuscripts prized for their other content and in the hands of ecclesiastical owners.

Chapter five is by far the longest chapter. It looks in roughly chronological order at each main group of legislative texts, discussing in turn their textual transmission, their language and style, and their main content. It then looks at various anonymous legal texts associated with the legislation. A final section of the chapter looks at the legislation and lawbooks of the first century after the Norman Conquest. Wormald's discussion provides a substantial revision of Felix Liebermann's conclusions about these texts in the light of subsequent scholarship, although scholars will still need Liebermann's editions of the texts to follow much of the discussion. It is only in chapter six that there is any significant discussion of the places where legislation was issued or of the years and seasons when it was issued. Wormald also argues here for a close connection between the issuing of codes and the Carolingian-influenced ideology of English kingship. Chapter seven draws some sceptical conclusions about Anglo-Saxon legislation, suggesting that little real interest was taken even at the time in the written legislation issued, and that much of the more important lawmaking of the period probably did not take written form. Volume one is a major work of scholarship. I await with eager anticipation the appearance of volume two.

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NICHOLAS VINCENT. *The Holy Blood: King Henry III and the Westminster Blood Relic*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2001. Pp. xiii, 254.

On October 13, 1247, Henry III of England presented a relic of the most precious blood of Christ to the monks of Westminster Abbey and undertook a series of measures to ensure its prestige and popularity. Sparked by his discovery of a letter from the patriarch of Jerusalem, from whom Henry acquired the relic, Nicholas Vincent's book is a study of the cult "that never really was" (p. 200). Vincent wants both to move from this specific relic translation to a general study of the European-wide cult of the holy blood and to explain why a cult at Westminster failed to emerge. Based in detailed research on such difficult areas as ecclesiastical politics, the holdings of and donations to Westminster, Plantagenet self-fashioning, and fourteenth-century theological debates, this is a fascinating, well-written, and adroit account whose two goals are not finally integrated. Vincent's answer to the question of the cult's failure is, first, that the relic lacked convincing provenance; second, that theologians were skeptical generally about blood relics; third, that there was competition from eucharistic cult; and, finally, that Henry III failed generally as a propagandist for his royal house (although Vincent argues, counter to some recent opinion, that the Plantagenets did not lack sacrality). But, in order to establish the explanation for failure, one needs more exploration of successful blood cults, and it is in this comparative dimension that one comes up against the limits of Vincent's study. His effort to put the blood cult in its European context is flawed in two ways: it lacks bibliographical breadth, especially knowledge of German material, and, despite perceptively noting the complex interrelationships among the three types of blood cult (bleeding images, wonderhosts, and blood relics), it fails to sufficiently consider piety.

In treating a topic as multifaceted as the blood cult, a researcher is bound to miss something, so I mention only in passing that reference to G. J. C. Snoek, *Medieval Piety from Relics to the Eucharist: A Process of Mutual Interaction* (1995), and Philip Lyndon Reynolds, *Food and the Body: Some Peculiar Questions in High Medieval Theology* (1999), would have greatly enriched and clarified Vincent's discussions of, respectively, the parallel treatment of eucharist and relic and debates over whether all Christ's blood had to return to heaven at the ascension. But the absence of much crucial German bibliography on the topic is more serious and leads to a certain number of actual misstatements. (Jan Hus's treatise, for example, is far less unusual than Vincent suggests.) At least Johannes Heuser's dissertation, "'Heilig-Blut' in Kult und Brauchtum des deutschen Kulturraumes: Ein Beitrag zur religiösen Volkskunde" (1948), which is difficult but not impossible to acquire, and the 1994 Festschrift for the Weingarten blood cult (*900 Jahre Heilig -Blut-Verehrung in Weingarten 1094–1994: Festschrift zum Heilig-Blut-Jubiläum am 12. März 1994*, edited by Norbert Kruse and Hans Ulrich Rudolf) are necessary reading for any attempt to situate the English relic in its European context. Moreover, beyond the few pages Vincent devotes to iconography (pp. 175–85), his study cries out for analysis of the wide range of English blood devotion, especially the devotion to the wounds and heart of Christ studied by scholars such as Louis Gougaud and Douglas Gray. Indeed, attention to the general popularity of blood piety in England would make the failure of the Westminster cult even more

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striking, thus strengthening Vincent's claim for the failure as Henry's own. Greater attention to the often violent overtones of blood piety on the continent (on which see recently Mitchell B. Merback, *The Thief, the Cross and the Wheel: Pain and the Spectacle of Punishment in Medieval and Renaissance Europe* [1999]) would suggest broader cultural comparisons.

Vincent has done detailed scholarship on a topic neglected in anglophone literature and has raised, quite eloquently, questions about the complicated politics of cult and body without succumbing to the extravagant rhetoric such issues have sometimes garnered. With integrity and diligence he has followed his topic into the byways of archives, cartularies and difficult theological discourse; others can now pursue the paths he has neglected.

CAROLINE WALKER BYNUM
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CAROLINE WALKER BYNUM. *Metamorphosis and Identity*. New York: Zone Books. 2001. Pp. 280. $28.00.

This is a wonderful book, literally, and you can tell by its wonderful cover, a pale metallic green overlaid by medieval drawings of transformation and hybridity visible only as changes in the paper's reflecting surface. One suspects that the designer really had read the text: it mimics so palpably the quiet power of Caroline Walker Bynum's eyelight as it shines shiftingly on a textual and graphic past littered with unsettling images that have lain before us in plain sight all these centuries, disguised as the gothic wallpaper of the premodern world, hinting and winking at things less plain, shadows from one angle, fireworks from another.

The four essays collected here are quite varied in voice, displaying in themselves and probably not coincidentally the author's faith in "a constantly new thing that is nonetheless the same" (p. 189). The first, on medieval wonder, is based on Bynum's 1997 presidential address to the American Historical Association; the second, "Metamorphosis, or Gerald and the Werewolf," on her 1998 presidential address to the Medieval Academy; the fourth, "Shape and Story," on the 1999 Jefferson Lecture, "written for a large general audience" (p. 33) and disseminated by the National Endowment for the Humanities through the internet; only the third, on *mutatio* in the theological writings of Bernard of Clairvaux, was written especially for this book. The venues of the talks that lie behind these essays promise that big questions of the meaning and methods of historiography will be prominent in the chapters' arguments, and it is one triumph of the collection—more than a collection, despite this variety of venues—that the linked topics of *admiratio*, *imitatio*, *mutatio*, hybridity, and metamorphosis turn out to be central to Bynum's understanding of the nature and practice of her ancient discipline. It is another triumph that this interdisciplinary fusion of content with method amounts, if not to a polemic, then to a persuasive rallying cry to all kinds of historians to pursue our craft with more capacity for surprise, more attention to the power of history to transform—as feminist history over the course of Bynum's career has transformed not only the discipline but the society it serves.

Bynum's essays on medieval fascination with "the fundamental fact that something can be something else" (p. 18) attend to "the years around 1200," by which she means most of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, as her key texts range chronologically from the opus of Bernard of Clairvaux to Dante's famous "outdoing" of Ovidian metamorphosis in *Inferno* 24–25. We encounter among them an impressively diverse array of media, genres, and status levels: drawings, illuminations, carved capitals, *lais*, travel books, canonical Latin texts of natural philosophy and theology by such heavyweights as Aristotle, Augustine, Bernard Sylvestris, Peter Lombard, and Albertus Magnus, and, brooding over the whole, the *Metamorphosis* of Ovid, for two millennia now the object itself of ceaseless hermeneutic transformation. Eleventh and twelfth-century agricultural, economic, and urban growth are adduced, with the rise of patrilineal inheritance and its footloose younger sons and the consequent possibility that people could "change their social roles," to explain the widespread and troubled fascination of this period with change in all its forms: from the Ovidian revival to the rejection of "real digestion" by Scholastic theologians to the fourth Lateran Council's doctrine of the eucharistic transubstantiation to the plethora of werewolf stories.

There is no space in a short review even to list the topics of discussion these themes evoke, but one can point at least to Bynum's fruitful category distinction (one among many) between metamorphosis and hybridity and the different anxieties the two terms bespeak. Anxiety is the keyword: this period of fascination was also one of aversion, and Bynum finds that fascination, at least with metamorphosis and metampsychosis, "reflects less a desire to shed body than an effort to understand how it perdures, less an escape into alterity than a search for the rules that govern change" (p. 109). The horrifying identifications of metamorphosis (or "replacement-change") with loss, disintegration, and disappearance make it easier to understand the rejection of digestion as a real phenomenon, and to feel how vivid was the terror and mystery of the Eucharist. Hybridity does not involve a process, and Bynum calls its version of *mixtio* "dialogic," paradoxical, a nonnarrative "two-ness" (or "three-ness") that takes for its sublime exemplar the Incarnation but registers ambivalently in its monsters, "mixed things with no names" (p. 118), a fear of fragmentation and destabilization. If I have a complaint about this gorgeously diverse presentation and analysis of kinds of change, it is that Bynum does not even refer to the natural phenomenon this distinction between hybrid and metamorphosis renders particularly interesting: pregnancy seems the most profoundly

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charged experience imaginable of bodily metamorphosis and hybridity *at once*. Even one of her wonderful discursive notes would have helped soothe a curiosity raised in this reader to ravenousness by the rich odors of the book's conceptual feast. But Bynum offers this work as an adumbration of "the full study of *mutatio*" (p. 34), and no doubt that will wax and multiply, and change.

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KATHERINE L. FRENCH. *The People of the Parish: Community Life in a Late Medieval English Diocese*. (The Middle Ages Series.) Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 2001. Pp. viii, 316. $59.95.

"It is a praty clothing town, and hath a faire chirch." John Leland's note on Chew Magna might have been repeated for many another small town in the pre-Reformation diocese of Bath and Wells. To a remarkable degree, this English region retains to this day aspects of its physical appearance in the later Middle Ages. The traveler may still admire the parish church of the late medieval suburb of Redcliffe in Bristol—"the fairest, goodliest, and most famous parish church in England," in Queen Elizabeth I's words—and the perpendicular towers of Dunster, Huish Episcopi, and a host of other parish churches. To consider these architectural marvels is already to speculate about the lives of the fourteenth and fifteenth-century parishioners who, having helped to fund their construction, proceeded to use them for a great variety of purposes.

The image of the medieval parish as a little world of its own, containing within it—for better and worse—all of secular and spiritual life, has been profoundly familiar to topographical writers and local historians from Leland onward. Whether romanticized (F. A. Gasquet) or vilified (G. C. Coulton), the secular aspects of the pre-Reformation parish have impressed all commentators. Katherine L. French's assertion that "The parish continued to be the basic forum of public worship, but it was, I believe, socially and culturally much more than that," cannot, therefore, be acclaimed as a novel insight. What this book does offer are fresh illustrations of the theme, drawn from the author's reading of a dozen series of pre-Reformation churchwardens' accounts from the diocese in question together with contemporary bishops' registers and surviving wills. A number of interesting details emerge. Given French's emphasis on the need for an integrated and multidimensional view of parish life, however, it is a pity that her primary sources do not in general extend beyond the ecclesiastical records just referred to. The result is a curiously thin description of a social world that, as many distinguished historians have argued, could be intensely rich and complex.

Although at the outset French assertively distinguishes her notion of "the community of the parish" from static and "socially homogeneous" concepts of community, in fact there is nobody writing today about medieval communities who would subscribe to such simplistic definitions (outside very restricted cases such as certain trade corporations or clubs of university professors). Elsewhere, however, French offers some interesting observations on shifting *medieval* definitions of the parish, adjusted at times to suit personal interest. Nor would one argue with the account given here of the dynamic tension, which informed the late medieval parish, between episcopal direction and local lay initiative.

From definitions French moves on to an extended discussion of record-keeping processes and office holding in the parish. This section provides local variations on themes authoritatively surveyed by Robert Swanson in *Church and Society in Late Medieval England* (1989) and further analyzed by Beat Kümin in *The Shaping of a Community: The Rise and Reformation of the English Parish, c.1400–1560* (1996). French subjects the form of the churchwardens' accounts to exhaustive analysis, but in the context of her remarks on the dramatic potential of her principal records, one has to agree that "Hearing the financial accounts read out loud probably was not as entertaining or as exciting as hearing a poem or a play."

The ensuing chapter on church building and decoration contains vivid material exemplifying the active involvement of the late medieval laity in all aspects of church construction. As has often been emphasized in recent decades (much of the work is summarized in Eamon Duffy's *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England, 1400–1580* [1992]), such evidence challenges older Protestant accounts of the Reformation as a necessary reaction to institutional torpor and lay indifference in the late medieval church. French's discussion of this material includes good points of detail, such as her eminently sensible observation that rood-screens characteristically did not, as has sometimes been claimed, interpose an impenetrable division between nave and sanctuary; and an interesting suggestion, based on evidence from Bridgwater, that pewing arrangements introduced in the fifteenth century may at first have cut across an older gender division that had separated women on the north from men on the south side of the nave, but very soon were seized upon by male office holders in the town as an opportunity to advertise their prominence in a way that excluded women from pews altogether.

In general, extant visual evidence could be used more extensively than it has been here. As her opening example of tension over parochial identity, French tells how, in 1405, inhabitants of Leigh-on-Mendip complained of their subjection to Mells, of which parish Leigh was a mere dependent chapel. The churchwardens of Mells accused the rebels before the bishop, who upheld "ancient custom" and reaffirmed Leigh's subordination. As French says, the case is characteristic. But it is curious in this context to mention neither the presence at Leigh of a Norman font, which is likely to indicate that anciently this daughter had been more independent of the mother

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church than she later became, nor the evidence of the church tower at Leigh, which is not only a splendid example of perpendicular construction but extremely close in design to that of Mells. Leigh's campaign for secession was evidently conducted by architectural no less than legal means.

The final chapter documents regional cults, drawing attention to the perennial motif of the local in the context of the universal church. The instances cited may be set alongside more or less comparable local studies, such as Norman Tanner's *The Church in Late Medieval Norwich, 1370–1532* (1984). As French observes, the late medieval parishioner, time and again, appropriated the universal language of the church to serve contemporary and particular needs. One would merely add that this has, after all, been the history of the Christian Church from its very beginning.

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SIMON R. DOUBLEDAY. *The Lara Family: Crown and Nobility in Medieval Spain*. (Harvard Historical Studies, number 141.) Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 2001. Pp. x, 198. $45.00.

This is an account of the Lara family from the late eleventh until the middle of the fourteenth century, when the family virtually ceased to exist. It is based on a careful exploration of original documents in the Archivo Histórico Nacional in Madrid, of the literary sources, and of the burgeoning scholarship on the period. A curious omission is any reference to the edition by Juan Fernández Valverde of one of the major literary sources, Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada's *De rebus Hispaniae* (published in *Corpus christianorum: Continuatio mediaevalis*, 72 [1987]), which completely replaces the 1793 edition cited here.

The Laras constituted one of the most important noble families in the medieval kingdoms of Castile and León. Simon R. Doubleday illustrates their history with a very useful series of fifteen maps that cover the Lara beginnings in Asturias and their gradual expansion southward into Castile, to the west into León and Galicia, further south in the thirteenth century into Andalusia, to the east toward Aragon, and finally in the north into Vizcaya. These maps help one to follow a narrative that is at times in danger of being lost in the details of minutely documented struggles between different nobles and the crown of Castile.

The Laras experienced many reverses. They had not only to contend with Muslim opponents but, more often, with rival noble families such as the Haros. Doubleday is able to show that in the early centuries their power was based far more on the tenancies (*tenancias*) they received from the crown and on the high offices they attained at court than on their limited patrimony in land. The tenancies, bestowed by Alfonso VI (1065–1109) and his successors as rewards for military service, conveyed a delegation of royal lordship in a given area. Although they were not hereditable, they could be held for long periods.

The Laras depended on royal favor. In the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries, they came to be perceived by contemporaries, as Doubleday says, as "a counterbalance to the Castilian monarchy" (p. 103). But this perception brought with it new dangers. The increasing complexity of royal administration worked against a leading noble family such as theirs. The Laras' rapid rise had brought with it a great accumulation of land. Their possessions are recorded in the *Libro becerro de behetrías* of 1351–1352. In an excellent analysis, Doubleday shows that these possessions numbered 320 out of the 2,402 settlements listed, or "13.2 percent of the total" (p. 114). But such possessions could disappear with great speed, and they did so in the reign of the centralizing King Pedro I (1350–1369).

The significance of Doubleday's study is not limited to medieval Castile. He is aware throughout of the development of relations between crown and nobility in other countries of Western Europe. His comparisons between France and England and Castile are useful. One can hope that he will go on to explore the even closer comparison that could be made between the problems a thirteenth-century king of Castile such as Alfonso X had with his nobles and those his contemporary, James I of Aragon, experienced with his.

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EUROPE: EARLY MODERN AND MODERN

ANTHONY GRAFTON. *Bring Out Your Dead: The Past as Revelation*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 2001. Pp. vi, 360. $39.95.

Classical scholarship in late Renaissance Europe holds access to the origins of modern historiography, anthropology, political science, and the comparative study of religions. Not many historians are aware of this, and fewer still could name Leonardo Bruni, Joseph Scaliger, or Athanasius Kircher. Yet the recovery and emendation of antique texts was often driven by a keen historical sense, by quests for hard evidence and the dynamics of politics, and by the desire to pin down the customs and beliefs of the ancient Greeks and Romans.

This is Anthony Grafton's terrain: the history of classical erudition in its most vital and innovative age (*ca.* 1400–1700). The fifteen essays here, all but one previously published, are the work of an acute and playful mind—learned, subtle, and catholic. They are a pleasure to read, not least because the author has a penchant for anecdote and clinching metaphor, although always as part of the sweep of argument.

Two entwined themes give the collection its unity. First of all, classical scholarship was not an arid enterprise divorced from the world. In the hands of its

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best practitioners, such as Bruni, Scaliger, Justus Lipsius, and Richard Bentley, it engaged fully with "nature," praxis, politics, or social life. Secondly, a vibrant community of scholars, Europe's "Republic of Letters," kept up an intense discourse by means of publication and private correspondence, and Latin was their common language. Hence the intellectual achievements of the age were, in a sense, a collective production.

The two essays, "Civic Humanism and Scientific Scholarship at Leiden" and "Those Humanists," highlight the influence of learned communities on the intellectual labor of individuals. The first treats Lipsius and Scaliger in the context of the international University of Leiden. The second, a review of Anne Goldgar's *Impolite Learning: Conduct and Community in the Republic of Letters, 1680–1750* (1995), examines the editorial side of the learned-book trade in the late seventeenth century, looking especially at the large numbers of contact men and correctors involved in the production of scholarly books. In "Jean Hardouin: The Antiquary as Pariah," we find Hardouin taking philology and antiquarianism to fanatical extremes and rejecting much of classical literature as the spurious concoction of an "impious" coterie, only to be denounced by the scholarly community's saner heads.

From its very beginnings as a journey of discovery, philological humanism could be free and "creative" in its use of classical sources. In his famous *De re aedificatoria*, finished in the 1430s, Leon Battista Alberti was already critical of Vitruvius, his major source. Over the course of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, establishing the topography of ancient Rome was the work of many humanists who explored texts, did some of the digging, read and compiled inscriptions, and scrutinized artefacts. But the seventeenth century brought the revolt of the new science against the "dead" study of the past; now nature and the surrounding world beckoned. Grafton, however, has no trouble showing that humanism was still charged with fierce energy and innovation, in "the systematic effort to reconstruct the institutions and mores, religions and rituals of the Greek and Roman world" (p. 115). The "Polyhistors" of his chapter nine, relying on a mastery of classical rhetoric, went even further: they sought to survey the whole of knowledge by means of an understanding of structures, classification, and study of the different spheres of learning. Was their enterprise serious? Leibnitz himself pursued it.

The author's skills are sharply displayed in his study of the reception accorded to part of Petronius's fragmented *Satyricon* (chapter eleven), which went from being seen as a forgery, because of its flagrant solecisms, to its complete acceptance by a more sophisticated seventeenth-century philology. Interestingly, one of the keys to its acceptance lay in the new sense of the ways in which Europe's vernacular literatures were developing. Grafton's concluding studies—"Profiles" of Lipsius, Descartes, Giambattista Vico, and the nineteenth-century classicist Jacob Bernays—also exhibit his imaginative verve. Lipsius, for example, striving to move beyond his brilliant editions of Tacitus and Seneca, was so concerned to demonstrate the practical utility of classical learning—as in his writings on a science of politics and on Rome's arms and armies—that he verged on sacrificing a firmer knowledge of the past to a policy of instrumentalizing it. But most ingenius, perhaps, is the take on "Descartes the Dreamer" (chapter thirteen), which identifies a striking link between the philosopher's grounding in classical rhetoric and Ignatius Loyola's *Spiritual Exercises* on the one hand, and, on the other, his individualistic resolution to write off all past philosophy in the name of a rational system based on his own perceptions. Descartes is here freshly anchored in his time and place.

All told, these studies add up to a sparkling performance for readers from across the spectrum of historical and literary scholarship.

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KENNETH J. HOWELL. *God's Two Books: Copernican Cosmology and Biblical Interpretation in Early Modern Science*. Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press. 2002. Pp. viii, 319. $39.95.

In 1616, the Holy Office of the Roman Inquisition announced its judgment of the system of the universe published by Nicholas Copernicus in 1543. In a ringing endorsement of the unity of knowledge, it condemned the doctrines that the sun rests and the earth moves as formally heretical because they were contrary to scripture, and absurd or rash in philosophy because opposed to Aristotelian cosmology. Kenneth J. Howell provides a fine survey of ways in which early modern thinkers held their faiths and philosophies together against the challenges of Copernicanism.

Howell stresses that the problem of reconciliation hit hardest those who interpreted biblical accounts and astronomical systems realistically: an obvious point, but worth signaling because respectable epistemologies then existed for compartmentalizing knowledge. Exegetes who practiced the technique of accommodation (interpreting awkward passages, like those in which God walks and talks, as fictions accommodated to rude understandings) could explain Joshua's order to the sun to stop as more suited to the philosophical attainments of his people than the correct Copernican command, "Earth stand Thou still." Symmetrically, Aristotelians often found it convenient to dismiss the details of planetary motions that disagreed with their cosmology as mere mathematics, useful for describing appearances but not for founding a philosophy.

Realists on either side could use the exegetical technique employed by the other to clear objections to their point of view. Thus the Catholic Galileo Galilei urged the theologians of the Holy Office to interpret all scriptural passages appearing to confirm the quies-

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cence of the earth and the motion of the sun as concessions to ignorance, and the Protestant controversialist Andreas Osiander, who saw Copernicus's book through the press, contributed to it an unsigned preface warning readers against seeking truth in astronomy, "lest you go away from this book a greater fool than when you came to it."

Howell's contribution is an analysis of the positions of moderate realists who sought solid principles on which to unify their knowledge and beliefs. Many of them tried to buttress and refine their natural philosophy by reference to scripture. Howell points to Tycho Brahe and Johannes Kepler. Brahe worked out a compromise so adroit that the Jesuits adopted it: by placing all the planets in motion around the sun, and the sun (and moon) in orbit around the stationary earth, Tycho had a system with most of the advantages of Copernicus's and many fewer openings for the literal scripturalist or dogmatic Aristotelian. As for Kepler, his numerological expressions of his belief in a triune God and a world created by weight, number, and measure inspired him to find mathematical relations that, in Isaac Newton's hands, would underpin a new world view.

These examples concern the protagonists of the scientific revolution. Howell has looked at secondary actors as well: for example, on the Protestant side were the mathematician Georg Joachim Rheticus, who helped pry Copernicus's manuscript from him, and Christoph Wittich, who professed Cartesian cosmology in the Netherlands. Rheticus upheld creation but otherwise found nothing in scripture, properly construed, to constrain his cosmology. Wittich wrote widely and subtly about accommodation and ended with a double fragmentation of knowledge: scripture and natural science differ both in content and in method, the one concerned with salvation and sense perception, the other with reason and natural knowledge. On the Catholic side, Howell discusses Libert Froidmont, professor of theology in Louvain and the successor of Cornelius Jansen, and the maverick Dominican Tommaso Campanella, who refined his epistemology as a prisoner of the Inquisition. Froidmont applied accommodation to God's anthropomorphic attributes but not to cosmology: had Joshua been a Copernican, he would have issued his command to the earth. Joshua was not a Copernican; Froidmont would not be one either. In contrast, Campanella undertook to improve the fit between natural philosophy and theology begun by St. Thomas Aquinas. An apparently patent passage in Deuteronomy links the sun, moon, mountains, and hills (Deut. 33:13–15). Campanella applied Galileo's discovery of mountains in the moon to find a deeper meaning in the text and to censure the theologians who had censured Galileo: "after so many centuries he vindicates the Scriptures from ridicule and distortion by observable evidence."

For Brahe and Kepler, the desire to preserve old scripture and embrace new philosophy was a source of creativity in natural science. Wittich found the combination untenable and compartmentalized his truths. Froidmont, who had inclined toward Copernicus's ideas before the Holy Office's ruling of 1616, preferred dogmatism to relativism. Rheticus, Campanella, and the many others Howell treats complete his demonstration that the usual dichotomy drawn between friends and foes of Copernicus does not do justice to the inventiveness of the human mind.

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A. Lynn Martin. *Alcohol, Sex, and Gender in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe*. (Early Modern History: Society and Culture.) New York: Palgrave. 2001. Pp. x, 200.

A. Lynn Martin documents and interrelates the sexual double standard and the drinking double standard in England, France, and Italy from 1300 to 1700. Premodern Europeans expected women to preserve chastity and secondarily sobriety. His book provides abundant evidence that men were more in need of the prescription for sobriety. Martin judiciously examines studies of household accounts and statistical charts of drinking consumption, yet concludes that inebriation was a common popular condition in premodern Europe. While women brewed much of the ale, with the dominance of beer in the sixteenth century, male brewing became more dominant. The daily lives of women, as well as of men, included ale and beer drinking in the north and wine drinking in the south.

Martin argues that premodern Europe was more heavily inebriated than modern Europe; and while anecdotes of disorderly behavior fill his book, his overall view is that male and female alcohol consumption led to "social integration and jollification" (p. 118). He portrays a world where alcohol marked lifecycle events and civic and religious ritual, served as a pharmacy and as source of nourishment, and contributed to the integration of social groups. He might have discussed the Catholic Church limiting the wine during the Eucharist to the priesthood, and the Hussite to Protestant sharing of the wine with the laity. He does discuss the Puritan disapproval of alehouses.

In most of his chapters, Martin's sources are prescriptive literature and fictional sources, as well as court cases. He includes women authors Christine de Pizan, Margery Kempe, Marguerite de Navarre, and Madame de Sévigné and is careful to indicate that most of the time he is documenting men's views and expectations. In particular, Martin elaborates the popular images of drunken men and drunken women: the man as either violent and sexually aggressive or impotent in a stupor, and the woman as unruly or promiscuous. Men perceived men drinking as forging bonds of identity and solidarity and women drinking as encouraging insubordination to men. Male stereotypes of unruly women included the gossiper, the scold, the infant-killer, and the witch. With regard to images of

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the violent man, there are cases of arguments over the bill, male rivalry, and desire to defend honor of class, area, or individual. Protests against taxes contributed to male violence according to court cases, as well as in literary stereotypes.

It was widely believed that drinking led to sexual acts. Utilizing distinctions relevant to campus life today, Martin gives examples of uninhibited drunken sexuality, nonconsenting sex, and rape with violence. The seventeenth century witnessed a shift from public festive drinking occasions with both genders and all ages present to men drinking in alehouses and taverns, often amid prostitutes (respectable women were there only in daytime, and more likely in England than Italy or France).

While there is a small literature on the good men married to unruly drunken women, there is a very large body of literature and court evidence on a husband depleting family budget, committing adultery, and committing violence upon his wife. Martin exposes the premodern acceptance of wife-beating and shows that alcohol was sometimes the cause then as now of abuse or murder. He surmises that alcohol more usually aided marital bonding, as in the Anglo-Saxon ceremony of wife idyllically greeting husband with a cup.

Previous books on popular drinking behavior in early modern Europe include Peter Clark, *The English Alehouse: A Social History, 1200–1830* (1983); Thomas Brennan, *Public Drinking and Popular Culture in Eighteenth-Century Paris* (1988); and Judith M. Bennett, *Ale, Beer, and Brewsters in England: Women's Work in a Changing World* (1996). Martin's book might be an inspiration for further cross-cultural research on drinking patterns and power relationships; for example, Martin might have related his book to studies on the influence on the indigenous peoples of the Americas and elsewhere of European alcohol consumption and trade. By focusing explicitly on the relationships of alcohol to sexuality and violence, Martin contributes to the history of sexuality, the history of gender relations, and to public policy today.

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RICHARD HELGERSON. *Adulterous Alliances: Home, State, and History in Early Modern European Drama and Painting*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 2000. Pp. 238.

As recent exhibitions, historical novels, and scholarly ventures amply demonstrate, the early modern home is a hot topic. The early modern Dutch home, whose order and disorder were so frequently thematized by seventeenth-century artists, holds special appeal. The well-tempered maintenance of this arena, largely occupied by women and children, has drawn huge audiences at recent museum shows. Seventeenth and eighteenth-century dollhouses—replicas in miniature of stately Dutch homes, replete with copies of actual furnishings—in such collections as the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, are a high point of most visits. Within the scholarly realm, the domestic arena represented so frequently and compellingly by painters has undergone an important shift: whereas, a century ago, the interiors and activities depicted were held to comprise so many records of daily life, recent studies by Martha Hollander, Simon Schama, and Mariet Westermann, among others, view the Dutch home as a space constructed by way of such pictures, which in their views articulate social, civic, political, and gender relations. Schama's influential *The Embarrassment of Riches: An Interpretation of Dutch Culture in the Seventeenth Century* (1987), for example, holds that the Dutch home was a microcosm of the Dutch Republic, and the cultivation of the domestic arena was one way of carrying out civic duties. Such active interest in the lineaments of home and its meanings should only amplify the impact of Richard Helgerson's rich, nimble, and far-reaching study of early modern representations of the home.

Helgerson's subject is a central one, and his purview is admirably broad. In the course of six chapters, he surveys what he takes to be a common preoccupation of English, Spanish, and French drama as well as of Dutch painting of the early modern period: the relations among home, state, and history. Herein lie the adulterous alliances of the title. Helgerson presents his study as an "episodic macrohistory that stretches over two centuries, four countries, and a large number of plays and paintings" (p. 3). Beginning with the anonymous sixteenth-century English domestic drama, *Arden of Faversham* (1592), he leads the reader along a route that includes the figure of Jane Shore, *The Merry Wives of Windsor*, Dutch seventeenth-century genre paintings, Spanish peasant drama, and eighteenth-century French bourgeois drama. All of these works "put [the non-aristocratic] home into a significant and signifying narrative relation with the monarchic or potentially monarchic state" (p. 3). Many of them do so through the figure of a sexually predatory intruder—the lover, the king, Falstaff, soldiers—who threatens to or actually does disrupt the domestic balance and, by so doing, plays out the adulterous alliance between home and state.

Contrary to general expectation, Helgerson maintains, the representational space distinct from history painting or narratives of the great affairs of state—the home, the company of women rather than court or battlefield—is not immune to and indeed becomes the locus of the elaboration of questions about the relation between the individual and the state. "Domestic drama and domestic painting emerged as a by-product of early modern state formation," Helgerson argues, "and defined themselves by their difference from the newly invented or newly revived genres of state: history painting, tragedy, historical drama, and history itself" (p. 6). This holds true across the range of material and for the variety of political backdrops he surveys; in the early modern period, the domestic *is* the political.

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The arc of Helgerson's exposition inclines toward postrevolutionary domestic politics, where bourgeois domesticity is roundly acknowledged as having political agency. His aim in surveying the remarkable range of earlier domestic representations, from Ter Borch's ladies in satin to Lope de Vega's peasants, is to demonstrate that the domestic realm was always already political, that it "may in fact have expressed and perhaps even enabled significant social change" (p. 168). The differences between the eighteenth-century French model of domesticity and political agency and its predecessors are highlighted and defended in the final chapter, "From *Tartuffe* to the French Revolution." Helgerson's study brings to light a wide variety of material that, by virtue of its domestic subject matter, risks seeming overly or quaintly familiar. One might ask for further clarification of the specific political formations and the specific audiences the works surveyed addressed, but this self-avowedly episodic account makes enormous and commendable strides in opening these domestic arenas to our view and clarifying their political and social architecture.

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FRANCIS HASKELL. *The Ephemeral Museum: Old Master Paintings and the Rise of the Art Exhibition*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 2000. Pp. xiv, 200. $25.00.

This is the late Francis Haskell's characteristically restrained salvo into the debate over blockbuster Old Master exhibitions, which have been a major feature of European metropolitan life since the 1900s. Only the occasional acerbic aside punctuates his erudition, suggesting an intensity of feeling belied by the archival certitudes that underpin his account. This book will appeal to anyone who has winced at an aircraft's bumpy landing, wondering what vulnerable canvas is crated in its hold en route to yet another international exhibition. It seems now de rigeur to see Pissarros from Paris in Tokyo, and in Washington Vermeers from Amsterdam. As Haskell sorrowfully attests, the length of the queue, the volume of loans, and the sums raised in sponsorship are now the criteria by which success is gauged. Overwhelmed visitors often fail to realize that they may view in comfort elsewhere in the gallery equally compelling works from the permanent collection, although, as Haskell recognizes, the very concept of the "permanent collection" is under threat from the apparently unstoppable onward march of the loan exhibition. Yet, as I write, falling share prices are threatening corporate sponsorship, that linch-pin of the blockbuster show; reading between the lines, one suspects that Haskell might have seen this as no bad thing.

It was not always thus, and Haskell's book sets out to chart the Old Master loan exhibition from its beginnings in seventeenth-century Florentine churches where the modern agenda—viewing possibilities, conservation, economic influence and sponsorship—was established, to the great Parisian shows of Napoleon's art booty, selected in the field by experts whose shopping lists prefigure the Nazi quest for cultural treasures, the evolution of the retrospective exhibition devoted to the work of a single dead artist (offering the chance to track stylistic development), and the highly competitive nationalistic exhibitions organized in various European cities in the first half of the twentieth century. Haskell narrates the complex and chaotic preparations for these displays. In chapter seven, "Botticelli in the Service of Fascism," he describes how an exhibition of Spanish painting held in London in 1920–1921 with the support of a Spanish committee headed by the Duke of Alba was viewed in Italy as "an official exhibition, a national exhibition, an act of propaganda" (p. 108). The words are those of Ugo Ojetti, who became the organizer, through the mediation of Lady Chamberlain (wife of the foreign minister in the conservative government) of a spectacular show of paintings shipped to London including Botticelli's *Birth of Venus* from the Uffizi and Piero's *Flagellation* from Urbino. Benito Mussolini was personally involved in the difficult negotiations to secure loans, sending frequent telegrams to London from his ever more shaky power base (as Haskell points out, he was anxious to retain the support of his friend the foreign secretary). Rumors were published in the American press that Mussolini had sent the paintings to London as security on a loan. Infuriated, he refused outright a request that the exhibition be sent on to the United States.

The role of North America is rarely mentioned; when discussing the momentous Manchester Art Treasures Exhibition of 1857 that, in its purpose-built ironclad structure, set the blueprint for subsequent big international exhibitions, Haskell quotes (p. 103) *The Times*: "Naturally there is nothing from America, whither some fifty genuine Rembrandts, not to mention a much larger number of spurious ones, have taken flight during the past twenty years." Perhaps the fact that much of the research for this book was undertaken when Haskell was at the Getty Museum may have something to do with it, but the omission is a strange one, given the fact that loan exhibitions have for some time been recognized by cultural historians as a shop window for prospective private sellers.

The format is essentially that of a series of discrete essays and, without wishing to be churlish toward a magisterial author who, when he was preparing this book, was aware it would be his last, it is important to recognize that his account is primarily descriptive and quite narrowly focused both geographically and thematically. It looks at organization rather than reception (albeit the final chapter provides glimpses of Marcel Proust viewing Vermeers in Paris and Johan Huizinga inspired by a show of Flemish "primitives" in Bruges in 1902) and largely ignores contiguous issues, such as paintings passing through London sale rooms or available in private collections, and questions of

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historiography (although there is brief mention of northern cognoscenti challenging the primacy of Italian Renaissance art). Haskell's chief concern is not with economics or cultural politics but with the ways in which these exhibitions fostered and endorsed skills in connoisseurship: the art of authentication. His book provides much of interest to scholars in these areas.

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EAMON DUFFY. *The Voices of Morebath: Reformation and Rebellion in an English Village*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 2001. Pp. xv, 232. $22.50.

This book is based largely on the entries in a series of churchwardens' accounts kept by a garrulous priest, Christopher Trychay, vicar of Morebath, who survived all of the various religious settlements in the life of the parish during his tenure from 1520 to 1574. Since many historians agree that the English Reformation—as carried out in the localities—was a slow process and was not carried through until well into the Elizabethan period, this is a unique and valuable record. Every possible scrap of information has been teased from these parish documents, analyzed, and put into context. Eamon Duffy has written a classic account of how one small parish adapted to the bewildering changes of the Reformation.

Morebath was a manor as well as a parish, but with no resident squire or gentry. It was an upland Devonshire sheep-grazing community that barely exceeded 150 souls who suffered from a serious shortage of surnames. A few boys were able to walk to a grammar school across the Somerset border, so that, although the vicar kept the churchwardens' accounts, there was literacy in the parish. The lack of social stratification and the intimacy of the community assured that all male and female householders—even cottagers, agricultural laborers, and near paupers—served alongside the most substantial husbandmen as churchwardens and had a voice in parish government. A notable aspect of this participatory democracy was that all parishioners, male and female, who were old enough to be communicants were expected to assume responsibilities for managing the various "stores" or devotional lamp funds that derived from the sale of wool or beeswax taken from animals or hives kept by parishioners for parochial devotions and the upkeep and repair of the church fabric. Responsibility for long-term planning of financial resources and major repairs and improvements was vested in four or five of the wealthiest male householders.

Tudor parishes were contentious communities, and one of the reasons why Christopher Trychay took such great care to write every thing down was to preserve peace within the parochial community by distributing responsibilities evenly. For example, in an agrarian society where boundary disputes were endemic, the assignment of responsibility for an eleven-foot segment of the churchyard stone wall to every householder was highly significant. As the parish took on more secular duties in the Henrician period, individual responsibilities for repair of roads and bridges were also precisely meted out. These community decisions about the allocation of responsibilities were meticulously recorded in the churchwardens' accounts by Trychay and read out at Sunday parochial meetings: hence the "voices of Morebath." Despite the vicar's care in allocating and recording assigned duties, some parishioners refused to discharge their responsibilities, and it was always necessary to restore peace by achieving consensus rather than merely going with the majority. After such laborious efforts to restore harmony, everyone had need of the traditional churchale for reconciliation.

The most ferocious assault of the Henrician Reformation was directed against images and the many candles kept burning in Morebath parish church by the devotional lamp funds, which were very close to the hearts of the vicar and his parishioners. In response to the Royal Injunctions of 1538, the devotional lights were extinguished. The many separate devotional funds were consolidated into one parish fund, and a "Great Bible" was purchased immediately. This meant that fewer people—especially young men and women—participated in parish government, and the parish's income diminished by a half. Much of this small store of parish resources was in future diverted to Henry VIII's foreign wars, and the parish had to start selling off plate to meet royal demands. The Edwardian Injunctions of 1547 and a royal visitation the next year pushed these exactions to the limit and compelled the churchwardens to sell off all of the parochial sheep and bees and extinguish all candles but two. The proceeds went to construct a poor chest, pay the costs of the visitation, and furnish soldiers for the Scottish war. The consequence was to plunge the parish into financial crisis, to replace the system of parochial government based upon the participation of every householder with oligarchical rule, and to put an end to churchales and their rituals of reconciliation, which the government viewed as a source of popular disorder. Faced with mounting indebtedness, the churchwardens were forced to sell off or hide images, hangings, and liturgical implements as well as the furnishings of the church house, which had been accumulated over generations. Morebath church had been stripped bare and its social life destroyed. In 1549, the parish took up a collection to equip five of its young men to join the Western rebels at their camp outside Exeter. It appears that three of them never returned.

Expensive as it was, the people of Morebath undertook the necessary alterations to restore the Catholic liturgy under Mary but were much slower to comply when Elizabeth succeeded. The Marian Reformation was not without its successes in the West Country, but

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Elizabethan enforcement was strict, and, in the end, vicar and congregation conformed to the new order.

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STEPHEN GAUKROGER. *Francis Bacon and the Transformation of Early-Modern Philosophy*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2001. Pp. xii, 249. Cloth $59.95, paper $21.95.

This is a remarkable book, written by one of our leading authorities on René Descartes and Cartesianism, who turns his attention here to Francis Bacon and Baconianism, one of the most densely researched topics in the history of early modern science. Stephen Gaukroger offers one more reading of Bacon's philosophical achievement. "Bacon," he says, "is concerned with nothing less than a new era in human existence, the key to which lies . . . in a new kind of natural philosopher, whom Bacon hopes to mould" (p. 115). This new man (not woman), unlike philosophers of old, would not merely contemplate the world but use his knowledge to improve the human condition by providing us with "infinite commodities" (p. 71). Nor would he contemplate in splendid isolation; rather he would furnish a method of collective inquiry into nature that would allow us, with state sponsorship, to marshall the talents of many researchers.

Gaukroger makes his case by both quoting from Bacon himself and drawing on the work of Bacon scholars, including especially Julian Martin, Antonio Pérez-Ramos, Graham Rees, and Peter Harrison. Gaukroger argues that "Bacon's was the first, systematic . . . attempt to transform the early-modern philosopher from someone whose primary concern is with how to live morally into someone whose primary concern is with . . . natural processes" (p. 5). I would be happier if Gaukroger, in developing his argument, had dealt with the fact that Bacon also saw himself as a moral philosopher and had treated more fully Bacon's own views on ethics and morals. In this respect he could have drawn on the work of Benjamin Farrington, Jerome R. Ravetz, Anthony Low, Markku Peltonen, Ian Box, John C. Briggs, and John E. Leary. Gaukroger also raises the question of Bacon's influence on later seventeenth-century philosophers but restricts that influence to his impact on their natural philosophy. Men like Sir Edward Hyde, John Wilkins, Thomas Sprat, John Beale, John Evelyn, Joseph Glanvill, and Samuel Parker saw Bacon as both a moral and a natural philosopher and were deeply indebted to him on both counts. For these Baconians, science was meant to serve certain well-defined moral and social purposes, and these in turn were underpinned by natural religion. A full assessment of Bacon's legacy would have to take all this into consideration.

Gaukroger's book is laced with interesting observations and insights. I have noted a few, but every reader will come up with his or her own list. For patronage for his scientific project, Bacon for a time thought of "bypassing [King] James altogether" and turning to Prince Henry instead (p. 161). Bacon also never seems to have considered any working contemporary scientific institutions as precedents for Solomon's House, his proposed scientific research center, despite the existence of organizations like Gresham College and Tycho Brahe's superb observatory, Uraniborg, patronized by the Danish king (pp. 163–64). Finally, Gaukroger draws a parallel between a projected but never realized Solomon's House and the contemporary but very real Society of Jesus (pp. 127–31). Both were meant to be devoted to reform, one of science, the other of the Catholic Church, and both required their membership to live according to a strict discipline seen as necessary to the accomplishment of their respective missions. Both, Gaukroger claims, also required absolute obedience to their respective rulers: the pope in the case of the Jesuits, and the monarch in the case of Solomon's House. But, as to the latter, Gaukroger is mistaken. The king is not the head of that scientific powerhouse, "the lantern" of Bacon's utopian kingdom of Bensalem; in fact, according to Bacon, there will be times when the king is not even informed of his scientists' research findings: "some of these we do reveal sometimes to the state," their spokesman says, "and some not."

Gaukroger says rather cryptically that Bacon's *New Atlantis* is a portrait of a scientific utopia, "where self-respect, self-control, and internalized moral authority are central" (p. 52, n. 42). I would like to read much more from him on this. It is a statement that sits oddly with his notion that Bacon should be seen not as a moral philosopher but as a new kind of natural philosopher. I do not think Bacon and his followers would have understood that distinction. Gaukroger's treatment of his thesis, provocative and suggestive though it is, needs some serious tweaking, if not a major overhaul.

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CYNDIA SUSAN CLEGG. *Press Censorship in Jacobean England*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2001. Pp. xi, 286. $59.95.

Cyndia Susan Clegg has written a knowledgeable, detailed, and shrewd study of censorship during the reign of James I. Although she focuses primarily on the twenty-three years of James's kingship, her book has important implications for the ways in which both literary scholars and historians conceive of censorship and describe its effects.

Central to Clegg's arguments concerning the nature and effectiveness of censorship is her insistence that as a Jacobean political and cultural practice it must be understood as multivocal rather than univocal, local rather than cohesive, strategic as opposed to unified: "recognizing that multiple agencies sought and employed censorship in Jacobean England means recog-

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nizing that censorship operated at different times, in different ways, and for different reasons" (p. 17). This conviction shapes the book's structure, which begins in chapter one by delineating the variety of agencies, institutions, and instruments that the state could employ to regulate printing. Here, by surveying precisely what James inherited from Elizabeth, Clegg asserts that while "the outlines for hegemony" (p. 67) certainly existed in the diversity of means available to discipline the press, in fact the proliferation of institutionalized tools and controls actually diminished central authority. Although the crown, Stationers' Company, Court of High Commission, and Privy Council could work conjointly, more often they describe competing interests in an elaborate and convoluted political contest in which both individuals and institutions sought to protect and extend their power.

In succeeding chapters, Clegg goes on to demonstrate how these multiple agencies actually worked in specific cases. In chapter two, she examines how James employed public book burnings as acts of personal propaganda that allowed him to construct his royal persona. In chapter three, Clegg moves from performative acts to private suppression, from the drama of public punishment to the quiet manipulation of the apparatus of censorship to protect personal or institutional interests. Here she contends that the censorship of books for personal or familial reasons works "against a single abusive authoritarian system" (p. 118).

Chapter four shows how the tensions and rivalries that divided the crown, Court of High Commission, Privy Council, and Parliament could result in acts of censorship that pitted one part of the government against another. John Selden's *History of Tithes* (1618), for example, raised the particular ire of the ecclesiastical High Commission because it examined the boundaries between secular and religious jurisdiction. In chapter five, Clegg discusses the continental war in Bohemia in order to reveal how the press's involvement in international politics during the years 1619 and 1624 undermined state authority. In the final chapter, Clegg uses the publication histories of Richard Mountagu's *A gagg for the new gospell?* (1629) and *Appello Caesarem* (1625) to characterize the rivalry between Durham House and Lambeth as a manifestation of ecclesiastical faction that "transformed theological and personal differences into oppositional politics" (p. 198).

As a literary scholar, I found this book most valuable for its persuasive argument that under James censorship was "less a government instrument enacted against an alienated opposition than a 'weapon' used in the controversies of the period by different groups within the establishment against others also within it" (p. 219). While the king himself may have spoken with a single voice—although one that changed over time—his government presents us with multiple agencies and institutions pursuing often conflicting goals and policies. Clegg maintains that the bipolar oppositional model of political discourse presented by Whig historiography should be replaced by an understanding that "the mechanisms of writing, printing, and reading enabled multiple agencies in Jacobean England" (p. 14).

Clegg thus argues specifically against the position most famously championed by Christopher Hill and Annabel Patterson: that under James, state control of the press functioned as a pervasive and repressive system, and that "a crippling, all-embracing censorship stifled the expression of radical opinions" (p. 220). According to Clegg, a cohesive policy of press censorship never existed; instead, the haphazard intersection of personal, economic, religious, and political considerations determined how authority manifested itself in specific and local cases. Censorship under James was certainly widespread, but this does not mean for Clegg that it was necessarily powerful nor even effective. James may have embraced a rhetoric of authority, but he did not rule through the absolute power his rhetoric described.

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JANELLE GREENBERG. *The Radical Face of the Ancient Constitution: St. Edward's "Laws" in Early Modern Political Thought*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2001. Pp. xi, 343. $69.95.

Historiography is rarely as engrossing as Janelle Greenberg makes it when she places the debate over the Norman Conquest at the core of her analysis of English political theory during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Her book addresses a significant question relative to political crises under the Stuart monarchs: as Englishmen fought a civil war in the 1640s, executed their king, established a republic, restored the monarchy, and changed monarchs without war in 1688, what historical precedents did the opposing sides cite to justify their actions? Greenberg argues that during these conflicts the antagonists turned to three medieval texts that enabled them to construct a national past supportive of their present divergent ideologies. The radicals—by her definition, those willing to use force against an absolute monarch—mined the Anglo-Saxon eleventh century for precedents valuable in their defense of Parliament's role in Tudor-Stuart government. These same texts and traditions also gave comfort to the royalists supportive of more absolutist monarchy. The "plasticity of appeals to the past" animates this book and forms the heart of its argument (p. 296).

Greenberg focuses on the *Leges Edwardi Confessoris*, the *Mirror of Justices*, and the *Modus tenendi Parliamentum*, medieval texts attributed (wrongly, as it turns out) by Tudor and Stuart writers to the Anglo-Saxons. Her first chapter traces the reputation of Edward the Confessor as king and lawgiver over six hundred years. As St. Edward grew to model the highest standards of kingship, so the *Leges* gained

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prominence for their reflection of his virtues of piety, generosity, and cooperation with Parliament. The key part was the *Leges*' assertion that kings must defend the church and the kingdom; any ruler who did not "loses the very name of king" (p. 62). A king who broke the contract thus unkinged himself. How later generations of royalists and radicals interpreted these ideas shapes the successive chapters that move chronologically through the Tudor, early Stuart, Cromwellian, and late Stuart eras, culminating in the events of 1688–1689.

The "ancient constitution" referred to the immemorial, timeless existence of king, lords, and commons that together governed England. The "radical face" appeared in the idea that any king who acted as a tyrant broke the ancient contract with his people and so deposed himself; his illegal actions therefore sanctioned rebellion by the people. Responding in particular to the work of J. G. A. Pocock, who described how the ancient constitution developed under Elizabeth I, Greenberg pushes the concept back into the medieval era. She finds a tradition of commentary from the twelfth through the seventeenth centuries in which the radical aspect of the ancient constitution encouraged subjects, incorporated as Parliament, to hold their rulers to account, even to depose them if they violated the contract with their people from which their sovereignty sprang. In her view, again modifying Pocock's, the Whig role in the Glorious Revolution of 1688 reflected their historical understanding of the radical, not conservative, uses of the concept.

The debate over the nation's history linked the Norman Conquest to the nature of royal authority. Some royal supporters argued that "if Duke William had conquered England, he ruled as a conqueror and thus as an absolute king. In this case, his will, not a governmental contract, served as the basis of his legitimacy" (p. 12). In contrast, critics of absolutism pointed to William's governing in accordance with Anglo-Saxon customs and the laws of Edward the Confessor, an approach that recognized the constitutional place of "parliamentary" advice, the tripartite relation of king, lords, and commons. The parliamentarians further asserted that even had medieval kings ruled autocratically, protests in the name of the laws of Edward the Confessor kept alive the ancient constitution: "while William had conquered Harold and those Saxons who supported him, he had not conquered Saxon law and legal institutions" (p. 78). Such legal institutions, in the view of Tudor and Stuart historians, included an early form of Parliament, which established the historical precedent of nobles advising and even electing the king. The applicability of these concepts to seventeenth-century conflicts is clear. Under the Stuart kings, disputes erupted over the limits on royal authority, the power of the king to rule without Parliament, and the role of Parliament in governing England with or without the king. In that context, the figure of William I, as conqueror or inheritor, proved resilient and relevant during the constitutional conflicts of the seventeenth century.

Greenberg distills the early modern theories and historiographical debates into a compelling analysis. She moves through the centuries with ease, and her muscular prose complements the elegance of her argument. This book reminds us of the power of historical debate to keep the past alive—and not even past.

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DAVID LEMMINGS. *Professors of the Law: Barristers and English Legal Culture in the Eighteenth Century*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2000. Pp. xiv, 399. $85.00.

David Lemmings's book is a continuation and contextualization of the tale he told in *Gentlemen and Barristers: The Inns of Court and the English Bar 1680–1730* (1990), but its moral is very different. *Gentlemen and Barristers* analyzes barristers' disengagement from the institutional life of their medieval guilds, the inns of court. According to *Gentlemen and Barristers*, the barristers who triumphed in the new and more professional legal arena were individualists fitted to serve a society pulsing with the capitalism of a free market. According to the work under review, however, the barristers' principal adaptation to their new environment was increased exploitation of their monopoly of audience in the central courts. Indeed, even developments that *Gentlemen and Barristers* presents as conducive to the liberalization of the bar appear here as integral to its disassociation from the society it should have served.

In large part, Lemmings's reassessment of the bar springs from his extension of his analysis of the barristers' working life, here presented in fascinating detail, to that of the service they provided their clients. As a result, his analysis had to confront the great fact of English litigation from the Restoration on: its decline. The number of cases brought before all common law courts diminished dramatically, and although the decline ceased in the later eighteenth century, the proportion of the population using the central courts in the 1830s was still much lower than it had been in the 1640s. As Lemmings shows, all levels of English society were searching for alternatives to the traditional common law courts. The elite turned to Parliament rather than Chancery to deal with the problems of landed estates ensnarled in legal constraints, while those lower on the social scale petitioned for courts of requests to deal with small debts. One reason the English looked elsewhere was that barristers had raised the cost of using the traditional courts by increasing both their fees and the number of legal maneuvers they executed in each case. The latter practice reached its zenith in Chancery, where in the first decade of the nineteenth century the court dealt each year with just thirty to ninety cases but heard

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5,000 to 7,000 motions. By the late eighteenth century, barristers at the peak of their profession were receiving truly princely incomes while serving only a small portion of that very small portion of society who could afford their services.

As Lemmings showed in *Gentlemen and Barristers*, barristers at the peak of their profession arrived there by a new route, a route no longer dependent on the evaluation of their fellow barristers and so on promotion in the inns of court, but instead a route marked by the attainment of marks of governmental favor. As a result of barristers' dependence on government, of their failure to create a liberal education for their profession—and of their withdrawal from potential clients, by the late eighteenth century their public image was no longer that of the patriotic citizen defending his countryman from wrong. That ideal barrister survived, but only at the margins of the profession, in the new criminal bar where barristers defended members of the lower orders, and in the colonies where barristers did work that in England had been relegated to attorneys.

Lemmings's argument is powerful, not least because it is founded on mastery of a wide range of sources —on barristers' personal and professional papers, on the records of the inns, the books that educated barristers, on the records of the central courts that allow him to trace their employment, and even on their wills. As he shows, his argument is relevant to discussion of the nature of the English bourgeoisie, the nature and rise of the professions, and the relation of law and lawyers to an industrializing society. At the same time, Lemmings's characterization of English use of the courts raises another question. According to earlier commentators, the large number of suits in early Stuart courts revealed an inordinately litigious society. According to Lemmings, that litigation is evidence of common law's imbrication in early Stuart society, while the eighteenth-century decline in litigation is evidence of the barristers' withdrawal of law from English society. What, then, is the appropriate level of use of legal institutions, and by what criteria should that level be determined?

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FRANK LORENZ MÜLLER. *Britain and the German Question: Perceptions of Nationalism and Political Reform, 1830–63*. New York: Palgrave. 2002. Pp. xii, 268. $65.00.

In this book, Frank Lorenz Müller examines the sources of Britain's ambivalence toward the "liberal-national" forces at work in pre-unification Germany, focusing on British perceptions of German reform efforts between 1830 and 1863. Hence, Müller uses the "multidimensional character of British perceptions," rather than simply cabinet discussions and Great Power diplomacy, to "illuminate" Britain's policy toward the German states before 1863 (p. 3). What, he asks, were the parameters of a German nation-state that would be acceptable to Britain? W. E. Mosse, in *The European Powers and the German Question, 1848–1871* (1958), argued that Britain would have supported a moderately liberal and parliamentary solution of the German question—a view generally upheld in the historiography on Anglo-German relations during this period. However, Müller shows that the answer to this question is not so straightforward, since British observers of Germany consistently identified reform—liberal and national—with dangerous, destabilizing radicalism, and condemned it on that basis as late as 1858.

To access British perceptions, Müller looks to "Britain's foreign political establishment—the politicians, diplomats and writers who informed, made and executed foreign policy" (p. 2). The book thus contains an excellent survey of British newspaper and periodical articles concerning German affairs. But it is Foreign Office records and diplomatic correspondence (the value of which derives from British diplomats' lengthy service in Germany, and the professionalization of the diplomatic corps) that contain the most revealing material on British views of Germany. The familiar voices of Earl Cowley, Baron Bloomfield, and Lord Augustus Loftus are richly supplemented by the reportage of minor diplomats like John Bligh, Francis Forbes, and John Milbanke, men whose postings to the German *Mittelstaaten* produced perspectives on reform quite different from those found in Berlin, Vienna, and Frankfurt.

Müller examines British perceptions chronologically and thematically over four chapters: *Vormärz*; the revolutions of 1848–1849; the Austro-Prussian struggle for supremacy up to the Dresden Conferences in 1851; and the Prussian "New Era" and efforts at federal reform ending with the failure of the *Fürstentag* in 1863. During both the *Vormärz* period and the revolutions of 1848–1849, Britons perceived Germany's political reform movements with suspicion and outright hostility. German liberalism in 1830, for example, was described hysterically as a Franco-German conspiracy stained by the "deep dye of Jacobinism" (p. 18). So alarmed were British diplomats by the events following the July Revolution that most applauded the repressive "Six Articles," despite Viscount Palmerston's opposition to Prince Metternich's reactionary policy. In 1848, British diplomats also equated the "party of movement" with "low radicals" pursuing republican democracy, and some hoped for reactionary coups d'état led by Prussia (p. 64). The Frankfurt Parliament, thought to be filled with inexperienced, doctrinaire politicians bent on protectionism and the violation of Denmark's territorial integrity, was equally unpopular among Britons. Müller is justified in describing the absence of positive British comment as "eloquent testimony to Britain's deep conservatism with regard to German affairs" (p. 29).

German nationalism produced further apprehension among British observers, who remained committed to

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upholding the German Confederation as long as it served British interests. Developments that promoted unity (such as the formation of the *Zollverein* and the "Rhine Crisis" in 1840–1841) received official British approval only so long as they were perceived as proceeding from the top down, and/or were seen to be directed against French aggression. In 1848–1849 British observers conceded that German unity might well promote stability in Europe, but most perceived republicanism lurking in the Frankfurt Parliament's nationalist agenda. Similarly, the democratic provisions of the proposed Erfurt Union unsettled the pro-Prussian, *kleindeutsch* views most British diplomats held. Even Britain's opposition to Austria's invocation of federal execution against the recalcitrant chamber in Hesse-Kassel in 1850 was tempered by fears that a victory over the despotic Hessian elector would be "a triumph for the democratical party" (p. 144).

Britain's "pro-Prussian leanings" resurfaced after 1858 owing to the belief that Prince William's commitment to moderate political reform would stave off radicalism and promote unity in a manner acceptable to British interests (p. 164). Having demanded eight years earlier the restoration of the 1815 settlement in order to thwart Austria's *grossdeutsch* plans for reforming the newly revived German Diet, Britain now turned a cold shoulder to the unreformed Diet, which the *Times* described as a "mysterious, half-fabulous phenomenon" like the "last Mammoth splashing about in his Siberian mud-bath" (p. 178). But British sympathy for pro-Prussian schemes of federal reform soon vanished in the face of the Middle States' hopeless parochialism and Prussia's return to authoritarian and reactionary policies after 1861. In the end, British observers of Germany "proved to be a very discerning, difficult-to-please audience" (p. 200).

As a study of British perceptions, this book succeeds admirably, filling in gaps concerning our knowledge of the *Vormärz* and "New Era" periods and giving fresh relevance to the work of Veit Valentin, Raymond Sontag, Paul M. Kennedy, and John Davis, among others. Müller makes a compelling argument that fear of a centralized, democratic German republic attenuated British support for German unity and constitutionalism and strengthened the appeal of federalism, despite British disdain for the Third Germany's "Kinglings." The book successfully illuminates, therefore, Britain's German policy prior to unification, even though the precise relationship between diplomats' perceptions of Germany and the formulation of British policy remains opaque.

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Marjorie Morgan. *National Identities and Travel in Victorian Britain*. (Studies in Modern History.) New York: Palgrave. 2001. Pp. x, 271. $65.00.

At some point in the nineteenth century, peasants may have been turned into Frenchmen, but were the English, Scots, or Welsh ever turned into "Britons" during the same period? Marjorie Morgan resolutely argues yes and no in her careful analysis of almost 100 travel journals written by middle-class British travelers who visited the continent and toured their own lands. Whether the English, Scots, or Welsh travelers (Morgan found it necessary to exclude Ireland and the empire) identified themselves as such or as "British" depended on context: "What this study suggests is that there was no single frame of reference—imperial or otherwise—for national imagining in Victorian Britain" (p. 199). She finds that there were at least four national identities, with the overarching "British" identity being invoked most often in certain abstract contexts (political, commercial, and imperial) and the local identities tending to be used when more personal questions of cultural affiliation arose. (Predictably, when visiting the continent travelers often embraced the British identity inscribed on their passports, whereas excursions up, down, and across Britain itself tended to provoke more vehement affirmations of local identity.)

In addition to highlighting the multiple, flexible, and contingent nature of national identities within Britain, Morgan claims her study distinguishes itself from many other works on British self-imaginings by focusing on the quotidian perceptions of the middle classes rather than on the ways identities have been constructed and imposed by the state and the elite. Individuals experienced state-sponsored pageantry and propaganda "sporadically" (p. 4), and were more likely to find their senses of national identity expressed through the components of everyday life, such as landscape, food, religious and recreational rituals, hierarchical schemas, conceptions of liberty and history, and notions of comfort. She finds that her subjects often modified traditional conceptions of identities to encompass new facets of their experiences: continuity and change, no less than unity and difference, are keynotes of Morgan's phenomenological analysis of how national identities were understood by the middle classes in nineteenth-century Britain.

Morgan admits that her analysis, focused as it is on Britain and the continent, is "very limited in scope" (p. 218). This is somewhat counterbalanced by her attentive readings of the travel diaries, lucid prose, and cogent organization of the individual chapters. Her emphasis on how individuals identified themselves differently depending on context and "local knowledge" is a useful complement to broader studies focusing on how national traditions are invented and propagated, such as Benedict Anderson's *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origins and Spread of Nationalism* (1983), or on how an overarching "British" identity emerged through social, economic, military, and cultural forces, such as Linda Colley's *Britons: Forging the Nation 1707–1837* (1992). And, while many of the national traits her journal writers emphasize will come as little surprise to anyone familiar with modern British cultural history, it is nice to have a

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monograph to cite the next time one wants to claim that the English were devoted to tea and roast beef, the Welsh to poetry and music, the Scots to learning, and the British to behavioral reserve and inebriation. (Morgan finds a logical connection within the latter set of identifications: "Perhaps the British drank to excess because they were not as adept at amusing themselves naturally while in a sober state" [p.134]).

There are some problems with this study, however. As the preceding example suggests, a few of Morgan's interpretations of the travel journals can seem facile. In her chapter on "Landscape and Climate," for example, she notes that the British "preferred looking down" (p. 52) from heights. While connecting this to the fact that the British landscape tends to be human-centered in scale, enabling ramblers to climb hills, she then goes on to argue that "Perhaps the British landscape played a part in motivating its people to claim possession of distant lands and to rule over and command other peoples, while at the same time declaring that they themselves were free and never would be slaves" (p. 55). Further, it is not clear how representative Morgan's sample is: she provides no analysis other than to indicate that she has read under 100 travel journals by middle-class writers, and an appendix where eighty writers receive very brief biographical notes. Her approach tends to be synchronous; rarely do we get a sense of change over time, which contradicts her own emphasis on the specificity of lived experience and identity. Finally, Morgan's study provides little sense of human agency in the construction of these multiple identities. Although she wants to move away from examining how the state and elites codified imaginary communities, in the end one suspects that many of her writers' perceptions as expressed in the journals were reflections of such codifications. She acknowledges that travelers often echoed the descriptions of the guidebooks they read rather than what they saw before them (p. 21). Morgan's book succeeds as a phenomenological account of how certain middle-class writers defined themselves in multiple ways, depending on their circumstances, and should stimulate further research on the questions it raises.

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DAVID WRIGHT. *Mental Disability in Victorian England: The Earlswood Asylum, 1847–1901.* (Oxford Historical Monographs.) New York: Oxford University Press. 2001. Pp. vii, 244. $65.00.

Earlswood Asylum, the former National Asylum for Idiots, opened in April 1848, when its first eight inmates, "seven boys and one girl aged from 8 to 25 years" (p. 36), took up residence. It was, however, to be a further two months before "the Board could announce that it had hired a full-time cook, maid, head nurse, two regular nurses, and two assistants" (p. 36), and a further seven years before the board began to transfer patients to the institution's new buildings at Earlswood itself, near Reigate in Surrey. That it had reached even such a stage by 1848, in the traditionally unfashionable field of provision for idiots, was due overwhelmingly to the energies and ego of the Nonconformist minister Andrew Reed, and to the medical and psychiatric reformer John Conolly. These two, together with John Langton Down, medical superintendent at Earlswood from 1863 until 1868 and subsequently established as "the most-recognized and best-remembered expert on idiocy of the Victorian Period" (p. 45), ensured not only the success of the foundation but the permanent inscribing of idiocy on the health and education agendas of late nineteenth-century Britain.

David Wright's book is both careful and intelligent. It is careful in the collection of evidence; in the accumulation of records, correspondence, minutes, employment and contractual details, census returns, and parliamentary papers; and in the unostentatious and unforced use of these materials to recount and analyze the Earlswood story. The fullest possible account is given of the nature of the establishment's charitable basis, its subscription network (organized business donors regularly included "the Fishmongers, Goldsmiths, Mercers, Skinners, Cordwainers, Girdlers, Salters, Drapers, Vintners, Saddlers, Haberdashers, Cutters, the London Assurance Company, and the Corporation of the City of London" [p. 123]), the operation of its system of election to a residential place, as well as its educational practices and staffing establishment. Indeed, some of the most fascinating sections deal with such under-researched issues as career prospects for nursing and care staff in the nineteenth-century asylum, based on Earlswood's exemplary records of individual employees.

The book's intelligence is in Wright's refusal to be confined by the weight of material he has at his disposal. The history of Earlswood is not only in the archival facts of its founding and survival but in "the relationship *between* the medical institution and the society from whence its patients, staff, medical superintendents, and subscribers came" (p. 6). How, for example, was idiocy defined in the 1840s, and how did Earlswood's national presence contribute to a redefinition? What was the relation between the practice at Earlswood, and in particular its insistence on the education of its residents, and the previous and continuing piecemeal care within families or communities? What principles, above all, derived in part from family models, were explicit and implicit within the Earlswood model? Wright's excellent book takes us a long way toward answering these questions.

As so often, of course, it is the personal details that tell. Here, it is the glimpses of ordinary families, usually afforded through testimonies given in connection with applications for certification of idiot children, that remain, giving life to the account. Parents and siblings coped as best they could with an idiot son,

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daughter, or sister. Emma Offer's sister Adele at fourteen was "not able to dress herself, [or] able to cut up her own food [and] incapable of taking care of herself" (p. 52). A mother told of her daughter's habit, when needing "relief of the bladder or bowels," of asking strangers in the street to "unfasten her drawers" (p. 53). Mary Blagrove's daughter was "constantly getting into the fire and coal" (p. 54), and Clare Banner's sister "once took a lighted branch from the fire up into her bedroom and crawled under the bed" (p. 54). James Cox crowed like a cock, barked like a dog, cut up apron strings and boot laces, and threw things down the privy (p. 55). The book is filled with such instances, testimonies to families in support, or in need, and, to Wright's credit, each identifiable voice of parent, sibling, or idiot child finds a place in the index, alongside authorities, founders, and historians. This is history from the bottom up. Not the least benefit of this valuable monograph is its ability to bring to the fore the lived reality of its subject, within the assurance of a sound and scholarly thesis.

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L. A. CLARKSON and E. MARGARET CRAWFORD. *Feast and Famine: Food and Nutrition in Ireland 1500–1920.* New York: Oxford University Press. 2001. Pp. vi, 325. $39.95.

The mid-nineteenth-century potato famine stands like a Colossus astride Irish history. And so it should, in light of the profound consequences that ensued, not only for the Irish in Ireland but also for the Irish diaspora. Yet does the centrality of the potato in Irish history and of the land system that evolved and made the potato so profoundly important obscure other things? Unavoidably, L. A. Clarkson and E. Margaret Crawford have to say a lot about the potato and the famine, but this book is not a history of those things. Their long-awaited study may not diminish the emotional baggage that links the potato to Irish history, but at least it firmly places that link in perspective. In addition, the approach adopted here might be transferred to other societies and other times. What we have is a history of food intake, and more particularly of nutrition, and hence that greater breadth of history that links consumption to health, disease, and general wellbeing.

Historians have had much to say about food production and relatively little about food. This may seem an odd imbalance given the fundamental importance of food for survival. But the plain fact is that winning the struggle for survival focuses attention on the parameters of winning, among which are food productivity and food production, and not very often food consumption. It is only when we are constantly exposed to the losers, as frequently has become the case with the supply problems of sub-Saharan Africa, or when we see the winners in a different light through the self-indulgence of Western society, that we perhaps become conscious of nutrition and its wider implications.

The authors explore nutrition as the link between food and health in five themes. The first discusses eating and drinking patterns in Ireland over time and among social classes. The second theme concerns the fluctuating division in Irish society in terms of diet and nutrition, one result of which was that a large proportion of Ireland's population became singularly dependent on a single food base that collapsed. The third theme confronts the question of whether famine was Ireland's destiny. The fourth theme brings together food and diet, which leads to the essential relationship between nutrition and health and the manifestation of this through demographic change. The final theme is concerned with the role of the state, and in particular the overbearing concern of the state with politics, religion, and the land to the neglect of food regulation.

This book therefore rescues food and nutrition from what the authors call the basement of history. We have a thorough analysis of food and food consumption and its distribution through the different layers of society from *ca.* 1500 to the partition of Ireland in 1920. Famine was not so much Ireland's destiny but more a visitation that occurred from time to time, more frequently than in some societies and less than in others. To that extent food supply has rightly preoccupied historians, but starvation alone was not the issue. It was the associated health risk that went with inadequate supply that was the killer. Intestinal and infectious diseases attacked the body when insufficiency occurred or when substitute foods were introduced as part of the relief mechanism. The potato failure induced a sudden vitamin deficiency that provoked scurvy. While potatoes are not rich in vitamin C, the quantity of potatoes consumed gave a sufficient supply. The sudden drop in this essential vitamin was profound. The authors' treatment of food and nutrition, diet and health offers for me the most authoritative analysis I have read on those relationships and the health risks that ensued from insufficiency. Indeed, chapter eight is a very detailed and scientific approach to the link between food and nutrition, a link which historians should take more seriously given that it travels across societies and through time. It was not peculiar to Ireland even though its importance is demonstrated through this interesting focus on Irish history. Governments and the ruling class were involved in regulating agriculture and the products of agriculture because food was a source of tax revenue, and also a source of rents. Governments also regulated food supply to a degree through the assize of bread. But this last theme of the book suggests that the regulation of nutritional standards was a latecomer to the governments' list of concerns.

The conclusion is inevitable: the study of history with food and drink omitted is incomplete history, and

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this book is an important demonstration of that maxim.

MICHAEL TURNER
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DAVID A. BELL. *The Cult of the Nation in France: Inventing Nationalism, 1680–1800*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 2001. Pp. xiv, 304. $45.00.

This is a distinctive and important contribution to the history of early modern France and, no less, to the ever-swelling theme of the origins of nationalism. David A. Bell's position on the classic debate between what Ernest Gellner called "primordialists" and "modernists" seems to me the right one. He makes the key distinction between nationalism (a political idea) and national sentiment (a feeling of belonging). Nationalism, for Bell, is essentially a program to *make* a nation. As such, it makes no sense before the eighteenth century: only then did there emerge projects to create cohesive and homogenous bodies of citizens by education, propaganda, and law. This position enables Bell to stand in the ranks of the modernists (passing what I think of as the "Joan of Arc test"—by his criteria she was not a nationalist) while also answering a fundamental problem of the classic modernization models of Gellner and Benedict Anderson: how could nationalism exist in mainly rural and illiterate societies, such as eighteenth-century France?

This book is a synthesis of Bell's own research and his wide reading in the now substantial secondary material. As such—and this is my only half-criticism—it seems somewhat uneven. Part of it reads as if constructed of materials originally quarried for other purposes. Hence, a chapter (seemingly based on a previously published paper) is devoted to a new look at the familiar theme of the language policies of the revolution. By contrast, there is only a single passing reference to the linguistic effects of mass conscription, although Bell calls this "by far the most successful instrument of national integration" (p. 201). In short, the book seems to me best approached as a collection of related essays rather than a comprehensive exposition. It differs thereby from a work with which in some ways it is comparable and by which it appears to have been influenced, Linda Colley's seminal but much criticized *Britons: Forging the Nation 1707–1837* (1992). There is, notwithstanding this difference, convergence in that both authors, by situating the growth of French and British nationalism amid the particular needs and preoccupations of the eighteenth century—not least the struggle between the two states—believe that it has now ceased to have a function. Whereas this led Colley to adopt the "break-up of Britain" thesis dear to Scottish nationalists, Bell arrives at a sort of "end-of-history" conclusion, by which the nation dissolves into an open and constantly moving "site of exchange" not incomparable, perhaps, with what it was in the pre-Jacobin eighteenth century. It may be, of course, that the recent upsurge of populism in France and elsewhere shows that reports of the nation's quiet demise are somewhat exaggerated.

A theme to which Bell gives special prominence is religion, which French nationalism grows "simultaneously out of, and in opposition to" (p. 7). This is the most important and original element of the book. Bell argues that religion is important in at least three ways: philosophically (in creating the idea of the nation as part of the natural order); politically (stressing national unity as a means of avoiding a resurgence of religious conflict); and methodologically (under both the monarchy and especially the republic, the methods of church missionaries were adopted, often consciously, by the apostles of nationalism). This last point suggests a new and interesting angle on the familiar story of Abbé Grégoire and the republican campaign against linguistic diversity: Bell argues that "patois" was particularly associated with religious teaching, and consequently the language question seemed particularly important to priests or ex-priests eager to spread the revolutionary gospel in the 1790s, especially when their main opponents were their antirevolutionary clerical brethren.

Bell's stress on the religious origins of nationalism is certainly thought provoking and, to a large extent, convincing. It does, however, throw up an interesting problem. For Bell, French nationalism is not merely born out of Christianity but specifically out of Catholicism. Presumably, therefore, it must have different characteristics from nationalism in non-Catholic countries. This is not a question that is pressed very far. There is a brief comparison with England, arguing that French nationalism was more universalist and that of Protestant England (which he appears to think was under the sway of Calvinism) more xenophobic. This sharp contrast, however, rests on a rather caricatural picture of the English—for which, admittedly, there is considerable historiographical support. It can hardly be denied, however, that universalism—alias imperialism—did become and remain a defining characteristic of French republican nationalism. In short, the arguments of this book may not command universal assent, but it constitutes an important new approach to the history not only of French nationalism but of nationalism in general.

ROBERT TOMBS
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CARLA HESSE. *The Other Enlightenment: How French Women Became Modern*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 2001. Pp. xvi, 233. $35.00.

To this day, there is no more convincing formulation of enlightenment than that proposed by Immanuel Kant in 1784: "mankind's exit from self-imposed immaturity." Yet, nowhere does his account of freedom suffer greater qualification than on the topic of sex. Women, Kant believed, lacked the mental capacity necessary to achieve full maturity as autonomous, self-determining moral agents. While compelled to follow the law, they

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were without the resources to represent themselves as free individuals. Far from accounting for women's enlightenment, then, Kant's notion would seem to offer an excellent illustration of how, in Simone de Beauvoir's memorable phrase, women came to be defined as man's "other." Rejecting the pessimistic implications of Beauvoir's account, and the narrative of women's subordination in much recent feminist historiography, Carla Hesse instead deploys Kant's ambivalent definition of freedom as the ground for a more hopeful and explicitly liberal feminist reconstruction of female agency.

Hesse locates the modern, public voice of female "otherness" in an alternative literary canon of women's published writings. She depicts the authorial signature as a voluntary act of women's public self-constitution, during a period when women were legally dependent on men, and she locates women's claims to moral self-governance within the act of writing for a public audience. Hesse privileges writing—and its concomitants, literacy and commercial publishing—over speech in the making of modern individuals. "It creates a durable space of self-reflexivity unattainable in transitory oral forms of expression . . . [It] made it possible for private selves to transform themselves into public ones" (p. xii). However, also following Kant, Hesse provocatively claims that "political and civil equality . . . are not necessary preconditions for moral self-determination or participation in the advancement of public reason" (p. xi).

Alongside stimulating readings of key works by such leading female writers of the revolutionary period as Louise de Kéralio-Robert, Isabel de Charrière, Madame de Genlis, and Madame de Staël, and more succinct discussions of later authors like George Sand, Colette, and Beauvoir, Hesse includes two appendixes. The first lists publications by female authors discovered in card catalogues and bibliographies; the second identifies women's publishers and their locations. Hesse's research turns up some significant results. In contrast to the prominence accorded to a few salonnières by Dena Goodman (*The Republic of Letters: A Cultural History of the French Enlightenment* [1994]), Hesse maintains that women were relatively marginal to Old Regime literary culture, and the numbers of published female writers were relatively constant over its last decades. Conversely, women's writing dramatically exploded (more than tripling, by her calculation) in the decade between 1789 and 1800, coinciding with the collapse of Old Regime patronage and privilege. Paradoxically, women entered the new commercial world of print in unprecedented numbers just as republican moral theories, gendered biology, and discriminatory laws undermined claims for gender equality. Still, even during the Terror and under Napoleon, the periods of greatest anxiety about women's public influence, women writers were never systematically discriminated against as women. "It was *what* they wrote and published, rather than *who* wrote and published, that mattered" (pp. 51–52). And apart from prominent exceptions, including the writers she singles out, Hesse contends that as a group women writers were on the whole neither marginal nor predominantly aristocratic.

Chapter one, "The Perils of Eloquence," sets the stage with a rather far-reaching cultural analysis of Old Regime France. Hesse links the demise of two traditional female roles, the lower-class fishwife and the upper-class salonnière, to the eclipse of oral by written culture, as well as to a growing cultural gap between men and women, expressed in differential rates of literacy and a separation of women's speech from male norms. The following two chapters are among the book's most successful, quantifying women's presence within revolutionary print culture and astutely analyzing the legal indeterminacy of female authorship. Hesse next effectively charts the intellectual and political climate surrounding Kéralio-Robert's writings on republican sovereignty and Charrière's literary response to Kant's philosophy. In the final chapter, "Fiction as Philosophy," she argues for literature's social and formal advantages over other genres. It offered women writers "the cultural means to produce a public, second self—one existing in an indeterminate relation to their biological being—that they could control. In literature, alone, modern woman could imagine herself in other circumstances than those determined by either her biological limits or her juridical subordination" (p. 142).

This is a concise book on a vast topic, one that is sure to inspire further research and discussion. One wants to know whether publication, independent of readership, guaranteed a woman writer moral autonomy. If some women achieved enlightenment through writing, can the same be said for female readers? Did the proportion of women writers rise, or merely their numbers? However, further documentation of women's contribution to print culture will not be itself answer the question of how women's fiction making advanced the cause of women's political, economic, or civil rights. Indeed, this connection is frustratingly belied by Hesse's own argument that reason and autonomy coexisted with legal and political dependence. Finally, although Hesse's dissident, female-centered version of Enlightenment—"one that was skeptical not idealist, fictional not scientific, situationalist not universalist"—is well designed to satisfy the objections of postmodernist and feminist critics of Enlightenment, not all will be convinced by a narrative that leads "from philosophical fiction to the phenomenological revolution" (p. 156).

JOAN B. LANDES
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PHYLLIS H. STOCK-MORTON. *The Life of Marie d'Agoult, alias Daniel Stern*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 2000. Pp. viii, 283. $42.50.

Marie d'Agoult (1805–1876) was Franz Liszt's longtime lover and mother of his three children, one of

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whom, Cosima, was to marry Richard Wagner. This is already enough to guarantee her status as a bit player on the stage of European culture. But in her own right she was one of those remarkable nineteenth-century French women who have begun to emerge from the shadows in the last ten years or so. In the 1970s and 1980s—what we may now think of as the early years of women's studies—scholars of nineteenth-century France had tended to concentrate on those writers whose names were already known, such as Madame de Staël or George Sand, but who had been consistently underestimated by a remorselessly male-oriented French academic establishment. Once these were reinstated as, at the very least, writers of note, critics started to turn their attention to other nineteenth-century French women writers. There has been a tendency to do so by way of so-called "empathetic biographies" of individual figures; some of these have become a little lost in detail, as if every fact of their subjects' lives were equally interesting, and Phyllis H. Stock-Morton's book is not always free of this failing. She also, perhaps, lays too much stress early in the book on what she constantly calls "romantic" aspects of d'Agoult's life (and here there seems to be a confusion between "romantic" in the "sloppy" sense and "Romantic" in the more stringently literary-historical sense: Stock-Morton often uses the two terms as if they were interchangeable). But the life itself is gripping: here was an aristocratic woman who publicly lived in an extramarital liaison with a "mere" artist and bore illegitimate offspring, suffering bravely all the legally imposed injustices that descended upon female perpetrators of such actions. And the two great merits of this study are, first, its careful account of d'Agoult's relations with numerous famous figures of the time; second, its charting of her own intellectual development and talents as a historian. The latter emphasis becomes stronger as the book goes on and is particularly welcome, given that researchers are still inclined to dwell on those areas of production that women are traditionally supposed to be "good at," such as novels and memoirs; however, in the nineteenth century they were already writing in many other areas, among them history of art, journalism, and politics. (For example, Flora Tristan, the grandmother of Paul Gauguin, was another well-known and influential political writer of the mid-century.) Their interests, in other words, ranged as widely as those of their male contemporaries, and Stock-Morton brings out well the paradox whereby the social repression of the time not only cramped d'Agoult's activities but also fanned her intellectual ambitions.

D'Agoult's best-known historical work is *Histoire de la révolution de 1848*, published in three volumes between 1851 and 1853. This uses what have been hailed as modern techniques such as interviews with eyewitnesses, and it is still referred to by historians of France as one of the key documents of the 1848 revolution. But d'Agoult published others, such as a history of the Netherlands between 1581 and 1625; she wrote an essay on liberty in 1847 that was still being posthumously reissued in 1880; she published well over a hundred articles in French, German, Swiss, and Italian periodicals; and she ran a salon that drew leading politicians, artists, and thinkers of the time. Stock-Morton makes the undoubtedly true claim that she was schooled in a whole range of social, political, and literary aspects of many Western European countries and was capable of discussing these from both historical and contemporary points of view. D'Agoult, in other words, can and should be counted as a notable contributor to the intellectual life of a rich century. By the end of this scholarly work, we are left feeling that its initial over-focusing on d'Agoult's "temperament" may not, after all, be so misplaced: Stock-Morton does suggest in what ways personal expectations and social pressures reinforced each other to thwart her subject's happiness and brilliance at many turns.

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JEREMY D. POPKIN. *Press, Revolution, and Social Identities in France 1830–1835*. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press. 2002. Pp. x, 329. Cloth $65.00, paper $22.50.

Political revolutions, Jeremy D. Popkin observes, produce shifts in consciousness concerning social identities. Such new identities and "imagined communities" are constructed in the primary media of the day: above all, in the early nineteenth century, newspapers. Thus Popkin suggests that revolutionary cycles continue for as long as the "unruly texts" that create new possibilities for change and the redefinition of social reality are allowed to proliferate in public space.

This reconceptualization expands the parameters and importance of the 1830 revolution, traditionally seen as the poor relation of those of 1789, 1848, and 1871, and suggests that it lasted from July 1830 until the restriction of revolutionary press freedom in September 1835. To access the journalistic voices of the period, Popkin looks to Lyon, France's second city, where an unprecedented expansion in its periodical press between 1830 and 1835 was accompanied by major insurrections by silk industry workers in 1831 and 1834. These insurrections focused European attention on the condition in the city's silk industry, as for many observers Lyon appeared to epitomize the emerging industrial civilization. Thus press responses to the disturbances took on an emblematic, Europe-wide significance.

Among the journalistic voices that competed to define the meaning of revolutionary change, several claimed to represent social groups hitherto absent from Lyon's public life, above all the working classes and women. These, Popkin argues, played a key role in defining new social identities by setting out deliberately to construct the "proletariat" and "women" as self-conscious groups with common interests. In both

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cases, however, it is possible to argue that press rhetoric was limited by the intellectual parameters of bourgeois society. In the journalism of Eugénie Niboyet's *Conseiller des femmes*, Popkin observes the development of a feminism that celebrated gender differences and "female" roles but simultaneously demanded public space and respect for women, although not the franchise. He contrasts this feminism with that of the Enlightenment, which had stressed the common features of men and women, arguing that it attempted to create a sense of community among women of different classes. Above all, Enlightenment feminism drew the attention of middle-class readers to the sufferings and sexual exploitation of their poorer sisters. The workers' newspapers, the *Écho de la fabrique* and *Écho des travailleurs*, also attempted to forge a sense of class unity among disparate groups of workers and to portray the working classes, especially the silk weavers, as politically responsible and worthy of representation.

Popkin also argues, perhaps more controversially, that bourgeois class-consciousness was itself an outcome of the crisis, defined in distinct opposition to the "proletariat" by the more traditional middle-class press. In the process, this self-identification forced the abandonment of both the pretense that the press could represent a unitary public and the related language of "bourgeois universalism." Nevertheless, Popkin contends that until the 1835 press clampdown, the contours of media-constructed class and gender identities remained fluid. Only thereafter could the interpretation of class boundaries and the insurrections become fixed.

Popkin's fascinating final chapter examines how this happened, tracing the replacement of press discussion by retrospective historical and literary accounts. It shows how the most influential contemporary historical account, the journalist Jean-Baptiste Monfalcon's *Histoire des insurrections de Lyon* (1834), depicted the silk workers as degraded and corrupt, impoverished by inexorable economic laws and needing regimentation and control. Such a portrayal justified the harsh conservatism perpetuated among the French elite for the remainder of the century. In contrast, the anonymous 1835 novel, *La révolte de Lyon, ou la fille du prolétaire*, a tragic story centered around the rape and murder of a hapless weaver's daughter by a corrupt bourgeois, portrayed the working classes as downtrodden and oppressed. However, Popkin's most influential text was a widely cited article by Saint-Marc Girardin in the Parisian *Journal des débats* of December 8, 1831. Girardin ascribed "world-historical significance" to events in Lyon by claiming that they "revealed a fundamental secret, that of the internal social conflict between the class that owns things and the one that does not" (p. 218). As historical fact, Girardin's comments are misleading: the leaders of the revolt, the master silk weavers, were petit-bourgeois proprietors of small workshops. This discrepancy hardly mattered, however, for, like the other two accounts, his article offered a fixed, closed, apparently definitive interpretation, accompanied by stereotypes that were to have enormous power over the nineteenth-century imagination. Thus, whereas the 1790s had provided French citizens with a political vocabulary, according to Popkin, the 1830 revolution encouraged them to perceive themselves as "bourgeois" or "proletarians" and to conceive a political world based on class conflict.

This readable, stimulating, and richly textured book charts new courses for the study of the nineteenth-century French press and will have considerable resonance in the fields of gender, social, and revolutionary history. It is arguably Popkin's most important achievement to date, and undoubtedly his most controversial.

SIMON BURROWS
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AVNER BEN-AMOS. *Funerals, Politics, and Memory in Modern France, 1789–1996*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2000. Pp. ix, 425. $95.00.

France's Third Republic made a cult of its illustrious dead. It mounted grand state funerals to mark the passing of men who in life had honored the principles it stood for, and it transferred the remains of its most celebrated ancestors to the sacred crypts of the Pantheon or the Invalides. The French Third Republic, however, did not have a monopoly on the elaborate public burial. The French Revolution had elevated the form into a complex, stage-managed affair, elaborating rituals that subsequent monarchical and imperial regimes would borrow from or reject as they saw fit. And the Fourth and Fifth Republics kept the tradition alive. Indeed, the form has retained its vitality to the present day, as evidenced by the gala ceremonies organized to commemorate André Malraux's pantheonization in 1996.

Nonetheless, the Third Republic was the heyday of the state funeral. From 1877 to 1940, the regime celebrated eighty-two such events. Avner Ben-Amos's splendid book brings to bear a rich mix of empirical research and anthropological theory to interpret the phenomenon. Why the central importance of the state funeral; what did it mean; how did the form evolve?

Ben-Amos's answer to the first question is complex. Most nineteenth-century urbanites died at home in bed. The deceased was carried through the streets first to a church or chapel and then to a nearby cemetery for burial. The well-heeled reworked these rituals into demonstrations of wealth and standing, turning the funeral procession into a grandiose public display, the family mausoleum into a marker of rank. The state took up the form for its own purposes: in part to dramatize its power, but at the same time to draw citizens or subjects into its orbit, summoning and tapping into their loyalties. The rites of the state funeral transformed the honored dead into celebrated forebears destined to live on in the memory of poster-

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ity. In this way, past and future generations were joined and a similacrum of immortality conferred.

The republic, of course, placed its own peculiar stamp on the institution. At this point, Ben-Amos's contextualization of the public funeral spills over into an interpretation of its wider meanings. The republic imagined itself a democratic regime. The masses who thronged to its state funerals were spectators in part but often more than that. Adolphe Thiers's funeral cortege in 1877 was greeted with cries of "Vive la République." The funeral processions themselves often included (alongside the usual political figures and uniformed representatives of the state) citizen delegations from clubs, lodges, and associations who might have special reason to revere the memory of the deceased. The very selection of candidates for burial honors bespoke the republic's resolution to build a connection between itself and its citizens. The venerated dead—politicians, soldiers, statesmen—were simple citizens of common, even modest birth who had distinguished themselves through sacrifice and imagination in the service of the public good.

Yet, the dead were more than just fellow citizens. They were also Great Men who had led lives exemplary of the republic's core values. These were models to learn from, and Ben-Amos undertakes an exhaustive examination of the regime's anointed Great Men to work out what those lessons might be. A full quarter of the sample turn out to be scientists, writers, and musicians, testimony to the regime's rationalist faith and abiding belief in the pedagogical power of culture. A significant minority were colonizers, representatives of the republic's civilizing mission. The balance were politicians and soldiers, bearers of the republican idea, defenders of the nation's soil, servants of democracy and the *patrie*.

Ben-Amos is well aware that the republic's funerary efforts to dramatize its deepest-held values did not go uncontested. A number of state funerals were conducted without benefit of clergy, drawing the fire of the Catholic Church. Ultranationalists tried to exploit President Félix Faure's funeral in 1899 to mount a putsch. Ben-Amos leaves the impression, however, and I think he is right in this regard, that the Third Republic's state funerals were in the main consensual affairs that had enormous drawing power. Upward of a million people turned out for Victor Hugo's interment in 1885 and again for that of Maréchal Foch in 1929. Events such as these, Ben-Amos concludes, "sustained" the Third Republic, helping to make the regime France's most durable since the Revolution (p. 352).

This leaves for the last the question of the form's evolution over time. Ben-Amos contrasts the Third Republic state funeral with its monarchical and imperial antecedents. The republic's funerals were "democratic" and pedagogical. Those of it predecessors discouraged crowd participation, placing distance between the deceased and a passive public. The focus here was on the dead sovereign, memorialized not as a man among men but as a being of superior rank.

Ben-Amos is inclined to treat the Third Republic state funeral as fixed in its basic characteristics, changing little over the life of the regime. The evidence he marshals, however, suggests that 1914–1918 marked a meaningful turning point. After the war, it bacame the custom to transport the deceased's coffin on a gun carriage, no longer in a hearse. Veterans' groups occupied a more prominent place in funeral corteges than in the past. The blockbuster funerals of the republic's early years had honored Gambetta (1883) and Hugo. In the 1920, it was the burials of the unknown solders (1920) and Foch that excited the most public attention. After the war, the state funeral—weighed down by the memory of catastrophic loss, cast in a more military mold—was not quite the civic fête it had been in sunnier times.

And what became of the state funeral in the wake of the Third Republic's demise? It fell first on hard times and then, in the Fifth Republic, was reborn, albeit in changed form. The Fourth Republic organized its share of gala state funerals, but the citizenry did not turn out. The triumphalist values of the republican tradition no longer had the same capacity to mobilize in an age of decolonization, military retrenchment, and religious reconciliation (Vatican II was announced in 1959). Who was a Great Man anyhow? After the war, the category had been expanded to include groups hitherto excluded. The Fourth Republic pantheonized the Caribbean-born Félix Eboué in 1949; it honored Colette with a state funeral in 1954. The Fifth Republic, however, found a way to narrow the category again to more manageable (read, more exclusive) proportions. The Great Man by its lights was first and foremost a former president: Charles de Gaulle (1970), Georges Pompidou (1974), or François Mitterrand (1996). The new regime, moreover, made a point of televising funeral proceedings, reengaging by such means a flagging public interest. Ben-Amos notes how much the new-style, Fifth Republic funeral, centered on the chief executive and attended by crowds more spectatorial than participating, resembles monarchical and imperial models. He might also have noted how much it resembles state funerals elsewhere in the Western world from President John F. Kennedy's (1963) to Princess Diana's (1997).

Ben-Amos has captured in vivid and suggestive detail a distinctive moment in postrevolutionary French history. France's Third Republic pioneered a form of public mourning all its own, and no one has pinned down just what made the republic's state funerals unique better than Ben-Amos. In this domain as in others, however, *l'exception française* has come to an end.

PHILIP NORD
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ANNE COVA. *Au service de l'église, de la patrie et de la famille: Femmes catholiques et maternité sous la III^e*

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République. (Collection Logiques Sociales.) Paris: L'Harmattan. 2000. Pp. 232. FR 150.00.

Historians understand the French Family Code of 1939, which provided allocations for each child born to a family (with complex provisions and nitpicking exceptions), as the product of decades-long anxiety over falling birth rates in France. It resulted from a conservative impulse to return women to the home. This book by Anna Cova, based on meticulous research in public and private archives, reveals the enormous and influential female effort, in the form of numerous groups of Catholic women, behind this legislation. Only one of them could be considered "feminist" in its advocacy for female suffrage, while the others espoused deeply religious, right-wing (even royalist), and anti-Semitic views. When some of these groups did support suffrage, it was in the form of the "family vote" in which a father's voting power would be enhanced according to the number of children he had. Members of these groups generally believed that women had duties but not rights, and that as individuals their interests were subordinate to those of the family.

One of the first of these organizations, the Ligue des femmes françaises (LFF), was originally formed to protest the Associations Law of 1901 that disqualified members of Roman Catholic religious orders from teaching and closed 12,000 schools run by them. But the league's ongoing activities were inspired by Rome and intensified by France's depopulation crisis. In 1891, Pope Leo XIII issued *Rerum novarum*, which insisted that women are mothers "by nature" and must devote themselves to domestic tasks rather than work outside the home. This message had special resonance for French Catholics. Since France was the first modern Western nation to experience fertility decline, many observers understood low birth rates as a sign of national and "racial" decay. Catholic women took to heart the pope's instructions, and found allies in the "repopulators" who wished to promote higher birth rates and provide the material means to make large families possible. The LFF instructed women about their "maternal mission," which included the moral education of their children. Its "social action" provided numerous forms of practical assistance, such as consultations for mothers of newborns, nurseries, and the distribution of pasteurized milk. The Ligue patriotique des Françaises (LPDF), which broke off from the LFF in 1902, grew rapidly to 580,000 members by 1913, and was the most powerful group of women in France.

The Great War exacerbated the depopulation problem and further deepened the concerns of "repopulators," fueling a campaign to remove women, and especially mothers, from the workplace. Another group of Catholic women, Union feminine civique et sociale (UFCS), devoted itself to that cause. Meanwhile the pope proclaimed that "the conjugal act becomes illicit and shameful whenever the conception of a child is avoided" and called any desire among women to be free of conjugal and maternal responsibilities a "detestable crime" (pp. 155–56). In 1933, at the request of the Holy See, the LFF and the LPDF unified and formed the Ligue feminine d'action catholique française (LFACF), whose purpose was to re-Christianize France and to continue works in defense of the family. The LFACF also called for stronger penalties for abortion and expressed admiration for Nazi policies in this regard. The organization numbered over two million Catholic women by 1939.

This important book leaves no doubt that Catholic women carried out the pope's agenda in France and exercised a huge influence—certainly far greater than that of feminists—on legislation resulting in the Family Code and other welfare provisions. The large number of acronyms, sometimes as many as five in one sentence, with no list of the groups to which they refer, renders an otherwise readable book occasionally difficult to follow. Otherwise it offers, along with its very useful appendix of tables, a valuable contribution to our knowledge about how French welfare legislation evolved. Cova admits that her study is not definitive and suggests that further research be conducted on the activities of Protestant and Jewish women. But it is also somewhat limited in its analysis of her findings, their implications, and, indeed, their ironies. These women engaged in time-consuming activities such as congresses, lectures, printed propaganda, social work, extensive survey research, the establishment of mutualities for mothers, religious work, and more—all activities that took them outside the very home to which they were trying to return women. Presumably they either no longer had maternal responsibilities, or they (hypocritically) relegated them to domestic servants. With several notable exceptions, Cova says little about who the women were. Did they, like their feminist counterparts, use the depopulation crisis as a means to engage meaningfully in public life as noncitizens? Finally, their social action had unintended and ironic consequences: the provision of nurseries, preschools, and family allocations created a situation that allowed couples to be far less child-centered than in countries lacking these provisions, such as the United States, and French birth rates remained low.

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ISABELLE VEYRAT-MASSON. *Quand la télévision explore le temps: L'histoire au petit écran, 1953–2000*. Paris: Fayard. 2000. Pp. 567. FR 170.00.

In the latter half of the twentieth century, French historians made many trailblazing contributions to the study of historical consciousness and collective memory, but they were slow to take note of television and its effects on society. Television was long left to sociologists and media theorists, not only because it was a phenomenon of present times but also because it struck academic historians as too vulgar and jejeune to

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be a worthy object of study. Historical programs occupied a large part of the day's limited broadcasts in the 1950s and 1960s, and they drew large audiences, but the kind of history being shown drew the disdain of professional historians. With career backgrounds in filmmaking and journalism, the early television producers poured their resources into crowd-pleasing, semifictional dramas and serials, capturing the attention of masses of people who had never been avid readers or students of history. In the 1970s, state authorities worried publicly that French history was no longer known except through novels and television. In the 1980s a few university historians began to note television's importance for modern culture, but Isabelle Veyrat-Masson's important work is the first book to give us a comprehensive history of the medium as an agent of historical consciousness.

Taking a chronological approach, the author identifies several distinct periods since 1953, and for each she describes the makers of the leading programs, the institutional system under which they worked, the kinds of programs produced, and public reception of the offerings. At every step she places television in a rich historical context, bringing out the shifting dynamics of politics, ideology, and social conflicts. From 1953 to 1966, when French television was a state monopoly, the pioneering producers of historical programs shared an amateur's passion for history and a sense of mission and public service. The mission was to bring the nation together in shared appreciation of France's cultural heritage, its "great men" and their deeds, and its literary and artistic "patrimony," while avoiding divisive, blatantly political topics. The series entitled *La Caméra explore le temps* established the genre of costume-drama reenactments and became the most popular history show of all time. After the creation of a second channel in 1964, the political upheavals of the late 1960s, and several reorganizations of the system, a new wave of critically minded journalists made their mark in the 1970s, producing investigative documentaries that revolutionized the public's understanding of recent history, notably of the Vichy era and the Resistance legend. Although French television directors refused to buy or to show the documentary *Le Chagrin et la Pitié* (*The Sorrow and the Pity*) for more than a decade, a number of other programs on the "dark years" did appear, stirring repressed memories and passions. In the 1970s, too, leading university historians such as Georges Duby and Fernand Braudel helped make programs and introduced the viewing public to history that was not centered on dramatic events or individuals. The biggest turning point, however, came in 1982, when, following the election of Socialist François Mitterrand, the airwaves were opened wide to commercial chains. Catering to popular demand became paramount, and history programming was relegated to the margins.

In treating the last two decades, the author somberly notes a decline of public interest in televised history and in the past generally. History programs have drawn smaller audiences and rarely have touched off national discussions. With many channels available and programs proliferating, the public is much more segmented. Following Pierre Nora, the author views the now-weakened sense of history (and the vogue of commemorations) as a symptom of a disintegrating sense of community in an increasingly diverse population no longer joined by a shared past.

Altogether, Veyrat-Masson's lengthy book explicates multiple ways in which television, especially in the first three decades, has changed the French people's relationship to the past through distinctive features of the medium (such as the steady flow of images into almost every household) and through the representations of history that were diffused, especially dramatized narratives and demystifying documentaries. With its strikingly visual and dramatic content, the medium has been a primary provisioner of what the French call the historical imaginary. Eschewing facile generalizations about the media's power and audience reception, Veyrat-Masson shows with specifics that television has played a major part in the making and remaking of memory and collective identity in contemporary France.

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RUDOLF DEKKER. *Childhood, Memory and Autobiography in Holland: From the Golden Age to Romanticism*. (Early Modern History: Society and Culture.) New York: St. Martin's. 2001. Pp. ix, 174. $59.95.

Since the publication of Philippe Ariès's *Enfant et la vie familiale sous l'Ancien Regime* (1960), debate has raged among historians of the family about the value of children in the European past. Ariès's opening salvo argued forcefully that, until the eighteenth century, high childhood mortality, among other things, made it impractical for parents to shower much love or attention on any given child, or to shed much grief at their passing. This so-called "black legend" of childhood was soon taken up by a number of English-speaking historians, most notably Lawrence Stone and Edward Shorter. While there can be no debating the appallingly high infant and child mortality of the European past, there is nonetheless much room for disagreement about the Ariès thesis itself. This English translation of Rudolf Dekker's 1995 examination of the early modern Dutch case offers an important corrective to the "black legend."

Dekker has spent years searching out and compiling the most complete collection of Dutch manuscript and published ego-documents from the Golden Age to the nineteenth century ever assembled. Many shed light, either in passing or in their totality, on the experience of parenting and/or childhood over this long period, which fortuitously spans the transition point as hypothesized by Ariès and his followers. To these autobiographies, diaries, letters, and eventually novels, Dekker

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has added popular advice manuals, doctors' prescriptions, sermons, and contemporary prints and paintings. With this impressive collection of primary documentation, he is in an ideal position to evaluate the strength of the parent-child bond in its appropriate historical context, as well as changes in the expression of that bond over time. His conclusion, at times forcefully argued, is that the "black legend" is just that: a myth perpetuated by reading the spare and often unexpressive literature of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries out of historical context. He argues instead that parental attachment to offspring has always been strong, even if there were marked differences in the way that emotions were expressed and childhood identity understood before the eighteenth century and thereafter.

Unfortunately, however, the subtle distinction here is not always argued as clearly as it could be (or as it is in the author's introduction). The reader is left at times confused about how to interpret some of Dekker's sources, especially those most distant from our own forms of expression. This is a particular problem in the chapters on "Children's Play" and "Mothers and Wet-nurses." In the case of the former, Dekker's reading of the sixteenth and seventeenth-century moralizing literature against play is not easy to square with his larger claim about the constancy of parental love for children, and he offers no clear explanation for the seeming discrepancies. In the latter chapter, confusion revolves around the interpretation we should place on the parental motives for employing wet-nurses, to say nothing of the usual problems of documenting just how widespread the practice was or how detrimental to infant health. Dekker actually suggests that wet-nursing might have been in some cases an expression of parental love and concern. But he does not formalize this hypothesis or give the reader any indication of the relative strength of this position as opposed to the more usual one that wet-nursing was a clear sign of neglect or, worse, murder, as argued by its most vehement detractors.

The occasional analytical weakness notwithstanding, the real strength of this book lies in its extensive review of all the ego-documentation available in the early modern Dutch archives. The index of sources is a treasure trove for scholars who wish to explore these themes further, and the six "portraits" of different kinds of childhood presented in the middle section of the book offer an especially valuable resource to those who teach either family history or cultural history more generally. This English translation will make an important collection of materials accessible to a much wider readership than the original Dutch publication could and offers a mostly balanced corrective to the notion that adults only discovered parental affection in the modern world.

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GÖRAN MALMSTEDT. *Bondetro och kyrkoro: Religiös mentalitet i stormaktstidens Sverige* [Faith and Disorder: Religious Mentality in Seventeenth-Century Sweden]. Lund, Sweden: Nordic Academic Press. 2002. Pp. 233. 250 KR.

Why did dogs go to church? This question is not answered in Göran Malmstedt's study of religious mentality in seventeenth-century Sweden. The habit of bringing dogs to church is, however, an example of the kind of popular behavior that he analyzes. Postreformation Europe was characterized by confessionalization and social disciplining, by formation of strong states and hierarchical church organization; seventeenth-century Sweden has been characterized as the height of Lutheran orthodoxy. How did the Swedish church authorities manage in their attempts to discipline the lay community?

Malmstedt looks for the answer in conflicts found in the records of church authorities. Basically he studies the minutes of the diocesan chapters of Uppsala and Skara, but he also makes use of published parish meeting records and the findings of historians and theologians from other parts of Sweden. He focuses on conflicts about order in the church building and the churchyard.

The church authorities can hardly be said to have been successful. When the Mass started on an ordinary Sunday, many people were late, and some left before the service was over. Some brought their dogs, which made noises and even worse things. Some—notably women—quarreled with their coparishioners about the seats in church. Some were drunk and even threw up. In the churchyard, people bought and sold, played games, or even danced.

Diocesan authorities took such things as serious offenses, but it is often clear from the records that they were alone in doing so. The offensive acts were not committed only by marginal troublemakers or youngsters. Solid representatives of peasant society, male and female, were involved, and often the local vicar seemed considerably less worried than his superiors. Even the lay authorities were for a long period less interested in helping the church to discipline parishioners: this, however, changed in the late seventeenth century.

If his findings had led Malmstedt to the conclusion that religion was an instrument of social discipline that ordinary people did not care about, this would have been a less interesting book. Instead, his hypothesis is that all people of early modern European society lived in a religious culture, and that the acts of the unruly church visitors, no less than the indignation of the diocesan authorities, can be interpreted in a religious context. Malmstedt characterizes the religion of the peasantry as traditionalism. It was a religion deeply embedded in social life, as when the seats in church were used to mark social distinction, or when the churchyard was used for what we would term "worldly" gatherings. The distinction between holy and profane

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was vague. In contrast to the individualism of Lutheranism, traditional religion was collectivistic. The parish as a collective had a contractual relationship to God. Members paid their vicar not in order to get educated in the Lutheran confession but to get the services God demanded done, lest he punish them. In the same way, they had a contract with the vicar, and if the parishioners and the vicar came in conflict, the parishioners could lock the church building and refuse to let the vicar in. The parish community stands out as a strong, self-confident collective actor that could take a conflict with church authorities.

Why were the authorities so unsuccessful in reforming the religious mentality of ordinary people? According to Malmstedt, the key is the local priest. The priests stood socially close to the peasantry, they were most often sons of local priests or peasants, and their cultural outlook was pretty much the same as that of the peasantry. This started to change only in the eighteenth century.

One interesting point of this convincing study is that this process had little to do with the different confessional churches of Europe. Malmstedt makes extensive use of international literature and concludes that both the attempts to discipline ordinary people and their very limited success were phenomena typical of the time within Lutheran and other evangelical churches as well as within the Catholic Church.

If there is something to complain about in this fine piece of cultural history, it might be the somewhat simplified notions of "popular culture" versus "church authorities." Although Malmstedt shows how popular religious mentalities change through the ages, as when the sermon is accepted as an important part of the service, he does not leave much room for a dynamic interplay between ordinary people and elites. When the local priest does not fit into the picture of elite culture, he is left out of it. This leaves us with a handful of prelates in the chapters of Skara and Uppsala as the only representatives of the reforming "church authorities." Perhaps they, too, should be analyzed as part of a traditional religious culture, with a difference in scale rather than in kind from the ordinary peasant.

HARALD GUSTAFSSON
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JONAS NORDIN. *Ett fattigt men fritt folk: Nationell och politisk självbild i Sverige från sen stormaktstid till slutet av frihetstiden* [A People of Poverty and Liberty: National and Political Self-Image in Sweden from the Late Age of Greatness to the End of the Age of Liberty (c. 1660–1772)]. Stockholm: Bokförlag Symposion. 2000. Pp. 528.

Studies of the origin and growth of nationalism are nothing new, but interest in the field has undoubtly been increased by the accelerating process of globalization. There has also been an increased focus on the prehistory of nationalism, and this is where Jonas Nordin's study of the political and national self-image and national conciousness of Swedish cultural and political elites fits. The book covers the period from the summit of Sweden's "Great Power" era around 1660 to the end of the age of liberty in 1772, and shows how the national self-image was communicated to the population as a whole.

The Swedish empire, which was built between 1560 and 1660, was limited in size and lifespan, but it played a vital role in the history of Northern—and to some extent also Central—Europe in the seventeenth century. A conglomerate state, it consisted of the realm (Sweden and Finland), provinces in Germany and in Balticum, and provinces conquered from Denmark-Norway. As a starting point for his investigation Nordin proposes two hypotheses. The first is that in 1660 there existed in Sweden a clearly distinguishable national sentiment and sense of national identity, "whether universally embraced or not." The second is that Swedish rulers tried to promote this national sentiment or consciousness among the lower echelons of society as a means of enhancing loyalty to the crown. This national ideology was shared by the political and cultural elites in the country.

An extensive chapter is devoted to the problem of the relation between the Swedish government and its subjects in various parts of the empire. As shown in Nordin's systematic survey, there were substantial differences in the position of the Swedes and those subjects outside the realm. Finland is discussed in a separate chapter, and Nordin argues in opposition to some earlier studies that Finland was seen as a special entity within the realm.

Carolinean absolutism meant a systematic, comprehensive effort to reorganize and consolidate the country, its finances, military organization, and administration. The church and the educational system were mobilized as instruments for this purpose, and policies regarding the provinces became part of the same efforts. Measures aiming at integration were part of the systematic attempts to increase the influence and control of the central government in the realm and all parts of the empire.

The historian Jerker Rosén has written a classic study of the formation of Swedish policies concerning the relations between the central government and the provinces in the seventeenth century. Nordin differs to some extent from Rosén and also from other scholars by putting a stronger emphasis on the national element in policy making. However, there can be no doubt that the main purpose and objective of the government's policy of integration was not achieving any kind of cultural Swedification but facilitating political and administrative control of all parts of the empire. It would have been useful if Nordin had discussed parallel phenomena in Europe; the Swedish conglomerate state was far from unique.

Nordin's survey of the make-up of the Swedish empire, the relation between the central government and the various parts, is clear and useful but does not in fact present anything new. More rewarding is the

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chapter dealing with Swedish domestic propaganda during the Great Northern War. As Nordin shows, there was a significant difference between the rethoric used when addressing subjects of Swedish nationality and that used to address subjects outside the realm. In the first case, reference was often made to mutual fate of destiny and unity of blood; in the second the emotional element—the national sentiment—was lacking, and emphasis was placed on the subjects' duty to the state, personified in the king. Another interesting finding is the difference between the propaganda emanating from the Royal Council in Stockholm and that originating from the king and the royal headquarters. The king spoke with an imperative voice, with a legitimacy based on the belief in the divine origin of his powers. The council, on the other hand, relied more on persuasive, even pleading rhetoric, using expressions such as "our mutual Fatherland."

Nordin's study is most interesting when he reaches the "Age of Liberty." His analysis of national sentiment and manifestations of national self-conciousness, focuses on three fields—philology, history, and geography—and Nordin looks for ways in which "Swedishness" was articulated in scholarly and literary texts. During the seventeenth century, Swedish scholars had made strenuous efforts to give the Swedish language a position commensurate with the country's Great Power ambitions, even going so far as trying to prove that Swedish was the mother of all known languages. During the eighteenth century, ambitions became more modest, as did the country's foreign policy aspirations. Interest in the language remained, but the emphasis was now more emotional; the Swedish spirit needed a Swedish voice, the language was an important part of Swedish identity.

History was also important to seventeenth-century Swedes, and efforts were made to trace Swedish origins back to their presumed Geatic ancestors. These ideas were presented to foreign audiences in a sustained campaign to claim a glorious past. The use of history for propaganda purposes did not disappear during the eighteenth century, but again a change of emphasis occurred: the propaganda was now intended mainly for domestic consumption. Geography and ethnography also played a role in the development of the Swedish self-image, as did religion. The poor but courageous, brave and liberty-loving people were Lutherans, and their simplicity in manner and habits, their endurance under harsh conditions, their loyalty and love for their country were often stressed.

Did a national consciousness, a national sentiment, and sense of identity exist in Sweden in the Carolinean era and during the age of liberty? Nordin's answer is unequivocally affirmative. His study is also an excellent inventory of national ideas and expressions of national sentiment in Sweden during this period. Nordin opposes the "modernistic" position that nationalism was a product of the process of industrialization, connected with the Enlightenment and the French Revolution. He is closer to ethnicists such as Anthony Smith, for whom the nation is an ethnic-cultural category based on beliefs of common origin, a common history, and shared cultural traditions. Nordin does not make a clear distinction between nationalism in the sense used by, for example, the historian Eric J. Hobsbawm and the social anthropologist Ernest Gellner and other "modernists," and the expressions of national sentiment and consciousness he himself has encountered in his study. To some extent, his opposition to "dominant modernist theories" misses the point, since he and the modernists are dealing with two rather different phenomena. Nordin admits as much, emphasizing that what he is concerned with is the Swedish self-image, national sentiment, and sense of national identity, not nationalism as a search for congruence between the political and ethnic units. However, he insists that all the major components of nationalism were clearly visible in Sweden by the beginning of the eighteenth century.

Even if Nordin's results and interpretations are not always as new as he claims, his study is well written, useful, and of general interest.

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CHARLOTTE TORNBJER. *Den nationella modern: Moderskap i konstruktioner av svensk nationell gemenskap under 1900-talets första hälft* [The National Mother: Motherhood in Constructions of a Swedish National Community, c. 1900–1950]. Lund: Lund University Press. 2002. Pp. 308.

Sweden is generally known for its social democratic welfare state. Well-established equality policies and women's high labor force participation are also characteristic of Sweden. For historians, one stereotype of a Swedish woman is a social democrat à la Alva Myrdal. However, in Swedish history there are also other female voices that deserve to be heard. Charlotte Tornbjer is a good example of a scholar who is equally interested in the history of socialist, feminist, and conservative gender constructions.

Tornbjer's book is an interesting study of nationalism, motherhood, and gender. She analyzes the relationship and interaction between gender and nation in a Swedish context during the first half of the twentieth century. Her book consists of two sections. The symbolic elements of motherhood based on nationalism are addressed through three themes: representations of Mother Svea (the national symbol of Sweden) in the Swedish humorous press between 1912 and 1914; the history of Mother's Day in Sweden; and the perception of the queen as mother of her people. Another section focuses on women's pro-defense activities and the ways in which women employed motherhood to include themselves in a national discourse.

According to Tornbjer, motherhood was a fundamental element in the construction of womanhood in the national contexts investigated. The study employs Joan W. Scott's gender theory to discuss mainly the

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symbolic and normative dimensions of gender. Tornbjer also draws inspiration from Michel Billig's theory of banal nationalism (i.e. everyday nationalism that is hardly conceptualized as nationalism). Another source of inspiration is Craig Calhoun's understanding of nationalism as a multidimensional discursive formation that constructs social realities. Modernization is a central issue in Tornbjer's research. She favors theories of reflexive modernization rather than a "traditional" understanding of modernization.

Tornbjer focuses on two separate but interrelated discourses: national discourse on the one hand, and home and family discourse on the other. Following Scott's definition, she asks how, among which groups of people, and in what specific contexts meaning has been constructed. National motherhood is interpreted as a juncture at which national discourse and the discourse on the home and family were woven together.

Mother Svea is a female national symbol for Sweden much as Marianne, Germania and Britannia are the symbols of France, Germany, and Great Britain. At the turn of the twentieth century, Svea was connected to official nationalism emphasizing the royal family, the military, and the church. However, critical voices could depict her as a wicked stepmother. In the 1910s, when the problems of defense were widely debated, the serious use of Svea diminished, but for the humorous press her symbolic value was important. She represented the Swedish people or the territory of Sweden, but she could equally well symbolize official and conservative nationalism as a representative of national motherhood. Following the U.S. model, Mother's Day was introduced to Sweden in 1919. According to the published instructions, celebrations included both private and public dimensions. Children should serve their mother at home, but there should also be public celebrations in churches and schools. The introduction of Mother's Day reveals three dimensions of national motherhood: religious, social, and universal. Swedish mothers were celebrated as the backbones of national morality and religious values. Social dimensions were added to the celebrations, too. In connection with Mother's Day, philanthropic fundraising was organized. The international dimension of motherhood was a reminder that motherhood was a uniting force among all women.

Social democratic visions of the national community as a people's home have been a major theme of historical research, but Tornbjer's analysis of the national perceptions of pro-defense women reveals other visions in which home has been a crucial metaphor. The interwar period gave rise to women's voluntary defense organizations. Tornbjer is convincing when she argues that discourses of national motherhood and professional housewifery legitimated the entry of pro-defense women even into the military sphere, but they did not attempt to question contemporary gender constructions. For example, Swedish proposals for female conscription aimed at compulsory domestic education for women; military training was reserved for men. Women's political rights and responsibilities were also discussed in terms of defense.

Tornbjer opens up new perspectives on gender constructions. Her discussions of symbolic constructions of gender and their connections to normative dimensions are particularly valuable. In some points, more careful contextualization would have strengthened her argument. For example, the peasants' demonstration for defense in 1914 is reminiscent of Lutheran gender construction, according to which women were only allowed to participate in politics via men. The idea of the queen as mother in the Swedish context also seems to be inspired by the Lutheran notion of motherhood as a woman's calling. Nevertheless, this fascinating book offers valuable insights for future research. The major points of Tornbjer's scholarly discussion published in Swedish deserve to be made available to a wider international audience.

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RISTO PELTOVUORI. *Sankarikansa ja kavaltajat: Suomi Kolmannen valtakunnan lehdistössä 1940–1944* [Heroic Nation and Traitors: Finland in the Press of the Third Reich 1940–1944]). (Historiallisia Tutkimuksia, number 208.) Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura. 2000. Pp. 262.

Risto Peltovuori deals with the German press and German-Finnish relations during World War II. His book is a study in press history that traces the changing image of Finland in the German press as the fortunes and positions of the two countries shifted during the war. Using this topic as his vehicle, Peltovuori also explores how the German press was controlled and guided during the war years.

The author shows how carefully the writings of the German press concerning Finland reflected the foreign policy interests of Nazi Germany. During the early years of the war, directions and guidance for the press came from the Foreign Ministry. The influence of Propaganda Minister Joseph Göbbels grew during the latter part of the war, when Germany suffered from reversals and defeats. During the period of the German-Soviet Pact, from August 1939 through much of 1940, the German press was judgmental or reflected Soviet rather than Finnish reporting and views. This was the case during the Finno-Soviet Winter War, 1939–1940, and the subsequent uneasy months when the Soviet Union annexed Finland's three southern neighbors Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania. With the cooling of German-Soviet relations in the fall of 1940 and in particular in November, the treatment of Finland in the German press grew more positive and friendlier in tone.

After the German invasion of the Soviet Union in June 1941 and the renewal of the Finno-Soviet War a few days later, a drastic change took place in German

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press coverage of Finland. Friendliness and praise of the Finnish soldiers became overwhelming as German propaganda sought to exploit Finnish military renown and reputation. The German press also attempted to make the most of the egalitarian and democratic institutions of Finland by contrasting this "true" Nordic democracy with the "plutocratic pretense democracies of England and the United States." Finland retained its democratic political order throughout the war, and this precluded any ideological affinity or empathy between it and Nazi Germany. To embarrass the Western Allies the German press also originally accepted the Finnish view of fighting a separate war, a continuation of the Winter War, with the Soviet Union. This added to the sting of German press publication of American and British pro-Finnish and anti-Soviet pronouncements during the Winter War after the United States and the USSR became allies. That the U.S. never declared war on Finland undermined these German propaganda efforts.

German press coverage of Finland changed sharply in tone and content again after the Finno-Soviet armistice and the outbreak of the Finno-German war in Lappland. The German press castigated Finnish leaders as traitors but refrained from attacking the Finnish people as a whole.

Peltovuori uses the German press selectively and does not utilize quantitative methods. He proceeds with the assumption that official control, guidance, and censorship basically shaped the information presented and concentrates on the most representative publications. Yet even these reveal some degree of variation in the tone of coverage. Berlin and party publications such as the *Völkischer Beobachter* and *Das Reich* followed the official directions most clearly and slavishly. The *Frankfurter Zeitung* and *Munchener Neueste Nachrichten* at times published articles demonstrating clear sympathy with Finland even when the official line precluded it.

Peltovuori's study complements earlier work on the image of Germany in the Finnish press during World War II. It is a well-written and welcome addition to the studies on Finnish-German relations.

PEKKA KALEVI HAMALAINEN
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ELISHEVA CARLEBACH. *Divided Souls: Converts from Judaism in Germany, 1500–1750*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 2001. Pp. xii, 324. $40.00.

Once, while teaching Jewish history in Israel, a colleague argued that the history of converts did not belong to the field. In his opinion, historians of Jewry should concentrate on Jews who remained Jewish. He compared Jews who became Christians to French citizens who left France to live in Algeria. For him, the moment such emigrants arrived in Algeria they departed French history, and the historian of France should ignore them.

I was never convinced that such an interpretation was correct, either for French history or for Jewish history, and now that Elisheva Carlebach's masterful new book has appeared, there is reason to hope that the wind has gone out of this critique. Her book is thorough, thoughtful, and sophisticated. Even the illustrations are elegant. She demonstrates that converts deserve study in their own terms, as well as for how they illuminate important trends in the Jewish past.

One of the great strengths of Carlebach's book is her use of the converts' own autobiographical texts. She interprets these treatises with tremendous care, never taking the converts' words at face value. Yet she is careful also to avoid discounting the authenticity of their voices. Carlebach argues that the number of convert memoirs published in the German lands during the early modern centuries was unusually high. But beware! She does not argue that this is simply a reflection of an unusually high number of converts. Rather, she concludes that we have so many memoirs because of the difficulties many converts then experienced when they tried to enter Christian society. She also argues that the Reformation setting helps explain the high volume of memoirs. These were decades when Christians often published books recounting why they had adopted a different version of Christianity. Jews who left Judaism in the sixteenth century were thus adopting a Reformation norm when they, too, chose to publicize their religious journeys.

Carlebach has organized her narrative both by chronological time and by theme. Chapters one and two survey the medieval era. Here she seeks to explain why, when faced with the demand that they give up their faith, Jews in the medieval era in the German lands tended to chose martyrdom rather than converting and remaining secretly Jewish. The tradition of *marranism*, or secret Judaism, had been common in the previous centuries in Spain and Portugal. These are Carlebach's weakest chapters. Her prose is sometimes convoluted, and the gap between large trend and small example is often too wide.

But in chapters three and four, when she arrives in the sixteenth century, Carlebach hits her stride as she explores why converts attracted so much attention in these decades. Once she embarks on the six thematic chapters in the center of the book, the author's meticulous research and sophisticated interpretations shine especially brightly. In these middle chapters, she surveys the converts' autobiographical texts, their occupations, their family experiences, their religious identities, and their publications on Judaism.

It is perhaps inevitable that Carlebach pays a price for obscuring the chronological narrative with a mainly thematic presentation. We often lose a sense of change over time within the two and a half centuries covered in the book. Some of the important historic events, such as the appearance of the "false messiah" Shabbetai Zvi, are discussed narrowly rather than broadly. A related problem is that episodes from the lives of individual converts are scattered throughout the chap-

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ters. This vastly reduces the narrative power of her book. We as readers have difficulties deciding if particular individual experiences support her conclusions.

But these are very minor flaws indeed in a work that makes such a striking contribution. Space allows me to explore only two of Carlebach's especially important corrections to prior historiography. One of these is how she problematizes the pat assumption that converts' motives before the modern era tended to be spiritual rather than pragmatic. She often finds multiple motives for an individual change of faith. Sometimes a family drama inspired a convert, and sometimes national and cultural identifications contributed to the decision to convert. Throughout her book Carlebach never falsely generalizes about how to draw the line between early modern and modern types of conversion. The implication is that if many converts' lives were modern in so many ways, perhaps our perspective on the entire early modern era needs revision.

In the memoirs Carlebach discovers that many converts retained some positive sense of their Jewish roots. This information helps her to explain why some converts tried to reduce friction between the faiths, while other converts acted in quite anti-Semitic ways. That some converts identified with their Jewish background may help account for why even a handful of Jews chose conversion, even though their economic position after baptism was rarely better than it had been in their Jewish days. She raises the intriguing idea that individuals experienced more psychological continuity after conversion than we may have hitherto considered.

Future scholars will stand on the shoulders of Carlebach's massive research as we continue to pursue answers to some of the questions she has posed. The lives of converts are a unique repository of historic wisdom about what it meant to be a Jew and what it meant to be a Christian in past times.

DEBORAH HERTZ
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KAREN HAGEMANN. *"Mannlicher Muth und Teutsche Ehre": Nation, Militär und Geschlecht zur Zeit der Antinapoleonischen Kriege Preußens*. (Krieg in der Geschichte, number 8.) Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh. 2002. Pp. 617. €52.00.

In 1813, the German poet Ernst Moritz Arndt published a poem entitled "Wer ist ein Mann?," a question that preoccupied educated Prussian men in the aftermath of the disastrous battles of Jena-Auerstadt in 1806 (p. 271). Men were expected to restore the lost honor of the German nation, as well as manly honor, by enlisting to fight in the Wars of Liberation (1813–1815). The wars thereby became a test of true "manliness." Related to the issue of masculine identity that was part of a national-patriotic discourse present in Prussia at the time were questions concerning national identity, the military, the war, and gender relations. They were all, according to Karen Hagemann, tightly intertwined.

Recent research into nationalism has focused on the relationship among the nation, the military, and war. Linda Colley's *Britons: Forging the Nation 1707–1837* (1992) immediately springs to mind. Gender history has also made great strides for the eighteenth and late nineteenth centuries. There is little scholarship, however, on the nation in Europe during the French revolutionary and Napoleonic eras, and even less on the relationship between gender and the nation. Indeed, Hagemann is the first, as far as I am aware, to have successfully slashed a furrow through (for this particular era at least) untilled soil. She does so through an analysis of contemporary literature (pamphlets, songs, poems, sermons, newspapers, and journals) but also by examining such things as military clothing and public festivities to see how the state attempted to build an affective bond with its citizens.

There are two (among many) important insights worth emphasizing here. The first centers on the militarization of notions like *Volk* and nation. Since wars could no longer be won without recourse to mass mobilization, there is an obvious link between "national" wars and "people's armies." Hagemann's argument is that the symbiosis between nation building and war had far-reaching consequences not only for the construction of gender images and gender relations but also for the gender order, which became "nationalized" and "militarized." Women became associated more and more with the privacy of the household, while the nation was conceived of as a community of men prepared to fight and die.

The second important insight concerns the image of the nation as a patriarchally organized "*Volk* family" whose head was the monarchy (the king as father of the country, the queen as mother) and whose children were its subjects. New in this model, argues Hagemann, is that the relationship between the father and his children was no longer based on fear and obedience but was now based on love and trust. This was a necessary corollary of the sacrifices demanded of the nation in the wars against the French. Men were meant to fight and eventually to die as heroes of the nation, thus entering the public sphere, while women were charged with the patriotic duty of mourning the fallen heroes, thus remaining in the private sphere. One was not possible without the other.

These two points hardly do justice to the depth and richness of the material covered in this book. There are, however, a number of nagging concerns. The first is the argument that universal conscription intensified women's exclusion from the centers of political power. I can see where Hagemann is coming from—the notion of citizen became tied to the bearing of arms; women were in this way excluded from active political participation—but I am skeptical about the extent to which women might have played any political role in a state like Prussia under any conditions. The second concern is the extent to which the differentiation

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between men and women has to do with the Enlightenment codification of laws in Prussia? Was not the trend toward a hierarchization of the gender order already present well before the Napoleonic Wars? Finally, what of the political implications for the post-Napoleonic period? If men in Prussia were made relatively equal through mass conscription and sacrifice to the nation, as Hagemann argues, why were they excluded from the political process during the Restoration? Despite these issues, Hagemann's thoroughly and impressively researched book is a thoughtful contribution to the history of Prussia-Germany in the Napoleonic era as well as to gender studies. I have no doubt that it will lead to further debates on the relationship between war and society in the Napoleonic era.

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JEAN H. QUATAERT. *Staging Philanthropy: Patriotic Women and the National Imagination in Dynastic Germany, 1813–1916.* (Social History, Popular Culture, and Politics in Germany.) Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press. 2001. Pp. xiv, 317. $62.50.

Jean H. Quataert has written a provocative book that helps us rethink the rise of the modern state and the development of nation and nationalism in gendered terms. She focuses on the growth of philanthropy in nineteenth-century German society and argues that through philanthropic organizations—primarily women's associations and the closely related Red Cross—women participated in important and hitherto ignored ways in the construction of state and nation. More specifically, women participated in an essentially conservative, dynastic conception of the state and, through their concrete work, helped to solidify a national identity fundamentally beholden to dynastic constructions of patriotism.

The book takes as its basic subject the rise of women's associations, which were initially dedicated to caring for the wounded during the Napoleonic Wars. The first patron of these associations was Queen Luise of Prussia, who assumed not merely a symbolic but also a very active role in their shaping. After the wars, women's associations became more and more involved in charity work for the poor and, intermittently, relief work during times of natural disasters, like floods, or medical epidemics, like cholera. But their role as institutions that cared for the wounded in war remained; it was central to their work during the wars of unification and to their identities, rooted in an ethos of self-sacrifice for the nation, thereafter. As such, the women's associations also became an important part of German colonialism and German preparation for war in the first decades of the twentieth century.

Quataert takes the women's associations as raw material to make a series of broader claims. The first is that philanthropy, far from being a simple tool of social discipline, was in fact at the heart of dynastic ritual. Indeed, one of the strong arguments of the book is that through the ritual of philanthropy, women participated in highly patterned ways in the construction of a viable dynastic national culture. Second, it was also through these rituals that abstract categories, like nation and state, came to acquire conservative connotations. Here Quataert's analysis of the institution of the *Landesmutter* (mother of the country) is quite revealing. Itself a nineteenth-century concept, the notion of *Landesmutter* at once provided the state with a powerful image of family and a gendered, in fact feminine, conception of the state. The repeated interventions of the state and of the philanthropic organizations in the lives of subjects and citizens helped constitute this conservative reality. This reality was based first on the ability of these institutions to care and—later in the century, with the professionalization of nursing—to cure. Third, dynastic ritual, with its highly gendered encoding, was in fact more fundamental to the emergence of German nationalism than historians have supposed. According to Quataert, most studies of German nationalism focus on bourgeois nationalist associations, like the "German Associations," or nationalist pressure groups, like the Navy League, and have thus missed what was crucial to the calendar of many Germans: the propagation and the celebration of the dynasty itself. This "official nationalism" was a sphere in which women also participated. A one-sided reading of German nationalism, in which women are essentially left out, has caused historians to see national identities as created and sustained only within the formal arenas of politics.

These are important and original arguments, and historians will be forced to grapple with them. One issue will surely concern the emotional quality of the rituals that Quataert describes; rituals that are planned out to every last detail may, in fact, be emptier, less meaningful, than the author supposes. This is a difficult question to adjudicate, but it seems to this reviewer that an evaluation of the salience of a ritual involves more than considering it from the standpoint of its organizers. Similarly, the reach of the women's philanthropic organizations across lines of ethnicity, religion, and class seems still open, despite the neutral language of the organizations themselves. The separate, if sometime cooperating, worlds of Catholic and Jewish philanthropy suggest that the confessional, indeed Protestant, coding of the philanthropic work of the women's organizations was stronger than Quataert supposes. Similarly, much of the evidence that the author presents—including evidence for a "gender crisis" in 1913—comes from the pages of conservative newspapers, like the *Kreuzzeitung*, that were not read by wider, deeper strata of the population. The relation, then, between the larger claims of this incisive and interesting work and their evidentiary base remains a subject for further discussion. We can be grateful, however, that Quataert has put forward a sophisticated

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treatment that will allow historians to pursue this discussion at a new level.

HELMUT WALSER SMITH
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ANDREW ZIMMERMAN. *Anthropology and Antihumanism in Imperial Germany*. Chicago: University of Illinois Press. 2001. Pp. ix, 364. Cloth $60.00, paper $25.00.

Starting with the founding in 1869 of the German Society for Anthropology, Ethnology, and Prehistory, a relatively small number of very influential figures in various areas of German scientific life constructed an academic network centered in Berlin and a distinctive approach to investigating humanity as a natural phenomenon that dominated German anthropology for much of the rest of the nineteenth century. The leading figure in this development was the pathologist Rudolf Virchow, a pioneer of modern biology (although now remembered mainly for the large number of scientific questions—especially those concerning the Darwinian thesis—on which he took subsequently discredited positions) and a leader of political liberalism, one of the movers and shakers of imperial Germany. His close associate, Adolf Bastian, contributed greatly to defining the nature of Berlin anthropology despite the notorious obliqueness of his writing and the absence of discipline in his thinking. Because of the prominence of Berlin anthropology in Germany and its renown throughout the world up to the early years of the twentieth century, it has been the subject of several studies in recent years. Most of these have concentrated on its links to the politics of liberalism and imperialism, some on its leaders' anti-Darwinism. Andrew Zimmerman, in his penetrating and extremely well-researched new study, interprets the anthropology of Virchow and his associates as an attempt to create an "antihumanist" science of humankind.

Zimmerman argues that a combination of factors in the second half of the nineteenth century, especially the increasing engagement of German society and the German economy with the world overseas and the growth of mass consumption, led both to a perceived need for an empirical approach to comprehending the human species in a global context and to the development of imperialism as an approach to global power relations. Anthropology and imperialism were thus inherently linked. Zimmerman's central point is that Virchow, Bastian, and their associates answered the former need by rejecting the intellectual tradition of humanistic studies: that is, studies with a historical orientation and a linguistic and classicist emphasis that sought to achieve understanding of human nature through immersion in the spirit embodied primarily in texts and that explicitly rejected non-Western societies as being unworthy of scholarly consideration in this way. In a direct challenge to the humanism that had dominated German academia in the immediate past, the Berlin anthropologists constructed what they claimed was an objective, scientific approach to humankind that would accommodate all humans everywhere and that would maintain a strict separation between the scientist and the subject by concentrating on measurable data (skulls, skin coloration, artifacts) rather than the intuitive understanding of the humanist historian. They avoided any conscious effort to create grand (or even limited) theories to explain human phenomena, arguing that theorizing could only come when data had been collected and objectively classified into universal, meaningful categories. They therefore developed a global collection network that supplied items for the museum they got the Prussian government to construct for them in Berlin. Working closely with amateurs and nonacademic field collectors but maintaining a strict hierarchy of authority in their relations with them, the Berlin anthropologists made German anthropology a museum-oriented, presentist discipline, the limitations of which became increasingly obvious in the 1880s and 1890s. They worked closely with colonial authorities but failed to create an approach that was of much practical use to imperial administrators. They broadened human science to include non-Europeans, but by insisting on a fundamental distinction between "civilized" and "natural" peoples, they managed to devalue the latter at least to the extent that the "humanists" had done. They worked closely with the promoters of exotic popular shows to obtain access to the performers for measurement and observation, but they continued to sneer at the same presentations for catering too much to mass tastes. Along the same lines, they presented themselves and their field as a form of liberal science appropriate for the modern German nation, but their principles of internal operation and their attitude toward the public were highly elitist (which, I think, is rather less of a contradiction than Zimmerman appears to imply). And, finally, in the face of a challenge at the end of the century from Darwinist, historically (although not humanistically) oriented scholars and scientists led by the geographer Friedrich Ratzel, their approach collapsed in many (although not all) respects, to be replaced by diffusionism as the dominant theme in German cultural science even among their own disciples.

This is an extraordinarily rich book. A brief review cannot do justice to the depth and the range of its author's research and to a presentation that brings to life an interesting, complex episode in the history of human science. I do think that the notion of "antihumanism" as the central feature of Berlin anthropology cannot bear all the interpretive weight that Zimmerman places on it. For one thing, "humanism" is rather difficult to encompass within the boundaries that Zimmerman assigns to it, and for another, Virchow and Bastian appear to have been much more positive and synthetic about what they were doing than the term "antihumanist" implies. Their own view was that they were being scientific, in a rather narrow, pre-Darwinian sense. Also, it appears from Zimmerman's own evidence that there was a considerable range of

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viewpoints on fundamental issues among associates of Virchow and Bastian, not to mention other traditions of human and cultural science among German academics that continued to exist even in the heyday of Berlin anthropology. One might wish that some of this range had been given greater attention. But these reservations aside, Zimmerman's book is a remarkable accomplishment and a major contribution to the history of human studies.

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ALASTAIR R. THOMPSON. *Left Liberals, the State, and Popular Politics in Wilhelmine Germany*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2000. Pp. xii, 425. $95.00.

Since reunification, German historians, as they have done periodically previously, have become interested in recovering their liberal tradition, but this time their scholarship has improved remarkably. In tone it is detached, dispassionate, and engaged with sophisticated historical theories of political behavior. Gone are the apologies, lectures on morality, and tautologies largely derived from a vision of German history as the fated product of a special design. In approach this scholarship also gives less weight to party programs and their ideas and national leaders, while it privileges social and cultural contexts. It seeks, in other words, to capture liberals from the standpoint of their experiences in politics, not how they ought to have acted. All of these traits are clearly embodied in Alastair R. Thompson's study of the short-lived but highly influential Progressive Peoples Party (FVP) of 1910.

The central problem of this book is to explain the double success of the FVP: first, in increasing by fifty percent the electoral vote of the left liberals in the Reichstag election of 1912, thereby making it not simply the third largest party but a mass party with a million and half votes; and, second, by gaining enough influence so that, at the end of World War I, its leaders played the crucial role in the formulation of the constitution of the Weimar Republic. Covering the years from 1908 to 1918 in great detail both at the national and local level of politics, Thompson relentlessly questions received opinion on a wide-ranging set of topics related to that success. For example, we learn that *Honoratioren* politicians were no longer aloof; tradition caused a pious Catholic community in Baden to vote for a party that shamelessly exploited anti-Catholic feelings among Protestants; workers voted liberal and became party members in spite of snobbery against them; and the party hinted at a coalition with the Social Democrats to win the support of National Liberals for a leftward direction in their party. Indeed, there is so much detailed explanation that this reader was often hard put to recall that the author had some significant general points to make.

Assuming that informal politics was almost equivalent to formal politics in the latter part of the Wilhelmine era, Thompson invariably dismisses national leaders and party programs, and their discussion of portentous issues of great national significance, as somewhat marginal to the liberal movement, while at the same time he relentlessly draws the reader's attention to the power liberals acquired from militant political campaigning, support of hundreds of newspapers, astute negotiations with legislators, and clever positioning on such local materialistic campaign issues as the rising cost of railroad tickets. In this manner, liberals found a niche for themselves based on a solid consensus and mass support. Although contradictory elements were brought together in this consensus, that was not especially a problem or even brought to the light of day until the war, the impact of which the author clearly shows in his final chapter. In the meantime, the left liberals had positioned themselves nationally and locally through a judicious assignment of five factors: individualism in cultural matters, anti-elitism, social reform including a brand of municipal socialism, economic and technological growth advancing Germany and attenuating class tensions, and the Bismarckian state and bureaucracy as an agency of reform. These factors had their greatest mass appeal to the majority of the Protestant middle strata, which Thompson pictures as a cutting-edge group that became the mainstay of the revived liberal movement.

Thompson convinces in all respects with his judicious mixture of fact, argument, and extensive coverage. Had he wanted to broaden his framework of cultural concerns, he might have addressed the impact on the liberals of the women's movement and the anti-alcoholism crusade. Still, this would not have changed his basic picture of a strong democratic surge pervading Wilhelmine politics and giving a new lease on life to left liberalism. Although this book is mainly directed to specialists in Wilhelmine history, those with more general concerns will find most useful the discussion of the electoral base of the left liberals, which after the war would fold itself into the Hitler movement. In 1918, as Thompson shows, that electorate was deeply troubled by having been deprived of two of its anchors when left liberals first broke their taboo of silence on foreign policy by challenging the annexationism of the progovernment Fatherland Party and then aligned themselves with the Catholic Center Party and the Socialists to establish the Weimar Republic. This most subtle and thoughtful piece of scholarship is a powerful reminder of the brightening prospects for liberalism in Germany during the first two decades of the twentieth century.

JOHN F. FLYNN
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JOHN HORNE and ALAN KRAMER. *German Atrocities, 1914: A History of Denial*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 2001. Pp. xv, 608. $40.00.

The German atrocities in Belgium in August and September 1914 stand at the beginning of a century of

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atrocities. In World War I itself these atrocities were the central topic of Allied propaganda. Many Americans in 1917, for example, believed America went to war to save Western civilization from the "Hun." That the German was a Hun, so the argument went, was proven by the atrocities in Belgium. The Germans, responding, claimed that these stories were "just propaganda." In this superb book, John Horne and Alan Kramer have examined and analyzed in detail what actually happened during the German invasion of Belgium in August 1914. This was no easy task, given the extraordinary amount of myth and legend that propagandists deposited over the true history of the events. The authors sifted through an enormous amount of material and weighed the evidence, deciding what could, and could not, be believed. Their explanation is convincing. German soldiers invading Belgium in August 1914 were unusually scared. Their fear was caused not only by the war itself, a new experience for almost all of the soldiers, but also because they expected to be met by barbaric "*franc-tireurs*," or civilian partisans. As part of an official policy of pacification, the German soldiers executed not only those people they suspected to be *franc-tireurs* but also innocent "hostages." Furthermore, they destroyed buildings in those cities where they believed *franc-tireurs* had been active, most famously burning much of the city of Louvain, including the medieval library. In truth, there was no official Belgian policy of civilian resistance, and very little—if any—actual civilian resistance (isolated incidents cannot be ruled out, but there is very little evidence for them). What German soldiers mistook for *franc-tireurs* were either enemy soldiers or friendly fire. In their vengeance, supported, indeed encouraged, by the official policy of pacification, German soldiers executed around 6,500 innocent civilians.

Of course, the story does not end here. There are essentially two stories in this book: what actually happened, and the history of the history of these events—the stories, discourses and myths that constructed the memory of what happened. This second part begins with a superb discussion of the Allies' "official reports," written, for example, by the "Bryce Commission"; the German government's efforts to rebut these reports; and the tribunal of world opinion. The authors describe with empathy and understanding how, in the atmosphere engendered by the actual atrocities, some of the members of these committees came to accept evidence that went beyond the truth.

The authors then turn their attention to the Allies' atrocity propaganda. I did not find this section as compelling as the others, although the scholarship remains impeccable. The "facts" here are clear enough. Throughout the war, the Allies used an account of German atrocities as one of their central propaganda arguments. Yet, as terrible as the truth was, a great many of the atrocity stories were simply lurid inventions. The authors point this out, yet their explanation does not seem to me to go far enough. There is a discourse on the morality of propaganda that is a completely different sort of discourse than the discourse on the morality of shooting innocent hostages as part of a policy of pacification. When Arthur Conan Doyle in 1917 called for more atrocity stories, it was not because of the atrocities themselves—horrible enough though the truth was—but because of the function of these stories, because "hatred, or, if my critics prefer it, righteous wrath, is the means to attain invincible resolve." In World War I there were German atrocities as well as a great deal of lying about German atrocities. In the propagandistic discourse, however, even truth became a function of victory. The authors could have improved their superb book by examining the motivations of the Allied propagandists and the climate of hatred they worked to engender in more detail.

Perhaps the most interesting and relevant section of the book concerns the history after 1918. The propaganda made it much more difficult after the war for there to be any sober analysis of the truth. Horne and Kramer analyze superbly the postwar Allied efforts to bring war criminals to justice, the difficulties the Allies had in accepting a truly international court, and how the Germans, including much of the Social Democratic Party (SPD), opposed any genuine inquiry. The tragedy for Belgium was that it was impossible in the postwar period for the truth to come out. In the 1920s, especially in Great Britain and the United States, there was a debate on propaganda alongside discussion of the atrocities themselves. A number of authors exposed the lies of the atrocity propaganda, often neglecting to recognize that the propaganda had a genuine kernel of truth. Unfortunately, the effect of such books, well meaning in themselves, was to weaken those arguments in favor of setting up a neutral international tribunal to judge war criminals. It is a sign of how difficult such discussions are that Horne and Kramer have finally written, eighty-seven years later, the first thorough, definitive scholarly work on what actually happened in Belgium in 1914. They are also to be congratulated for having contributed to the history of the discourse on how to punish war criminals as well as for having laid a solid foundation for future discussions of the cultural history of propaganda in this period.

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GOPAL BALAKRISHNAN. *The Enemy: An Intellectual Portrait of Carl Schmitt*. New York: Verso, 2000. Pp. vi, 312. $40.00.

One of the more fascinating developments in European intellectual history in recent years is the revival of interest in the work of Carl Schmitt (1888–1985), the long-lived political thinker, legal scholar, and erstwhile "crown jurist" of the Third Reich (as he was called by a Nazi newspaper in 1933). In the context of the worldwide rightward trend of the past twenty-five

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years, his appeal to fellow conservatives is not particularly surprising, but his favorable reception on the left has been rather unexpected (notwithstanding the fact that Georg Lukács wrote a largely positive review of *Politische Romantik* [1919] in 1928 and Walter Benjamin acknowledged his intellectual debt to *Die Diktatur* [1921] and *Politische Theologie* [1922] in 1930). Gopal Balakrishnan explains his appreciation for a thinker whose political values were so different from his own: "The shrewdest insights into democracy are not always made by friends of the people . . . Those who thought of democracy as a dangerous, overreaching and unstable political system, even from an enemy perspective, have more to say about the meaning of radical democracy than an effete, incorporated and culturalist Left" (pp. 263, 265). While Schmitt almost invariably sided with the right in the class wars of the 1920s and 1930s, he was also a radically unconventional thinker who frequently and sometimes abruptly changed his positions as he grappled with the problems of popular and state sovereignty and sought viable responses to the threats of proletarian revolution, the disintegration of the state, and civil war in the highly polarized and rapidly changing political conditions in Germany after World War I. Because of his characteristically plain-spoken and openly political engagement, a study of his theoretical works can provide not only useful insights into the history of his times but also, as Balakrishnan argues, some orientation in the present crisis of worldwide capitalist predation unconstrained by effective political opposition.

The great merit of Balakrishnan's thoughtful and thorough intellectual biography is that it grounds Schmitt's ideas both in his personal experiences and in the political developments to which he was responding. While sharply critical of many of Schmitt's ideas and interpretations, Balakrishnan takes them seriously and contends with them on a high intellectual level. Proceeding chronologically, Balakrishnan persuasively demonstrates that Schmitt's interventionist texts must be seen in relation to his actual political allegiances at the time of writing as well as to his previously held positions. Because of this careful interweaving of textual critique with an analysis of Schmitt's motives and intentions against the background narrative of political events (a method Balakrishnan calls "diachronic contextualization" [p. 3]), this book offers not just a convincing interpretation of the development of Schmitt's ideas but also an illuminating perspective on the problems of Weimar constitutionalism and the weakness and eventual collapse of the republic.

Without downplaying Schmitt's later notorious collaboration with Nazism, Balakrishnan suggests that he "stumbled into the Hitler era" (p. 175), disappointed by the failure of Franz von Papen's and Kurt von Schleicher's efforts to head off the Nazis by authoritarian means. While Schmitt was critical of the Weimar constitution from the start and favored a stronger executive, Balakrishnan points out that in the 1920s and early 1930s his constitutional critiques had their source in his hope of strengthening the republic, not overthrowing it. His leading role in the legal defense of Papen's takeover of the SPD-led Prussian state government in July 1932 was motivated not only by hostility to the left but by his hope of preventing the Nazi plurality in the Prussian parliament from gaining power. Although Schmitt admired Italian fascism, he had not previously considered a one-party state workable in such a highly developed country as Germany. When the die was cast, however, he jumped onto the Nazi bandwagon, joining the party in May 1933, shortly before a moratorium on party memberships was imposed. Despite his subsequent determined efforts to put his theory of decisionism (as opposed to normativism and legal positivism) into the service of the Nazis and his adoption of anti-Semitism, his earlier writings and associations with Jewish scholars were used against him by hardliners in the party who successfully blocked his rise in the Nazi legal hierarchy in the later 1930s.

Balakrishnan rejects both the widely held view that Schmitt was only an unprincipled opportunist without any consistent political philosophy and the opposite charge, made in different versions by the German scholars Heinrich Meier (*Die Lehre Carl Schmitts*) in 1994 and Andreas Koenen (*Der Fall Carl Schmitt*) in 1995, that behind Schmitt's changing political allegiances lay an extreme antimodernist Catholic fundamentalism committed to realizing theological principles in the political sphere and restoring the medieval German empire. In the Weimar years at least, according to Balakrishnan, Schmitt's ideas owed very little to the theological traditions of the church. He viewed Catholicism as a "complex of opposites" whose universality enabled it to embrace and conciliate diverse schools of thought, thus constituting a safeguard against political or sectarian fanaticism and providing a model for mediating political and international conflicts in postwar Europe. While Balakrishnan is quite sympathetic to Joseph Bendersky's interpretation of Schmitt as a beleaguered conservative nationalist (in *Carl Schmitt: Theorist for the Reich* [1983]), he denies that Schmitt was ever first and foremost a "nationalist," and he chides Bendersky for "often downplaying the extremely unusual, radical side of his mind" (p. 269, n. 1). Schmitt, like so many other Germans in the Weimar era, was outraged by the Versailles Treaty and Allied military efforts to enforce it, which in his view contributed to the weakness of the republican constitution by undermining the sovereignty of the state. But what strikes Balakrishnan as compelling about Schmitt's pre-Nazi texts is precisely their distance from the usual *völkisch* line. In the tradition of Jean-Jacques Rousseau, Schmitt did assume that democracy requires a certain homogeneity to be effective, but he denied that this homogeneity could be defined in ethnic or racial terms, or indeed along any one dimension, such as common language.

Schmitt's assertion of the sovereign authority of the state and its right to identify and suppress its internal

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and external enemies has obvious appeal to conservatives and is currently invoked to justify the suspension of civil liberties in the war against terrorism. Schmitt's reception on the left is more complicated and ambiguous. The book's title—a reference to Schmitt's famous friend-enemy distinction, but one that does not specify who the enemy is (for Schmitt in the 1920s it was the proletariat)—reflects Balakrishnan's ambivalence. For him, Schmitt is important for the questions that he raises and the problems that he diagnoses, not the authoritarian solutions that he proposes. No doubt Schmitt's tough-minded understanding that a liberalism that serves only to rationalize economic self-interest and anchor privileges in law is a threat to democracy helps to account for his open-minded reception on the left in an era in which liberalism and democracy are often equated as a matter of course, and democracy seems everywhere to be losing ground. Schmitt's recognition of the irreducibly political nature of interpretations of the law and of constitutions and his critique of the illusion that politics could be rendered superfluous in a system governed only by technocratic market rules have obvious relevance in an era of rampant privatization, corporatization, standardization, bureaucratization, and deregulation. Schmitt affirmed "the political" as a necessary corrective to the almost religious belief in technology as the means of solving social problems in an "age of neutralizations and depolitizations." Balakrishnan hopes to mobilize Schmitt's theoretical insights to reinvigorate a pusillanimous and demoralized left. If in domestic politics Schmitt's works challenge neo-liberal (or neo-conservative) consensus politics, the ideas he developed in protest against the victor powers' efforts to limit German sovereignty through international law in the aftermath of World War I have relevance to contemporary international relations as well. Schmitt typically confronted lofty ideals with hard reality. "International law is suspect for Schmitt not because it is universal in scope, but, rather, because it never will be, since powerful states or whole alliances of states will either have their privileges esconced in international law, or evade its jurisdiction on what they deem to be vital matters of security" (p. 267).

This book will not end the controversy on the value of Schmitt's writings, the soundness of his ideas, or his standing in intellectual history. But readers of all political persuasions can benefit from reading Balakrishnan's conscientious and challenging scholarly study.

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PAUL JULIAN WEINDLING. *Epidemics and Genocide in Eastern Europe 1890–1945*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2000. Pp. xxi, 463. $95.00.

In a very restricted sense, Paul Julian Weindling is the Fernand Braudel of the history of National Socialist racism in Germany. His aim is to detail the *longue durée* of the thoughts, actions, institutions, and policies that led to the disaster that was Nazi Germany. His previous book, *Health, Race, and German Politics between National Unification and Nazism, 1870–1945* (1989), is an encyclopedia of such facts whose title only hints at the length of the exposition that follows. In that book Weindling argued that the Nazi *Generalplan Ost* of racial imperialism and extermination was an amalgam of race and technocracy, an evil distillation from a wide variety of trends in modern social eugenic thought in Germany and the West since the late nineteenth century. Weindling's work is Braudelian only in a restricted sense because of its shorter temporal span, its focus on elites, and its poor writing.

In this new book, Weindling attempts to show that the *Generalplan Ost* "had as its corollary ... an anti-epidemic *Seuchenplan Ost*" (p. xv) to eliminate disease associated with population groups—principally Jews—targeted for racial extinction. Weindling focuses on typhus, labeled by Nazis and others previously as *Judenfieber* (Jew Fever), endemic in Eastern Europe and thus a source of great anxiety for the Master Race in their pursuit of *Lebensraum* there. Weindling's thesis is a strong one. There has long been recognition that Nazi genocide had significant roots in the soil of medical fields, that the Nazis thought of Jews and others as "diseases" to be eradicated, and that the Final Solution arose in part from Nazi concern about the spread beyond "racial" boundaries of epidemic diseases from occupied lands and the ghettos to which they consigned the Jews. What is unique about Weindling's book is his focus on typhus and the history of epidemiology in Germany since the late nineteenth century. As with his previous book, Weindling voluminously disaggregates the views and work of those individuals and institutions concerned with bacteriology, pathology, and epidemiology. He also delves into political and social contexts, as in his description of liberal and conservative opposition to a national law for prevention and control of epidemics. In Prussia, liberals feared enhanced police powers, while conservatives complained about excessive expenditures. Imperialists and colonialists worried about the diseases that would flood into the Reich as Germany expanded its control across Europe and the world. Already the growth in migration from Eastern into Western Europe and America was a source of great anxiety for medical specialists and the general population in Germany. One response, Weindling shows, was the rise of "medical nationalism" that mobilized "heroic" physicians and researchers to protect and promote "German" hygiene both at home and abroad.

At the core of Weindling's book is the link between lice and race. "Delousing" is the first word in the book, for the link established between lice and typhus was a major medical advance of turn-of-the-century medicine. But the disastrous events of World War I and the many social constructions around typhus in particular made exploitation of this advance anything but a tale of unalloyed progress. Ominous, of course, was the

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development of hydrogen cyanide in the form of Zyklon B to combat lice and other vermin. Weindling's painstakingly comprehensive approach mitigates somewhat a tendency toward Holocaust teleology, as in his discussion of significant German participation in international efforts after World War I to contain typhus in Russia and Poland. But the emesis of Nazi governance changed everything, and the link between lice and race became part of the Final Solution.

Even though scientific, individual, and institutional predecessors to and participants in the Holocaust are made clear enough, the poor organization and writing within Weindling's paragraphs renders larger ramifications unclear. The lack of sustained analysis leads to a failure to link findings to larger questions. For example, he raises the issue of whether "more moderate Allied sanitary strategies" in the battle against lice and typhus during the World War I describe a "medical *Sonderweg*" (p. 91) in the German emphasis on poison gas and an accompanying campaign against Polish Jews. But Weindling never satisfactorily answers this question—or many others—in ensuing sentences and paragraphs that ramble and stumble among a variety of subjects. On two separate—and widely separated—occasions, he remarks that the new state agents of chemical disinfection prevailed over the old "free order" of rat-catchers (*Kammerjäger*), but he forges no link to the importance of professionalization in modern Germany. Similarly, he documents the curious mix of Gestalt theory, holism, and environmentalism among Nazi bacteriologists without any discussion of the larger phenomenon discussed in Mitchell Ash's *Gestalt Psychology in German Culture, 1890–1967: Holism and the Quest for Objectivity* (1995) and Raymond Dominick's *The Environmental Movement in Germany: Prophets and Pioneers, 1871–1971* (1992). It is this seeming isolation from much of the analytical literature on modern German history, occasioned by Weindling's immersion in primary and secondary sources related closely to his own specific topic, that explains a curious and atypical digression into historiography. Weindling associates Richard Evans with German anti-Semites of the day for his alleged assertion, in *Death in Hamburg: Society and Politics in the Cholera Years, 1830–1910* (1987), that "*Ostjuden* brought cholera to Hamburg" (p. 63). In fact, Evans agrees with Weindling that emigrants (and not just Jews) from the East were one condition among others that produced cholera epidemics in Germany in the 1890s.

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Michael Thad Allen. *The Business of Genocide: The SS, Slave Labor, and the Concentration Camps*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2002. Pp. xii, 377. $39.95.

For decades, the history of the SS Business and Administration Main Office (SS-Wirtschafts-Verwaltungshauptamt or WVHA), one of the most important offices of the Nazi SS, has been ignored except for one pioneer work in the 1960s. Finally this organization has come under greater scrutiny. Within that context, Michael Thad Allen's study, presenting crucial aspects of the history of the WVHA, proves to be a major contribution.

During the course of the Nazi dictatorship, the WVHA gradually assumed different tasks, which became manifest in the foundation of new institutions. Beginning in 1934, SS General Oswald Pohl, a former navy paymaster, formed an efficient bureaucratic organization whose main task was the administration of the SS. This included financial responsibility for concentration camps and SS Death Head's units. Using concentration camp labor, in 1938 Pohl established huge brick factories. These first large economic undertakings ended up in total financial and technical disaster. Allen shows that the SS managers' lack of technical expertise together with a dilettante enthusiasm for "modern economic apparatus" (p. 61) caused havoc. "More by accident than design" (p. 76), only an SS textile company that combined the use of female prisoners with labor-intensive machinery became both successful and profitable. Although SS managers verbally championed modern management and technology, both the SS economic enterprises and the allocation of concentration camp labor proved to be highly inefficient.

According to Allen, the SS engineers who formed the WVHA's Office Group C (Building) advocated modern technology, too. Headed by SS General Dr. (Engineer) Hans Kammler, this office supervised the entire building industry of the SS. Convincingly, the author destroys the myth (spread by Albert Speer) of "technocrats" who only saw and worked for their technical goals. In Allen's opinion, the SS engineers were believers in German supremacy. As such, they planned settlements for a German East, a territory "cleansed" of Jews and other indigenous populations, and they supervised the murderous building sites for the German rockets (the "miracle weapons"), where thousands of concentration camp prisoners were worked to death. However, Allen's description of the SS engineers as ardent supporters of Nazi ideology stands in contrast with my own findings (c.f. Jan Erik Schulte, *Zwangsarbeit und Vernichtung: Das Wirtschaftsimperium der SS. Oswald Pohl und das SS-Wirtschafts-Verwaltungshauptamt 1933–1945* [2001], pp. 458–60).

Allen's main focus is neither a narrative about the WVHA nor a history of its organization. His major questions pertain to the motivation of the mid-level managers, engineers, and other functionaries in this bureaucracy. Here, Allen argues within a broader stream of historical research that no longer concentrates on the top-ranking Nazis but which is interested in the sociology, function, and ideological commitment of the men who actually ran the Nazi bureaucracies, the SS murder squads, or the concentration camps.

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For his research Allen uses a very broad concept of ideology or, as he calls it, a "plexus of ideologies" (p. 11). Within his definition, one finds Nazi ideologies including racism and anti-Semitism and ideas of national supremacy but also concepts of economic and technical modernism. According to Allen, these "common ideals" structured the dynamics of the SS bureaucracy. True, the WVHA personnel acted on a whole range of individual motives, including Nazi ideologies and professional commitments. But it is questionable if those can be labeled as a common set of ideologies or even identified as common ideals. To me, the diversity of individual motives within the WVHA is more striking.

Furthermore, Allen argues that the WVHA's leading men followed concepts of modernism. There is no doubt that men like Kammler had an overall view of and did advocate modern developments in their fields of expertise and that they were able to adapt them to their tasks at hand. But most SS managers were calling only for specific modern machinery and were not following concepts of modern management. And often they did not, as the author concedes, understand the impact of modern technology on the factories they managed. Modernism was very much a rhetorical concept within the SS. Even Allen points out that Pohl, as the WVHA's top man "also indulged the SS's charlatan fascination for 'inventions of all kinds'" (p. 244).

But apart from this, Allen not only presents a well-researched and well-written study of the WVHA but also adds significantly to the ongoing discussion about the motives of those men who actually ran the numerous bureaucracies in Nazi Germany and whose functions do not differ a great deal from the work of professional men in contemporary bureaucracies.

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MICHAEL L. HUGHES. *Shouldering the Burdens of Defeat: West Germany and the Reconstruction of Social Justice*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1999. Pp. 266. $49.95.

This book is about a remarkable West German postwar effort, the *Lastenausgleich* (balancing of burdens), to indemnify some 18 million Germans who had lost real property to air raids, expulsion from Eastern European countries, inflation of prewar savings, and invading enemy armies in World War II. The author, Michael L. Hughes, is already well known for *Paying for the German Inflation* (1988), a study of the abortive attempt to similarly indemnify victims of the disastrous inflation of 1923. Unlike that worthwhile crusade, the *Lastenausgleich* movement eventually succeeded in passing a number of measures, from 1948 to the enactment of the Lastenausgleich Act of 1952 and later implementation laws, even though the inherent merits of its claims were neither recognized by the Allies nor by the Federal Constitutional Court of West Germany. What saved the *Lastenausgleich* was the great eagerness of all the major politicians and parties at the time to accommodate the welter of demands on the young Federal Republic (although refusing it would probably not have brought down West German democracy as the author seems to think). The East German communist government ignored the issue and merely granted welfare payments to hardship cases. Neither the Soviets nor the East German leadership of that day had much respect for the ethnic German refugees and their plight, and they had even less for those who lost a lot of real property as a result of the war. In fact, they expropriated whoever still owned factories and land in the Soviet Zone (after 1949, the German Democratic Republic) after the war. Hughes compares the "war-damaged" and their post-1945 setting to the postinflation movement, the currency reform of 1948 (which at Allied insistence limited itself mostly to money conversion), and how other European states handled similar complaints. He could have compared it also to the undertaking of the postcommunist Trustee Society for the People's Property (*Treuhand*) since 1990 to preserve what remained of East German collective property or the vouchers issued by many postcommunist governments in Eastern Europe against the loss of value of public industrial stock.

Hughes describes the competing *Lastenausgleich* movements and their leaders well and at great length. He also gives due emphasis to their pragmatism and political skills, attributes clearly lacking in the 1924 antecedent, to the detriment of Weimar democracy. Their post-World War II following, however, was no less dramatic and emotional than their predecessors in expressing its sense of victimhood: witness the mouthful of a name of the refugee party, the BHE (Federation of People Driven from their Homeland and Stripped of their Rights). Whom would they blame now for the Nazi war of racial imperialism, in which many of them may have played a role: the Allies, the Nazis, or "fate"? And, probably more important to them, whom could they ask to pay a significant share of their damages: the "undamaged" German survivors, all the taxpayers including themselves, or only the better-off undamaged? Should their discounted compensation come from capital levies, which might have held back economic recovery, or from the revenues of a fortunately expanding "miracle economy"? Hughes pays a surprising amount of attention to the testimony of formerly propertied Germans to their own virtue—even though eighty percent of all the damaged were without much property—and, of course, these repositories of social virtue dominated the chief organizations of the damaged and shouted the loudest for relief. Some of the leaders were also old Nazis whose past eventually began to reflect on their cause. There is enough detail of the various options and turns in the history of the *Lastenausgleich* to satisfy any student of policy and law making.

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This book is exhaustively documented, but it also has its flaws, particularly in outlining its subjects clearly and avoiding repetition. The topic is a highly technical one that requires *Sitzfleisch* of the reader and eyes that will not glaze over. For those who wish to grasp the whole story without reading the book from cover to cover, the author has supplied a fine eight-page conclusion.

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ROBERT G. MOELLER. *War Stories: The Search for a Usable Past in the Federal Republic of Germany*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 2001. Pp. xiii, 329. $45.00.

Contrary to the staple of historical research that (West) Germans during the 1950s and 1960s suppressed Nazi atrocities and their own involvement in National Socialism, Robert G. Moeller points out that there was a tremendous amount of remembering in the decades after World War II. As he correctly observes, selectively remembering is not the same as forgetting or suppressing for that matter (p. 16). What was (according to Moeller, excessively) remembered in West Germany is the suffering of non-Jewish Germans, of refugees, of expellees, and of POWs. The memory of the suffering that Germans actually inflicted on millions of Eastern Europeans, Soviet citizens, and Jews took a back seat in 1950s West Germany. Even worse: with a number of official and nonofficial statements and quotes collected in the book, it becomes clear that many implicitly, and frequently enough explicitly, equated the suffering of the victims at the hands of the Germans with the suffering that the Germans themselves endured. Moeller's main argument, repeated with much conviction, is that most West Germans failed to draw a connection between the sufferings of these two groups during the early years of the Federal Republic. Moeller analyzes the selective memories of Germans in an attempt to build a renewed national identity for West Germans in search of a "usable past."

The book focuses on parliamentary debates, media reports, and the work of prominent historians in the 1950s and 1960s, as well as on movies. The first chapter explores the debates in the Bundestag on who qualified as victims of Nazi persecution and thus for compensation. Moeller rightly points out that German expellees and refugees had a powerful voice in postwar West Germany, while Jewish victims obviously did not because they had been murdered (p. 34). The latter were thus again excluded from the "imagined community" that was to be created in postwar Germany. The second chapter explores the vast documentation, commissioned by the West German government, on the fate of expellees and refugees from the east. Moeller analyzes how the experiences of German expellees and refugees were documented by some of the most prolific and influential West German historians. Among them are Wolfgang Schieder, Hans Rothfels, Werner Conze, and, from the younger generation, Martin Broszat and Hans-Ulrich Wehler, all of whom played a significant role in establishing the discourse of West German victims during the 1950s. The circumstances surrounding the return of the last POWs from Soviet captivity in 1955 and even more so the iconographic use of the POWs in the media are explored in chapter four. Moeller illustrates that it was widely assumed by the German public that the "ordinary German soldiers," who were held captive by the Soviets for ten years after the war had ended, were innocent victims of the barbaric Soviet regime. The involvement of the Wehrmacht in Nazi crimes—to this day a major topic in the exhibit of the Hamburger Institut für Sozialforschung—and the innumerable deaths of Soviet soldiers and civilians were conveniently suppressed in what was perceived as a tale of unjust German suffering. The presumed innocence of all but a few POWs conveniently transformed itself into a presumed innocence of all but a few Germans (p. 113). Chapter five analyzes films by directors whose involvement with the Nazis seemingly did not pose a problem for West German audiences. The morality tales of the loss of *Heimat* were highly popular with the Germans, who longed for a world that "overcame" the horrors of the war.

From a contemporary viewpoint, "to establish the moral equivalence of the victims of Germans and German victims" (p. 198) is clearly not acceptable. Moeller has shown that convincingly. His book's aim is to constructively complicate the story of victimhood in postwar German history. Nowadays, it is increasingly accepted that not a single national narrative but a "multiplicity of stories" is an appropriate approach to German history (especially after 1989), as advocated by historians such as Konrad Jarausch and Michael Geyer. In our day and age, including a multiplicity of stories is the appropriate approach for any kind of history, because it takes into account a multitude of memories and the constructedness of all history. Moeller has shown how the "multiplicity of stories" can extend our knowledge of the early phases of the Federal Republic.

As in all of his work, Moeller demonstrates a profound knowledge of the sources and an excellent talent in pulling things together. However, since this is a book about memory and the construction of narratives (these are *narratives of the war*, not war stories, as the title suggests), the reader would expect a bit more of a theoretical exploration of what holds the different fields—parliamentary debates, historiography, newspapers, and movies—together. Those historians, social scientists, and anthropologists who have worked on memory know that individual, not to speak of collective, recollections are always framed by the present.

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Nobody should be surprised that this is also true for the 1950s and 1960s.

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SHELDON R. ANDERSON. *A Cold War in the Soviet Bloc: Polish-East German Relations, 1945–1962.* Boulder, Colo.: Westview. 2001. Pp. xviii, 314. $30.00.

To its detractors, perhaps nothing about state socialism seemed more pernicious than state-sponsored hatred. Until their collapse, East Bloc regimes instructed their citizens in their duty to hate class enemies. Because they made absolutely clear who these enemies were, they also had to identify and celebrate ostensible "friends." And indeed, "friendship" was among the most frequently invoked ideals in socialist Eastern Europe. The most important friend for the German Democratic Republic (GDR), a state at the boundaries of the "class enemy," was, of course, the Soviet Union, but thereafter no country seemed as close as Poland, its socialist neighbor. Such at least was the official propaganda. In fact, as Sheldon R. Anderson shows in his original and significant new monograph, few state elites were as frequently alienated as those of East Germany and Poland.

The earliest dispute was basic: it concerned the common border. The feather-ruffling began in the immediate postwar years, when even Communist German leaders insisted that the Oder-Neisse boundary was a temporary solution. By 1947, they professed acceptance of it under Soviet pressure, but Polish diplomats noted reservations about the border among East Germans well into the 1960s.

Disagreements on this question could be suppressed. Others—especially on coal, Poland's most valuable natural resource, and one desperately needed by East German industry—could not. Especially after the liberalization of 1956, Poland preferred to sell its coal for higher world market prices, and GDR leaders complained bitterly, claiming that East German towns were endangered by blackouts. When Polish premier Józef Cyrankiewicz informed his East German counterpart Otto Grotewohl that his regime was permitting workers to cut back their hours in an attempt to relieve political pressure in a highly unstable time, he was told that East German miners were working extra shifts. Such exchanges reinforced notions of Polish lassitude that were deeply rooted in German culture. East German citizens were also heard to mumble regret over the formerly German coal mines in Silesia, now supposedly victims of Polish inefficiency. Poles for their part lamented not only the low prices paid by East Germany but also the inferiority of East German industrial goods.

This trade dispute was a subset of larger disagreements over relations with the West. After 1956, Poland wanted to deal directly with Western partners in trade and cultural exchange. To the great chagrin of the Ulbricht leadership in East Berlin, that included West Germany. As Anderson writes, the two sides were steering in opposite directions: "At the same time that the Polish government was pursuing West German political parties and trade links, the SED [Socialist Unity Party of Germany] was increasing the number and vitriol of its attacks on the Adenauer government, accusing it of harboring militarists, fascists, and former Nazis" (p. 186). Anderson's richly textured narrative brims with examples of East German suspicions: that Poles issued visas more quickly for West than East Germans; that Westerners were more cordially received in official and unofficial circles in Warsaw; that even Polish Communists mercilessly criticized the Soviet Union and thought of the GDR as the Soviets' most assiduous lackey. In conversation after conversation, East German diplomats and journalists were asked: when will you replace your own Stalinist [party leader] Walter Ulbricht? For the East Germans, such questions bordered on the sacrilegious and only reinforced their sense that Poland's democratization of October 1956 had resulted in chaos. The function of these encounters was to drive East Germany even more securely into the Soviet embrace.

In reading the reports of East German and Polish diplomats that Anderson has culled from foreign ministry records in Berlin and Warsaw, one has a sense that each contact only deepened the misunderstanding between the two sides. These were ill-fated relations: divergences in geopolitical interest as well as deep cultural prejudices (shared as much by the respective party cadres as the populations at large) destined the two sides to recurrent discord. In a sense, the Cold War context, with its enforced truths, made the situation worse than might have been the case between two unallied neighbors. Diplomats communicated their frustrations to blank sheets of paper rather than counterparts on the other side, and true rapprochement, let alone a community of interests, became inconceivable. Nevertheless, after 1962 a sort of coalition emerged as the increasingly conservative regimes discerned common interests in stamping out reform within their own populations and in the Eastern Bloc as a whole. They figured among the most determined opponents of the Prague Spring, and both Polish and East German troops aided in the invasion of August 1968.

Still, Poland remained a much freer, if poorer, society than East Germany, and any sense of community, even among Communists, could be only temporary. In 1980 as in 1956, the East German side, horrified at the rampant "chaos" in Poland, sealed its borders and cut contacts to a minimum. Some in the SED even imagined East German troops occupying former German territories in a Warsaw Pact invasion. The events of 1989 signalled an end to such "friendship," and the Oder-Neisse now divides two neighbors with their share of open disagreements but also common ambitions. Anderson's book is as fine a guide as

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we are likely to possess to the early years of a tense relationship in the East Bloc.

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LARRY WOLFF. *Venice and the Slavs: The Discovery of Dalmatia in the Age of Enlightenment*. Stanford: Stanford University Press. 2001. Pp. x, 408. $49.50.

As a follow-up to his groundbreaking *Inventing Eastern Europe: The Map of Civilization on the Mind of the Enlightenment* (1994), Larry Wolff judiciously uses literary and archival sources to explore the relationship between power and knowledge in the effort of Venetians in the eighteenth century to revise their ideology of empire. Calling on Edward Said and Michel Foucault for power and on Jürgen Habermas for the public sphere, Wolff scrutinizes changing Venetian conceptions of the proper relationship between empire (Venice) and colony (Dalmatia). The discourse extends after 1740 from the political (official) sphere into the public sphere (civil society). Contestants in the competition to define Dalmatian identity include Filip Grabovac on the literature of the Illyrian or Croatian nation (1747) and Andrija Kačić-Miošić in celebration of Slavic speech and the Slavic people (1756); *Illyricum Sacrum* (1751), a history of Dalmatia as Rome's religious province by the Jesuit Daniele Farlati; and the dramatist Carlo Goldoni's play, *La Dalmatina*. Presented in 1758 at Venice's Teatro San Luca, the play portrayed the Dalmatian Slavs and Greek Ionian Islanders as republican patriots. It did not escape conservative critique.

The Russo-Turkish war of 1768–1774 whetted Dalmatians' awareness of their Slavic identity. The circumnavigation of Europe by the Russian fleet from the Baltic to the Aegean gave Dalmatian Slavs an opportunity to see themselves as ethnic occupants of an area from the Adriatic to the Pacific. For Venice, the event announced danger. Venice could retort, however, by embracing the utilitarian and national conceptions of physiocracy. By promoting national agriculture and industry, it hoped to compensate for the asymmetry between its ideology of national unity and the practice of restricting Adriatic commerce to the advantage of the metropolis and at Dalmatia's expense. Venetian governmental support and Scottish patronage for projects of scientific research with utilitarian objectives, including the research journeys of the abbé Alberto Fortis of Padua, along with the response of Venetian authorities and new agricultural or economic societies to Fortis's account, thrust questions earlier confined to the political sphere ever more deeply into the public sphere.

Fortis's *Viaggio in Dalmazia* (1774) was quickly translated into German, French, and English. Introducing a population of the Dalmatian interior, the Morlacchi, Fortis blamed civilized Europe (Venice) for their backwardness. A pastoral people practicing transhumance, the Morlacchi were mostly Orthodox Christians. Some of their ancestors had spoken an eastern Romance language. In the eighteenth century, their speech was that of their immediate neighbors and marriage partners, Serbs and Croats. The 150,000 Serbs "cleansed-out" of the Krajina in 1995 by Croatia in alliance with NATO were mostly their descendants.

Information may serve power. A demand for information on the part of those with little power may also be power enhancing. My basic criticism of Wolff's admirable study is his failure to take advantage of references to the stay in Knin (Krajina) and the Zadar district (pp. 148–49, 200) of the Banat Serb, Dositej Obradović, to explore the thesis that the Enlightenment was not a divider of civilization (Western Europe) from barbarism (Eastern Europe) but a means of extending European civilization eastward. To that offer from the West (supply) there was corresponding demand among Greek and Serb elites (stand-ins for the Morlacchi), during the Russo-Turkish war of 1768–1774, for Enlightenment ideas and identification with Europe.

J. W. von Goethe and Johann Gottfried Herder regarded the poetry of the South Slavs as Fortis's most important discovery. Western European admirers categorized it with the poems of the legendary Ossian of James Macpherson and with Homeric poetry. Fortis's own evaluation of the poetic achievements of the Morlacchi was that they "have strong strokes of expression but scarcely a flash of imagination" (p. 185). His interest in their poetry derived from his desire to use it to illustrate the tenacity of custom: its function "as a sort of fossil evidence" (p. 184). His primary professional concern was geology.

In her novel *Les Morlaques* (1788), Giustiniana Wynne, Countess Orsini-Rosenberg, turned Fortis's Morlacco notable into the founder of a new type of family committed to equality of the sexes and to marriage "as the most interesting and remarkable epoch among all the events of life," in contrast to "the rococo arrangements of super-civilized Venetians" and the old Morlacchi way of treating women as inferiors (pp. 201–202, 205). Vying for the same woman, one of the notable's sons and a Morlacco of the old tradition clash and perish. The moral of the story is that civilization corrupts. Cling to local tradition. Avoid "curiosity" (pp. 193, 201–202, 205, 217).

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EMANUELA SCARPELLINI. *Comprare all'americana: Le origini della rivoluzione commerciale in Italia 1945–1971*. Bologna: Mulino. 2001. Pp. 352. L. 45,000.

The "economic miracle" that took place in Italy between 1958 and 1963 was marked not just by a rapid growth in industrial output but also by the emergence of a national market for consumer goods. The effects of this on the distribution system of the country are

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analyzed by Emanuela Scarpellini in her study of how "buying the American way" came to Italy.

Her focus is on the spread of large-scale distribution and, in particular, the introduction of the supermarket. This was very much a U.S.-led phenomenon: the first chain to open in the country, "Supermarkets Italiani," was set up by Ibec (the International Basic Economy Corporation founded by Nelson Rockefeller), which sought to transplant the values of private enterprise into "developing" countries by operating profitable consumer enterprises in association with local entrepreneurs. The economic transformations in Italy, combined with the prominence of the Communist opposition, made it an attractive location for Ibec, which opened its first supermarket in Milan in November 1957.

Ibec's local partners rightly insisted that the supermarket's image be as American as possible to make it attractive to the public, not least through the use of the term "supermarket" itself. However, some allowances had to be made for local conditions. Shopping carts were smaller than in the U.S. so that their relative lack of contents was not accentuated The décor was kept muted in order to avoid any off-putting sense of prosperity that might prevent poorer people from entering a store whose bottom-line appeal was based on low prices. Despite some initial confusion—as when customers took their carts home with them—the public were quick to pick up on both the benefits and the message of the enterprise, as testified to by the man overhead telling his companion "just remember this next time you vote, they don't have any of these in Russia" (p. 151).

American managers seemingly found it easy to reduce the high costs common in Italian distribution operations by introducing centralized distribution, integrating production facilities such as bakeries, and using product development specialists to work with Italian suppliers who had no background of dealing with consumer-led chains. They were taken aback, however, to find themselves operating in a country with Byzantine taxation and shop licensing procedures where "their idea of honesty . . . does not run with ours" and "there must be a payoff to get anything done" (p. 147). Supermarkets Italiani refused to engage in false accounting or bribery, yet it was probably only because of the favorable attitudes of local authorities that the stores were able to operate.

Several Italian enterprises now entered into the self-service and supermarket sector. Scarpellini provides concise histories of these early efforts, which highlight continuing problems of acceptance at both the consumer and political levels. Opposition to applications to open new premises led to protracted legal disputes that could continue for years, creating severe financial strains for the enterprises involved. Ultimately many of the new supermarket chains were taken over by large-scale distributors who operated "one price" variety stores such as UPIM (a division of the department store group Rinascente) and Standa. Indeed, the latter overtook the former in this era through its policy of anticipating customer needs by providing grocery stores alongside its non-grocery outlets.

By 1971, still only around five percent of purchases were made in supermarkets or large-scale department stores (the vast majority of which were concentrated in the major cities of the north and center of the country). However, the fact that these forms were increasing faster than traditional shops during the second half of the 1960s added piquancy to the protests of owner-retailers who combined direct action against stores (the release of stink bombs, for example) with opposing the issuing of new licenses through their local shopkeeper unions.

The attitude of the authorities toward large-scale distribution was more mixed. At the local level, the authorities usually saw it as a way to guarantee lower prices to the consumer. Government had to balance this benefit against the potential social upheaval that would be caused by the demise of traditional commerce. This was particularly problematic for the governing Christian Democrat Party, whose catchall social appeal left it fearful of alienating any element of its electorate. Meanwhile the national commercial confederation, which embraced both small and large-scale commerce, sought a corporatist solution that would allow both to operate side by side. The result, in 1971, was the passage of legislation introducing a "commercial" planning system that designated zones of development for both large and small-scale commerce.

The principal merit of Scarpellini's book is that it integrates both business and political factors. Her close reading of archival sources has placed much new material in the public domain and will ensure that the book remains a key point of reference for all future studies of Italian retailing.

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MARIA BUCUR and NANCY M. WINGFIELD, editors. *Staging the Past: The Politics of Commemoration in Habsburg Central Europe, 1848 to the Present*. (Central European Studies.) West Lafayette, Ind.: Purdue University Press. 2001. Pp. xii, 337. $24.95.

The aim of this volume, edited by Maria Bucur and Nancy M. Wingfield, is to explore how commemorative practices in the Habsburg Empire and its successor states shaped national identity. It raises three important questions: how did the Habsburg Empire try to forge sentiments of loyalty through commemoration, and why did it fail? And how did commemorations and rituals from the period of the empire change after the dissolution of the monarchy? By examining these questions, the book fills an important gap in the literature on Habsburg Central Europe.

The book is organized into three parts. Part one explores imperial attempts to construct commemora-

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tive practices and their failure to produce loyalty to the state. The favorite symbols used by the monarchy to forge loyalty were Roman Catholicism and the person of Emperor Francis Joseph. Daniel Unowsky looks at religious ceremonies after 1848 and at the 1851 imperial inspection tour of Galicia, while Steven Beller explores the 1908 celebrations of the emperor's jubilee. Here the reasons for failure were all too apparent. Representing an artificial unity, the jubilee celebrations ignored the post-1848 shift from a Germanocentric into a constitutional, multinational, and multilingual empire. In the 1908 parade, the only historical representation was of a German-speaking Austria (pp. 66–67). The dissonance between the conditions of a complex nationality problem and the rise of antagonistic national identities, on the one hand, and the representation of the nation and the state in the parade, on the other hand, was just too big. Nations are invented all right, but even the most invented nation faces limits of cultural habits, mores and traditions, and social and political conditions within which invention takes place. The monarchy was unable to invent a representation of the empire that could be accepted by its diverse national groups.

The second part of the book explores how contestations from the margins eroded whatever loyalty there was for the empire, and how particular national identities took hold in people's hearts at the expense of the empire. Laurence Cole looks at regional festivals in Tirol; Jeremy King at the intricate history of a statue in a southern Bohemian town; Keely Stauter-Halsted at notions of nation among Polish-speaking peasants in Galicia; and Wingfield at the commemoration of Joseph II as site of German identity in Bohemia. What emerges from these essays are the importance of local commemoration in the making of particular national identities and the inability of the center, in Vienna and at court, to shape an alternative identity. An important part of these essays is their focus on local dynamics of power and control and how national rituals were used by different groups. Thus Cole discusses the interplay of patriotic celebrations for the German and Italian inhabitants of Tirol, and Stauter-Halsted shows how Polish peasants invented national myths to challenge the hegemony of the gentry on national discourse, while Wingfield analyzes how Germans in Bohemia negotiated their identity in relation to the Habsburgs and Vienna as well as to the Czechs.

The implicit argument that runs through the essays in parts one and two as a whole is that since the Habsburg Empire was not a nation, it stood a chance to survive only by raising an "Austrian state consciousness," to use Beller's term (p. 65). But this attempt failed. It seems very unlikely that it could have forged a sense of shared past, upon which nations are based. Indeed, "national history was understood on a local scale," writes Stauter-Halsted, as Polish peasants kept Polish history alive (p. 167). The nation was a local metaphor, only not an Austrian or a Habsburgian one.

Part three, about commemorations in the successor states, begins with an illuminating essay by Cynthia Paces on commemorating Jan Hus and Saint Wenceslas in 1920s Czechoslovakia, followed by essays on the commemoration of Serbia's wars between 1912–1918 by Melissa Bokovoy, Hungary's Revolution of 1849 by Alice Freifeld, and Romania's December 1, 1918, political refoundation by Bucur. A recurrent pattern appears: namely, the desire to contest the links with, and to appear removed from, the Habsburg past. The essays show how making a new national past in these cases meant severing ties with the Habsburg one. The empire did not survive, but its political and cultural legacy weighed heavily after its dissolution.

This collection does not contribute in terms of method and theory to the current historiography about commemoration and political rituals, and this is not its aim. It is a valuable addition, written mostly by a new generation of scholars, to the literature on nationalism and identity building in the Habsburg Empire. The essays are preceded by a short, descriptive introduction that does not bring to the fore the overall arguments and contributions of the collection and does not place the Habsburg case of commemorative politics within a European context. Most important, it needs to be asked whether the new research changes our views of the empire or only strengthens existing arguments. In several cases, it seems that the collection's findings reconfirm old views, such as the argument that the empire failed to generate loyalty and that it failed to construct a common past, which, in the age of nationalism, was most likely impossible.

There was one group in the empire that supported it wholeheartedly—indeed, that derided its dissolution to distinct nation-states: the Jews. They had most to gain from the multinational empire and most to lose from xenophobic nationalism. An essay on the Jews and Habsburg commemorative politics could have brought in to sharp focus the problematic raised by this book.

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KEELY STAUTER-HALSTAD. *The Nation in the Village: The Genesis of Peasant National Identity in Austrian Poland, 1848–1914*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 2001. Pp. x, 272. $47.50.

Nineteenth-century Galicia was a backward Habsburg province contentiously inhabited by Poles, Jews, Ukrainians, and Germans. Yet upon its stage, as this book shows, Victorian political morality was at home: virtuous villagers, long oppressed by self-preening landlords and their exploitative agents, embraced sobriety and education to rise above tradition-bound neighbors, befogged by ignorance and drink, into democratic solidarity and freedom, scattering their foes before them. Farmers' sons, returning to the villages from urban teachers' colleges as country schoolmasters, penned lines reminiscent of Thomas Hardy. Of his father, one wrote that "although I was

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intensely afraid of him, I politely wondered how it was that he knew nothing of Poland, that he couldn't read, and hence that he was somehow disabled, as though he was not quite a whole person" (p. 177).

I myself wonder whether this worthy book's subtitle does not underplay the social drama suggested in the foregoing plot summary in favor of a peasant nationalism more problematical than acquisition of a "peasant national identity" might suggest. For Keely Stauter-Halsted offers many grounds for thinking that the virtuous villagers took unto themselves the role of national saviors so as to gain legitimacy and self-confidence in their struggle for political voice and socioeconomic emancipation from domineering Polish landlords and mistrusted and resented Jewish merchants and moneylenders. This is a point the author half concedes when she distinguishes between two kinds of peasant nationalism that emerged among the Polish Galician villagers. There was, first, a "folk nationalism," which integrated the Polish nation and its national heroes into a preexisting religiously suffused, magical worldview while banishing national enemies to the nether world of the malevolent Other. Of this "retrograde" form, much less is said than I would have liked to read, or would be desirable to know in face of the many manifestations since the nineteenth century of xenophobic and intolerant Polish nationalism.

The second form lacks a neat label but, following the author's cues, might be called "social-reform nationalism," whereby the "intelligent people" in the countryside, as one self-congratulatory peasant writer called them, "learned to couch their demands for socioeconomic progress in the nationalist language" of the educated and propertied Polish upper classes who, though often with considerable misgivings, sought to mobilize the common folk as foot soldiers in their campaign for Polish national survival. "By employing key national symbols in the representation of their aspirations for the village, reforming peasants offered a long-term justification for directing Galician resources and public attention to the countryside" (pp. 243–44).

Stauter-Halsted holds, perhaps somewhat defensively, that this social-reform nationalism was not merely an "instrumental usage of national symbolism in the service of economic and cultural goals" (p. 244). Yet there is less evidence in this book of peasant enthusiasm for Polish national identity and the Polish national cause than one would expect, judging from its title. Instead, the argument proceeds from an initial discussion of Galician rural poverty and backwardness—the legacy of a serfdom under which most peasant holdings fragmented into nonsubsistence dwarf holdings—to the first political duels between peasant and upper-class, pro-landlord deputies in Viennese and Galician parliamentary chambers in the 1848–1861 years. It is easy to appreciate how, in one peasant memoirist's words of 1912, "national consciousness . . . matured slowly, and up to our own day there were still those who only got angry and cursed when the name of Poland was mentioned" (p. 243). For the Polish nobility had arrogated Polishness to themselves, often even conflating the Polish cause with the maintenance of serfdom, and certainly with their own social preeminence. The gentry-inspired anti-Austrian uprising of 1846 in the Cracow district inspired the Polish-speaking villagers with fear of "the Poles," many of whose aristocratic heads they cut off and sold to cynical Austrian officials seeking to quell the revolt.

After the Polish nobility and their intelligentsia friends in 1868 gained self-government in Galicia, they did everything in their power to hold the villagers down, confining the franchise to the better-off peasants and bribing them to do the gentry's bidding. Only through the Vienna-mandated system of village self-administration introduced in 1866, and with the help of local schoolteachers and populist priests who defied the hierarchy's and provincial government's disapproval, did villagers gain enough literacy and self-confidence to begin to act independently in pursuit of their own social and political goals. But, on Stauter-Halsted's very well-researched showing, their aims were to defeat the remnants of feudal landlordism, including an oppressive system of tavernkeeping entrusted by time-honored gentry cunning to Jewish leaseholders, and even to initiate the parcelization and distribution to the land-poor of the large estates. They sought also, with impressive cold-blooded success, to displace the Jewish merchants and moneylenders in the villages by establishing cooperatively organized shops and savings banks. They waged, in other words, a triumphant campaign to create a Polish-national commercial-financial rural bourgeois stratum so as to drive out the Jews, toward whom their antipathy did not rule out occasional pogrom violence, as occurred for example in 1898.

By 1889–1895, the "intelligent" party among the Polish peasants, composed mainly of middling and better-off landholders and their allies among village craftsmen and merchants and the plebeian rural intelligentsia, could enter the Galician provincial parliament in some strength, just as they did the Viennese Reichsrat after the introduction of universal male suffrage in the empire's non-Hungarian half in 1907. The ablest among their deputies acquired heroic reputations in the countryside, more, it seems, for their insistence on peasant dignity—they demanded the gentry deputies cease addressing them in the familiar idiom and call them "Mister" (*pan*) instead—than for their paeans to Polish national solidarity or hopes for recovery of independent statehood, of which there is little or no evidence in Stauter-Halsted's pages.

The populist People's Party, which arose in 1895 and only later qualified itself by the nationalist adjective "Polish," aroused the upper classes' gravest apprehensions and cost its activists intermittent police repression. When in 1912 this party, having grown larger and socially more variegated, split, the upper echelon of

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better-off members gravitated toward the bourgeois radical nationalist and anti-Semitic National Democrats, while the lower echelon steered toward the working-class but also independence-oriented Polish Socialist Party. Here, at last, though Stauter-Halsted leaves the point unpursued, Galician peasant politics finally arrived at forthright nationalist positions. But political motors do not run on additive-free nationalism, which is more likely to lend ideological-emotional legitimacy to a socioeconomic and cultural program than to substitute for it.

Stauter-Halsted offers an excellent chapter on nineteenth-century Polish ethnographic and folkloristic studies, pioneered by the gentry-related intelligentsia, and another chapter on peasant appropriation of Polish nationalist self-images and such cultural performances as commemorations of national heroes. Peasant political activists and intellectuals, lacking their own concepts of themselves as Poles (if not as Galicians, though Stauter-Halsted never broaches this subject), borrowed from upper-class ideas about the Polish folk to assume a national identity. Particularly attractive to them, not surprisingly, was the Rousseauian-romantic notion of the common people's uncorrupted virtue, which the Galician populists deployed in their campaign to wrest socioeconomic advantage from the hands of the gentry, whom they happily denounced as immoral and degenerate.

Stauter-Halsted's book displays excellent illustrations, although its photograph of a Jewish moneylender seems ideologically freighted in a manner requiring discussion. The text reads best when closest to its sources and freest of the idiom of mechanistic and positivistic social science, which in my view is epistemologically weightless—historical knowledge obeys its own laws—and poetically deadly. The gifts of an able historian are on display here, especially in presenting issues of social performance and self-representation.

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DANIEL STONE. *The Polish-Lithuanian State, 1386–1795*. (History of East Central Europe, number 4.) Seattle: University of Washington Press. 2001. Pp. xii, 374. $50.00.

In 1660, the Polish publicist Andrzej Maksymilian Fredro pointed out that it took a month to travel from the northeastern borders of Lithuania to the foothills of the Carpathian mountains in the southwest. In such an extensive country, he maintained, securing a harmony of outlook and policy was virtually impossible. Fredro could have added that Poles made up barely half of the population of the territories that belonged to the so-called Polish "Crown," whereas the Lithuanians of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania accounted for perhaps as few as one in five of its inhabitants. The balance (the proportions varied immensely depending on the period) belonged above all to the inhabitants of extensive swathes of the lands of former Kievan Rus', nowadays mainly Belarus and Ukraine. In the immediate aftermath of the Polish-Lithuanian dynastic union of 1386, Polish and Lithuanian interests coincided directly only briefly, in the need to stand together against the Teutonic Knights. Once that menace had been largely tamed by 1420, the separate interests of the two states reasserted themselves, despite the common Jagiellonian dynasty. Poles were much more concerned with the Baltic and the Bohemian and Hungarian lands; Lithuanians were more fixated on holding back the advances of Moscow and relations with the Tatars of the Volga and the Crimea. Given these tangled complexities and given, too, that Poland and Lithuania have primarily been seen (unfairly) as victims of the foreign policy of others and as comparatively minor, occasional players on the European stage, it is not surprising that outside, especially English-speaking, scholars have not shown anything like the interest in the history of the region they have demonstrated toward other parts of Europe.

How far Daniel Stone's book will contribute to easing newcomers into the subject is uncertain. It begins arrestingly, with an examination not of Poland proper but of Lithuania. Stone has undoubtedly done a great service in unfolding a basic, chronological narrative of the history of the two states, which became one in 1569, joined in the federal union of Lublin to become a single *Res Publica, Rzeczpospolita*, or Commonwealth. As the author points out, it took almost another two centuries for the obstacles to a total union to be eradicated—just in time for this sprawling state to be removed from the map. It is, however, regrettable that, after the early scene setting, Lithuania tends to become eclipsed by Poland; and the continuing strength of Lithuanian separatism and the notion of a separate Lithuanian identity remain understated. More worryingly, the narrative exists at the expense of deeper analysis. The nobilities of Poland and Lithuania developed a particular, highly libertarian culture that is generally deemed to have brought about their own downfall. Yet the ramifications of this culture and mentality are largely unexplored. Readers are informed almost in passing (p. 117) that, during the interregnum of 1572–1573, a decision was made to allow all nobles to take part in the royal elections (theoretically, this could have applied to close to ten percent of the adult male population), but the political rivalries, the demagoguery of movers and shakers bidding for wider noble support that culminated in this measure, remain untouched. We are told (p. 153) that Jan Zamoyski subsequently proposed majority-vote royal elections, but we are not told that it was primarily Zamoyski who brought about the situation in the first place.

The most notorious manifestation of this extremely individualistic libertarianism was the *liberum veto*. The treatment that constitutional wrecking device receives is, however, far from enlightening. Stone rightly points out that although its first formal use occurred in 1652,

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individual parliaments had failed to agree on legislation since at least the end of the sixteenth century (pp. 182–83). The reader may be forgiven a degree of confusion, since previously he would have learned that the Parliament of 1639 was "broken by a *liberum veto*" (p. 153). It would certainly have helped if Stone had pointed out that most parliaments, especially those of the eighteenth century, were not formally disrupted by the veto but filibustered out of existence by those who did not wish to incur the opprobrium of having "misused" the device. As for the destruction of the Commonwealth, again, readers will surely require some explanation as to why Austria, which played a key role in bringing about the first and third partitions, was frozen out of the second. Regrettably, the final verdict on this book is that it is a missed opportunity for a much deeper exposé of a fascinating period of Eastern European history.

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Virgil Krapauskas. *Nationalism and Historiography: The Case of Nineeteenth-Century Lithuanian Historicism*. (East European Monographs, number 559.) Boulder, Colo.: East European Monographs; distribed by Columbia University Press, New York. 2000. Pp. 234. $30.00.

The leaders of most of Europe's stateless peoples defined their nineteenth-century national movements as revivals, rebirths, and awakenings. The resurrection of past glories enhanced the nationalist intelligentsia's self-definition as a catalyst arousing slumbering conationals and constructed a past, replete with historic victories and defeats, as a weapon against the oppressors who stood in the way of national resurrection. The nationalist connection to history is well known, particularly in Eastern and Central Europe, but Virgil Krapauskas's monograph, as the only scholarly monograph in English surveying this particular historical niche, needs no justification. The focus may be narrow, but it includes a discussion of virtually all the important aspects of the modern Lithuanian national movement: language-based class distinctions; the complexity of premodern multiple identities; and the emergence of a national intelligentsia. In as much as the use of history for nationalist purposes still plagues regions of conflict, this study has relevance for our time.

The Lithuanian situation was not essentially different from that of other nations caught in complex layers of political and cultural dominance: for example, Slovaks under Austrian-Magyar tutelage, or Bulgarians in the twin grip of Greeks and Ottomans. Initially, opposition to cultural hegemony was more important than the struggle against the imperial oppressor. In Lithuania, this meant a strident anti-Polonism. For its part, the rather clueless tsarist administration did not fully grasp the dangers of ethnic Lithuanian separatism until the turn of the century. Within this context, Krapauskas points out, the legacy of the multilingual Grand Duchy of Lithuania was a serious obstacle to the formation of ethnic Lithuanian identity: simply put, a "Lithuanian" could be either a Polish speaker of "high" culture or a Belarusian-speaking peasant. Even the region's Belarusian and Ukrainian Jews described themselves as *litvaks*, people of Lithuania.

The centrifugal forces of the nineteenth century separated these identities into their component ethnic parts. Those who resisted the process, the so-called *krajowcy* (literally, "border landers" in Polish, and not *krajowscy* [*sic*], as in the book), formed an interesting but forlorn lot, considered irrelevant by nationalists. For some reason, Krapauskas concentrates here on the little-known Konstancya Skirmuntt rather than the prominent Michał Römer. Ironically, romanticized Lithuanian history owed much to Polish writers who glorified the Lithuanian past, such as the poet Adam Mickiewicz and the romantic historian Theodor Narbutt. The early nineteenth-century emphasis on the peasants' language and folk culture—the so-called "Lithuanistics" movement—included Polish-language tracts. Two friends, Simonas Daukantas (1793–1864) and Motiejus Valančius (1801–1875), bishop of Samogitia, wrote the first serious histories in Lithuanian. While Valančius was the better scholar, Daukantas's anti-Polish historiography proved the formative influence in the history of Lithuanian nationalism.

After the tsar's closing of the University of Vilnius in 1832, Lithuanians "produced no professionally trained historians until 1904" (p. 83). Historical writing became the province of the intelligentsia, both liberal (such as Jonas Basanavičius, Vincas Kudirka, and Jonas Šliūpas) and clerical (Jonas Mačiulis-Maironis). Critical scholarship suffered, but through patriotic histories nationalism gained an ideology indispensable for achieving "political independence from the Russians and cultural divorce from the Poles" (p. 21).

One problem with intellectual studies of nationalism is a tendency to undervalue the nationalists' raw material, what the author describes as "an apathetic peasantry" (p. 196). It seems dismissive to describe the well-to-do villagers of southwestern Lithuania, whose sons comprised almost three-fourths of the first generation of the Lithuanian intelligentsia, as "backward peasants" (p. 6). The villagers' resistance to the tsar's Russification and anti-Catholic policies grew in the 1890s and exploded during the Revolution of 1905. Peasant protests against the denigration of their native tongue by the authorities date from the early 1820s, dramatically increasing in scope by the turn of the century.

Krapauskas mentions Eric Hobsbawm's and Benedict Anderson's studies on nationalism but does not elaborate on their relevance to his own work. One can also quibble with the description of Juozas Tumas-Vaižgantas (1869–1933), well known as Lithuania's most urbane cleric, as an "ultranationalist" priest (p. 156). Finally, a more diligent editor might have caught the inconsistencies in the utilization of personal

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names: that of Lithuanian author Ławryn Iwiński is transcribed in Polish, while Simonas Stanevičius is printed in modern Lithuanian orthography. The Lithuanian-language citations are capitalized, while some English ones are not: this is the reverse of accepted practice.

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ANDREW WILSON. *The Ukrainians: Unexpected Nation.* New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000. Pp. xviii, 366. $29.95.

A century ago, Polish nationalists claimed that Ukrainian nationhood was the product of an Austrian intrigue, and Russian imperialists were convinced that it was a scheme concocted in Berlin. Now Andrew Wilson argues that the Ukrainians are an "imagined community." His primary focus is on the history and concepts that, according to him, lie at the core of the Ukrainian national identity, and his approach is based on the currently fashionable trends in the study of nationalism. Consequently, for him "concepts such as 'nation' really belong in the realm of political and cultural imagination." National identity in general and Ukrainian identity in particular are, it seems, all about myths. These need to be "deconstructed" and "reconstructed" for the Ukrainians' own good (as defined by the author). Repeatedly Wilson stresses that there is nothing preordained about Ukrainian national identity. In his frequent forays into counterfactual history, he argues that, under different circumstances, Ukrainians could have adopted Polish, Russian, Soviet, or east Slavic identities.

The chronological scope of the work is far reaching. It encompasses pre-Kievan and Kievan Rus', the period of Lithuanian-Polish rule, Cossack Ukraine, the epoch of Habsburg and Romanov imperial domination, the Soviet era and, most extensively, post-1991 Ukraine. In each period, the dominant historical and political concepts pertaining to Ukrainian identity are summarized and "deconstructed." Wilson pays special attention to the Russian-Ukrainian relationship, particularly to the possibility of these two nations developing a common identity. Predictably, the author's bête noire is Ukrainian ethnic nationalism. Its "sins" are the prolific production of historical myths and the fact that it assumes a preordained national identity. Moreover, it is at odds with the current enthusiasm for multiculturalism. Strangely, there is little attention accorded to the historical myths regarding Ukrainian national identity and "fraternal" international relations that Soviet ideologists and pseudoscholars once regularly manufactured.

Wilson is well informed about his topic, having read widely if somewhat selectively in the relevant literature if not the primary sources. He presents his material in a lively and interesting fashion. And his forays into the cultural and religious aspects of Ukrainian historical and national consciousness treat the subject in a broader context than is customary. There is, however, a tendency to slip into extraneous detail. For example, the chapter on the International Monetary Fund and independent Ukraine's economic problems has little relationship to the central theme of the book. Moreover, the need to view national identity exclusively in terms of myths and mythmakers sometimes leads to ludicrous results: the bizarre views of a marginal individual like Lev Sylenko are treated with almost as much consideration and attention as the solidly grounded arguments of Mykhailo Hrushevsky, a positivist historian of the highest order. A sense of historical perspective is not one of the author's strengths. For him, the appearance of an independent Ukrainian state is a matter of "chance and circumstance." But if one considers that, throughout the twentieth century, empires repeatedly collapsed, and that they were invariably succeeded by initially rather wobbly nation-states, then the appearance of a Ukrainian state is hardly an accident of history.

Myths clearly play an important role in the development of national consciousness, and Wilson deserves credit for providing a survey of those that apply to the Ukrainians. It is, furthermore, generally recognized that the development of a Ukrainian national identity is, especially in the south and east of the country, far from complete. But to explain this condition exclusively in terms of "old-fashioned" or unconvincing "cultural constructs" is simplistic and one-dimensional. Surely concrete historical conditions and processes, such as centuries of statelessness and intense assimilatory pressures from dominant neighbors, go a long way in elucidating the peculiarities of the Ukrainian case. Most important, the author fails to answer the major question that his work inadvertently poses: if the Ukrainians could have bought into more imposing Polish, Russian, or Soviet myths, why did most of them chose to identify with the disadvantaged and, according to Wilson, unconvincing concept of a Ukrainian "imagined community"? Could it be because objective factors, totally ignored in this study, such as common ethnicity, language (most Ukrainians spoke Ukrainian most of the time), and history had a decisive impact on how they defined themselves? Perhaps if the author had paid greater attention to concrete historical processes, the existence of the Ukrainian nation would have been for him less unexpected.

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ULRIKE TISCHLER. *Die habsburgische Politik gegenüber den Serben und Montenegrinern 1791–1822: Förderung oder Vereinnahmung?* (Südosteuropäische Arbeiten, number 108.) Munich: R. Oldenbourg, 2000. Pp. 405.

Ulrike Tischler's work stems from a doctoral dissertation and despite its merits would have benefited from revisions that made this less evident. Extensive quotations from its main sources—the documentary collections on the first Serbian uprising of 1804–1813 drawn

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from the Vienna archives by Serbian historians Aleksa Ivić, *Spisi bečkih arhiva o prvom srpskom ustanku* (11 vols., 1911–1977) and Slavko Gavrilović, *Graota bečkih arhiva o prvom srpskom ustanku* (4 vols., 1985–1994) give the reader a sharp sense of the different motivations on the Habsburg side as Serbian political nationhood emerged. Here the chief factors are Emperor Franz Joseph, by no means a nonentity; the chancellery under Johann Philipp Stadion and Klemens von Metternich; the Hofkriegsrat and the Archduke Charles; the officials on the ground in the Habsburg Military Frontier; the Habsburg Serbs; and, to a lesser extent, the Hungarian elite. The counterposing of the scenario in "Turkish Serbia" with that in Montenegro and adjacent Dalmatia and Kotor, on the basis of Viennese archival materials, is interesting, as is Tischler's argument that Metternich developed a regional approach to the Serbian problem, whereby Serbia, while remaining formally Turkish, would be integrated under Austrian administration into one ethnocultural entity with the Serbs of the Military Frontier.

However, the book does not really succeed as a unity. It falls into two parts: a detailed diplomatic study of Habsburg relations with Serbia and Montenegro from 1791 (more especially 1804) to 1822, and an attempt to assess the degree to which Metternich had a well-conceived Balkan policy for the acculturation of Ottoman Serbs and Montenegrins to European norms. In practice, these discussions are only loosely integrated, and the broader study, which takes up sixty percent of the book, is densely presented diplomatic history lacking the genre's capacity, at its best, to set the twists and turns of the plot in a lucid analytical narrative. Tischler uses essentially only Austrian materials and does not avoid the danger of appearing to echo her sources' assumptions. Thus overall interpretation is at the level of European-minded Austrians opposing Russian great power egotism, although many interesting details cited make this seem a bland judgement of Austria, while the view of Russia implied is no more empathetic than that of Benjamin Kállay, the russophobe Hungarian scholar-statesman, in his *Die Geschichte des serbischen Aufstandes, 1807–1810* (1877).

The second part of the book also has problems. Discussion of the institutional framework of Metternich's Balkan policies adduces facts interesting in themselves, such as developments in Austro-Turkish postal communications, but not in practice shedding much light on the decision-making process. One wonders whether the documents on which Metternich is ultimately judged (an unimplemented draft constitution for Serbia of 1810, very probably written by him or a colleague in the author's view, and a number of measures undertaken toward Montenegro *ca.* 1820) are strong enough to underpin quite a lengthy book or the positive evaluation made. Tischler regularly puts "Europe" and "moral" (in the context of moral conquest) in inverted commas to suggest that their appearance in Austrian documents bears out her thesis of Metternich as a sophisticated modernizer. The need for discipline and hard work implied by the prescription of general taxation in the 1810 prospective constitution; the application of the harsh punishments of Theresian legislation (stepped up further) rather than subsequent civic-influenced procedures; the forced public labor of forty-five days a year in lieu of Austrian expenditure: all these provisions are held to be modernizing, to reflect a wise gradualism, or to show Austria's concern for infrastructural progress, contrary to the "oft-repeated" view of Metternich's lack of understanding of Balkan people. One can only note of these judgments that the approach advocated prefigures in many ways that later adopted by the imperial powers in Africa to break in native peoples. Tischler does show that Metternich did not share General Radetzky's awareness of the religious factor and the importance of Orthodoxy. Indeed, deeper acquaintance with Serbian-language historiography on the neuralgic question of Roman Catholic or Uniate pressure in eighteenth-century Habsburg Serb history would lead the writer to a fuller criticism of the 1810 constitution's advocacy of in-migration of Catholic clergy and their takeover of abandoned Orthodox monasteries, as also of Radetzky's proposal to replace the "Muscovite" by the Greek liturgical language for Austrian Serbs. Limitations of awareness and judgment do, regrettably, weaken the contribution that this book can make to its complex subject matter.

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ROBERT P. GERACI and MICHAEL KHODARKOVSKY, editors. *Of Religion and Empire: Missions, Conversion, and Tolerance in Tsarist Russia*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 2001. Pp. vi, 356. Cloth $49.95, paper $21.95.

The aim of this volume of essays is to enhance our understanding of the complex and grand enterprise of Russian imperial construction by exploring the relatively neglected role of religion through the prism of missions, conversion, and toleration. It comprises an introduction, twelve essays, and a conclusion. In the introduction, editors Robert P. Geraci and Michael Khodarkovsky state that the essays will demonstrate the importance of religion to identity and social integration, analyze the success and/or impact of conversion efforts on minority religious communities, and illustrate how a religiously diverse empire shaped definitions of Orthodoxy and Russianness. Collectively, the essays follow a generalized arc of Russian missionary and conversion efforts, and moments of toleration, that mirror, to some degree, the ebb and flow of imperial expansion and colonizing activities. The book begins with the conversion societies of the early eighteenth century, peaks with the expanded and "professionalized" missionary movements of the mid to late nineteenth century and culminates in the Edict of Toleration of 1905. During this period, whether religious minorities were coerced, bribed, persecuted,

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persuaded, or tolerated was dependent on a variety of idealistic and pragmatic considerations, foreign policy issues, and the prevailing intellectual and cultural atmosphere. The majority of essays concentrate on the late imperial period; however, two focus on the eighteenth century and one on the early Soviet period. The contributors make excellent use of archival records, missionary accounts, ethnographies, and published primary and secondary sources.

The essays are divided equally among three sections: "The Western Regions: Christians and Jews," "Converting Animists and Buddhists," and "Facing Islam." This division, according to the conclusion, reflects how the Russian state and the Russian Orthodox Church implicitly conceptualized the religious challenges confronting them as a series of concentric orbits radiating outward from the "true" Orthodox center. Given the importance of religious identity, secular and ecclesiastical authorities focused first and foremost on ensuring adherence to "correct" Orthodox doctrine and ritual. A single deviationist, they averred, had the potential to lead countless others astray. A constant concern, present in all the essays, was to prevent apostasy at all costs.

As a consequence, those inhabiting the innermost zone and deemed the most serious threat were Christian dissenters: Old Believers, "free" Christians, and Orthodox sectarians. The Old Believers were those who opposed the Patriarch Nikon's state-sanctioned liturgical revisions in the mid-seventeenth century. In a clear embodiment of the relationship between religious belief and political order in Russia, the state righteously declared them religious heretics and social deviants. "Free" Christians rejected the authority of the Orthodox Church. Orthodox sectarians considered themselves to be exemplary Orthodox Christians, but the Orthodox Church condemned them as heretics. Situated at further remove from the spiritual center, yet still within the Christian fold, were non-Orthodox Christians (e.g. Roman Catholics, Protestants, Uniates). In the outer zone were the non-Christian religions (animism, Lamaism, Buddhism, Judaism, and Islam).

Although all the essays display impressive scholarship, this review will comment on only a few of the contributions. J. Eugene Clay's essay on Orthodox "heretics" underscores the struggle between an increasingly rationalized, "disenchanted" Orthodox Church and various communities of believers who desired a more intimate, pietistic, "enchanted" religious experience. The dissenters' "localized" religious beliefs and practices were doubly problematic because they undermined the essential "universality" of the Orthodox Church and the very definition of Russianness to which it was coupled. Analogous to the tension between the local and the universal is the struggle between the center's quest for an overarching imperial (ultimately Russian) identity and the determination of those on the periphery to preserve their local identities. A variant of this "contest" is manifest in Paul W. Werth's essay on the "Big Candle" movement among the Mari of the Middle Volga. The animist Mari nominally converted to Orthodoxy in the eighteenth century, but in the mid-nineteenth century they underwent an "internal conversion." That is, Mari spiritual leaders adapted the rational, intellectualized structure of Orthodoxy to their indigenous animism. The Big Candle movement was, in part, a rejection of the coupling of Orthodoxy and Russianness, and in part an outcome of the discursive relationship between center and periphery.

Agnès Kefeli's intriguing essay on the role of Tatar and Kriashen apostate women in the preservation and transmission of Islamic knowledge is the volume's sole acknowledgment of the important theme of gender and religion. Kefeli argues that the wave of nineteenth-century Kriashen (Orthodox Tatars) apostasies was due primarily to the efforts of literate Kriashen women who, not confined to the domestic sphere and dissatisfied with Orthodox (Russian) beliefs and customs, taught Sufism in clandestine Quranic schools and encouraged close ties with Muslim Tatars through annual festivals and kinship networks. Geraci's essay examines the question of what truly constituted Orthodox and Russian identity in the context of the mission on the Kazakh frontier. The ethnic Russian settlers were not in the least exemplary Christians, the Orthodox missionaries were usually non-Russian ethnic minorities, and Russian settlements refused to accommodate Kazakh converts. Shoshana Keller's fine concluding essay reveals the structural similarities between Bolshevik efforts to convert Muslims to Soviet atheism and tsarist conversion attempts. One not surprising outcome of Bolshevik tactics was the syncretic Muslim communist.

The overwhelming strength of this collection is its breadth and scope. It ranges from "re-Christianizing" Orthodox heretics in the imperial capital of St. Petersburg to converting the Tlingit of Alaska. The contributions clearly demonstrate the fundamental role of religion in the extraordinarily complex process of constructing and maintaining the Russian Empire. The weaknesses are few: too little gender analysis; only one map; an unstated impression that Islam, Judaism, Catholicism, and Uniate are monolithic, homogeneous entities lacking their own heterodoxies; and a tendency to reduce all proselytizing efforts to campaigns undertaken for the good of empire and not as sincere efforts to deliver messages of eternal salvation and everlasting life. Overall the book serves as an excellent departure point for further studies on the significant and complex role of religious identities in the construction and maintenance of imperial Russia.

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DAVID KERANS. *Mind and Labor on the Farm in Black-Earth Russia, 1861–1914*. Budapest and New York: Central European University Press. 2001. Pp. xiii, 491. $55.95.

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Peasant studies have undergone a remarkable transformation since the heyday of the modernization school, when agrarian relations were framed by a contest between changeless tradition and dynamic innovation. Some of the transformation emerged directly from the Russian field. The revival in the 1970s of A. V. Chaianov's theory of the noncapitalist character of the peasant economy seemed to disrupt the consensus over the trajectory of rural development. With the publication of Cathy A. Frierson's *Peasant Icons: Representations of Rural People in Late Nineteenth Century Russia* (1993), students of rural Russia began to consider the nature of the sources as well, asking how the prose, the statistical data, and the scholarly analyses left by nonpeasants contributed to a body of premise and assumption that still animates historical writing. That our images tended to come from people who were, in their own representations, nonpeasant, was only a part of the methodological issue. The larger problem was the context in which any source was produced: even the recorded words of a peasant were spoken or written to particular people in contexts that were power-laden. This did not make the source tainted; it stimulated an understanding of sources as the product of specific interactions rather than the authentic voice of a peasant.

David Kerans rejects this latter scholarship (including my own work), and returns his readers to a time when questions could be answered by statistics, empirical argumentation, and the authority of science. "Only a technological perspective will allow us to evaluate the viability of the government's great campaign to solve the agrarian problem . . . or to gauge the potential of the peasant economy to evolve" (p. 3). All who agree with this proposition, and who also agree that it is possible to "reconstruct the peasant world of late-Imperial Russia with some confidence" (p. 12), should read Kerans's book. They will be rewarded by a comprehensive description of how peasants in Tambov province farmed in the three-field system before 1914. The choice of provinces is appropriate: situated in the black-earth belt of central Russia, it was one of the regions that, rightly or wrongly, defined the agrarian question. Using a wealth of published and archival sources, the book includes the only detailed account of which I am aware of the entire crop cycle, rescuing from obscurity such details as the perils of guiding a harnessed horse from behind a plough, and the necessary depth of the tillage.

The central question posed in this book is whether peasants were able to make the transition from the three-field system to four-field and multifield systems. Kerans identifies the mental and technical rigidities of the existing system of farming and also suggests what kinds of innovation were feasible from a technical point of view. On the basis of exhaustive agronomic studies and narrative reports, complemented by suggestive statistics, Kerans concludes that peasants tended to resist these innovations but also recognized that "we are fools" (p. 389). By 1914, peasants were showing signs of integrating technological improvements into their annual routines, which in turn suggests to the author that, given more time, poverty may have been alleviated. The author attributes the change to the persistence of the cadre of agronomists who were sent out to transform the countryside after 1905, and who are the focus of the latter parts of the book.

There are some historians who will have the competence and the inclination to engage Kerans on these levels, and some of the book's assumptions will provide the opportunity to revisit some old debates. To cite one major example, the "evolutionary scheme of systems of farming" that begins with slash and burn and ends with industrial farming (pp. 227–28) is a conception of linear development that was debated in Russia during the first three decades of the last century and will no doubt invite criticism today. More broadly, the assumption that Russia's crisis was reducible to abject poverty, and could be understood and redressed technologically, stands in contrast to the prevailing scholarly emphasis on political, social, and cultural contexts. Some may agree that "the sheer quantity of the data" (p. 10) will allow historians to settle these debates with firm conclusions, but such statements reinforce my methodological reservations. In particular, the separation of the narrative into farming from the peasant's view and farming from the view of nonpeasants is confusing, since the source base tends to be the same: the writings of experts sent out to investigate and transform peasant agriculture. Kerans, in turn, asks many of their questions, such as whether "the peasant" was an "indolent, mentally conservative, and backward creature" (p. 4), a proposition that he does not interrogate at its base but promises to answer by mobilizing empirical evidence. Kerans also reproduces many of the experts' assumptions about the "limited competence of the great mass of the population to orient themselves within their own craft" (p. 6), about "peasants' indifference and complacency towards science and agricultural improvement" (p. 131), and about "the intellectual underdevelopment of the countryside" (p. 371). I question the usefulness and explanatory power of such statements, but I recognize that Kerans has produced a valuable work of description and a forceful argument.

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SARI AUTIO. *Suunnitelmatalous Neuvosto-Karjalassa 1928–1941: Paikallistason rooli Neuvostoliiton teollistamisessa*. [Planned Economy in Soviet Karelia 1928–1941: The Role of the Local Level in the Industrialization of the Soviet Union]. (Bibliotheca Historica, number 71.) Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura. 2002. Pp. 398.

Centralized planning was one of the main articles of faith of Soviet communism. The Bolsheviks' party program of 1919 proclaimed that the aim of the party was to ensure "maximal centralization" of both pro-

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duction and distribution. Needless to say, planning was supposed to make economic life effective and rational by overcoming the anarchy of the free market. It is no secret that the planned economy proved to have disastrous side effects, even though it could boast remarkable successes in military build-up. The story of Soviet industrialization has been hitherto researched mainly on the all-union level by Robert W. Davies and scholars associated with the Birmingham school. Sari Autio, who has also studied in Birmingham, now presents a grass-roots view of the great epic.

Autio has enjoyed access to almost all of the official documentation, both at the local and national level, including not only statistical material but also local correspondence and the minutes of various kinds of meetings. In spite of the abundance of material, a traditional problem persists: namely, the notorious unreliability of Soviet statistics. Often it is possible to explain discrepancies, but sometimes the researcher is left puzzled and can only tell that one figure must certainly be more correct than another. Thus, in 1934 the forestry trust Karelles reported having thirty-eight trucks and eighteen tractors; at the same time, the Karelian party committee claimed that Karelles had seventy-six trucks and fifty-nine tractors (p. 114).

Actually, mechanization of forestry proved to be formidably difficult. Mechanical equipment was ineffective and chronically out of service, while it was also costly and impracticable. The state, however, put its faith on mechanization, which was believed to solve all difficulties. This proved to be an illusion. Problems included chronic labor shortages and the lack of elementary working skills, effective tools, nutritious food for people, and fodder for horses. At the local level, efforts were made to alleviate the pressures by importing a skilled work force, including about 6,000 people from the United States and Canada, and introducing better working methods. Quite a lot could have been achieved if these simple means had been rationally used. But in effect, the state sabotaged local efforts. The stress on mechanization sapped the resources available for people and horses, who were half-starved. The wretched quality of hand-tools seriously affected the results of work. Almost always, some of the wood that had been felled could not be brought out of the forest. The use of unskilled *kolkhozniks*—also a variety of forced labor—and the inmates of the GULAG was no solution. The *kolkhozes* had to take their men back for field work at the very moment when they were needed to float the timber down river for collection.

The introduction of centralized planning in Soviet Karelia was no success story. The center not only exploited the periphery; in effect it ruined it, wasting the resources that large forests and ample waterways could have offered for local development. The state built the White Sea Canal in Karelia, but its management was left to an extraterritorial trust that used forced labor. The local administration also had the task of producing wood for the world market, but it received very little revenue for this and, accordingly, could develop neither forestry nor other fields of industry. There were not even enough resources left to ensure the continued growth of the forests. Economic planning in fact turned the economy of Soviet Karelia into a monoculture, where everything served forestry. Fulfilling the Five-Year Plans nevertheless proved impossible, and the liquidation of two generations of leadership was no remedy. The author compares the Karelian way of development with the "Finnish way," where forest resources served the build-up of local economic growth on many levels. However, Finnish society and traditions were always very different from those of Eastern Karelia. For instance, most of the Finnish forests were private property of the local peasants. In Eastern Karelia this never was the case.

Autio has written a book that provides ample material for the comparative economic historian. The headings are also in English, which makes the information available for a larger audience. The author views the book as part of a larger mosaic that will comprehend the whole of the former Soviet Union. May this be so. While the book contains no sensations, it certainly helps us to see the kinds of problems that affected Soviet efforts to introduce a planned economy.

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MELANIE ILIČ. *Women Workers in the Soviet Interwar Economy: From "Protection" to "Equality."* (Studies in Russian and East European History and Society.) New York: St. Martin's, in association with the Centre for Russian and East European Studes, University of Birmingham. 1999. Pp. ix, 241.

Soviet power viewed women as particularly in need of protective legislation, the more so since increasing numbers of them entered the industrial labor force after 1917. In this tightly focused monograph, Melanie Ilič offers a detailed examination of the early Soviet efforts to provide such legal protections between 1917 and 1941. The author is not content simply to redistill the well-documented inability of the Bolsheviks to implement their ideological vision of the liberation of women on a broad scale. Instead, she investigates changes in official policy and attitudes toward both the formulation and application of protective legislation, an approach that leaves issues of implementation and enforcement largely beyond the scope of her investigation. But in approaching the topic in this manner, Ilič goes far toward disaggregating the overarching ideological view of women's issues put forward at the highest reaches of party communications—the study concentrates extensively on the People's Commissariat of Labor and the Central Council of Trade Unions—into concrete practical concerns.

Laws are not formulated gratuitously but in response to real and perceived needs, and by following the concerns that preoccupied lawmakers, the work brings the practical agenda of Soviet labor legislation

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into focus. The legacy of labor legislation and protection bequeathed to the revolution by the tsarist government was one of limited scope and faulty oversight. Not until 1882 was a factory inspectorate within the Ministry of Finance created by decree, and only in 1898 did its scope became truly national. With maternity leave virtually nonexistent prior to 1912, prerevolutionary reformers concentrated on protecting what they believed was the more delicate female constitution and its reproductive functions. Reformism removed women from night work and heavy labor, but at the cost of perpetuating their predominance in poorly remunerated, unskilled positions. During the first two decades of Soviet rule, official policy moved from this posture of protection to one of equality. Women predominated principally in unskilled positions and on unemployment rolls in the 1920s, to be sure, but the first three Five-Year Plans brought a steady increase in both the absolute and relative size of the female industrial work force. Although traditional employers such as textiles continued to absorb the largest concentrations of women workers in unskilled and semiskilled positions, heavy industry also began to employ women in unprecedented numbers by the 1930s. The preoccupations of lawmakers—if not necessarily the well being of the women workers themselves—reflected these trends.

In a manner replicated in other spheres of early policy making, the Soviet state strove simultaneously to improve and to study the status of women workers. A reorganized Labor Inspectorate appeared in 1918 and was revamped again in 1931, but increasingly it was the Central Council of Trade Unions that assumed responsibility for the implementation of labor regulations at the enterprise level, especially after the Commissariat of Labor was disbanded in 1933. At the same time, a variety of research institutes carried out variegated studies on issues related to women performing industrial labor. Consistent with this approach, the Soviet Labor Code of 1922 incorporated protections for pregnant women and nursing mothers that went beyond those extant in Western Europe and North America at the time. Enterprise managers, who were under pressure to increase productivity, often refused to provide the requisite support, however, and contrary to regulations dismissed the women who were supposed to benefit.

This tendency for protectionist legislation to work against its intended beneficiaries reopened old debates and sometimes caused women to renegotiate their situation at the enterprise level. Provisions for "menstrual leave," for example, rekindled the idea that allegedly delicate females were vulnerable to work-related illnesses, and the same issues resurfaced when discussions of placing maximum limits on weights women could lift took place. When regulations against night work caused some women to be dismissed, others pressed managers to continue to employ them despite the prohibitions. Ultimately, the fear of approaching war during the 1930s overrode objections grounded in biology. Necessity introduced women into previously closed spheres of labor, especially railroad work and mining, where their performance answered in practice what could not be achieved previously through discussion and debate.

This work ultimately provides a systematic analysis of early labor legislation from the perspective of the central organs of the Soviet state. Ilič has successfully mined the central archives of the Commissariat of Labor and the Central Council of Trade Unions as well as a significant range of relevant periodicals and journals. Those seeking a social history of Soviet women and law will not find it here, and one has to wonder why the author chose not to extend her study to assess levels of implementation. Recent works by Wendy Z. Goldman, Elizabeth A. Wood, and Frances Bernstein demonstrate that the possibilities for creating a social context are not nearly as limited as Ilič repeatedly asserts, but she has covered her announced topic capably. This book will be required reading for future students of early Soviet law.

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MIDDLE EAST AND NORTHERN AFRICA

RONEN SHAMIR. *The Colonies of Law: Colonialism, Zionism and Law in Early Mandate Palestine*. (Cambridge Studies in Law and Society.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 2000. Pp. xiii, 216. $64.95.

In this fascinating study of nonstate legal forums in the Jewish community in Palestine before the founding of Israel in 1948, Ronen Shamir has made a significant contribution to our understanding of both the legal underpinnings of the Israeli state and the history of Zionism.

Focusing on the courts established under the Hebrew Law of Peace early in the twentieth century, Shamir illuminates much more than the details of the rise and fall of these courts, which provided Jews in Palestine with an alternative legal forum to those provided by the Ottoman legal system before 1918 and by the British colonial legal system thereafter. In examining these institutions, which thrived through the 1920s, Shamir touches on a number of important issues. One is the question of how the Zionist project related to colonialism. He shows why it was essential for Zionist and Israeli historiography to assert that "we have never been colonized," although it is incontestable that the Zionist project prospered and expanded for the most crucial two decades of its existence, the 1920s and 1930s, under the protective umbrella of British colonialism.

Shamir reflects on the hostility of most Zionist and Israeli historiography toward the British despite this British crucial support, which made possible many of the successes of Zionism in the interwar period. He explains it as in part the result of historical amnesia resulting from the bitterness of the British-Zionist

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relationship at the end of the Mandate, when for its own imperial reasons Great Britain attempted to limit its commitments to Zionism. But Shamir also shows that it was in part a consequence of the development of a Zionist-Israeli narrative that "celebrates the nation's revival as an auto-emancipatory project," a narrative that "breeds either the marginalization and silencing of the former rulers' contribution to the national project or their recharacterization as foreign oppressors who had to be overcome. Or both" (p. 14). The Zionist achievement is thus seen solely in these terms rather than as a tender plant nurtured during its most vulnerable phase by the power of the British colonial state.

Another conclusion emerges from Shamir's examination of the growing hostility toward the Hebrew Courts of Peace evinced by both the conventional Jewish legal establishment and the orthodox nationalist wing of the Jewish religious establishment: both welcomed an effort to "consolidate the national idea around sovereignty, state and state-like institutions" (p. 63). Both thus preferred the courts of the British colonial state to the communally generated Hebrew Courts of Peace. In the case of the nationalist orthodox religious establishment, the preference was reinforced by the creation (by the British colonial authorities) of a chief rabbinate and an entire machinery subject to it that received a monopoly over questions of personal status. This in turn helps to explain much about the evolution of relations between state and religion after the establishment of Israel.

Shamir shows that in being positively disposed toward "Western-colonialist notions of law and state" (p. 114), Zionism was little different from other national movements in colonial situations. He adds that although it may have appeared that the Jewish middle classes acquiesced in the political hegemony of the Zionist labor movement, which dominated both the politics of the Mandate era and Israeli governments for the country's first three decades, in fact the politics of the middle class were "slanted towards the colonial state" (p. 162). Based on his research into the Hebrew Courts of Peace, Shamir makes the intriguing suggestion that "it is plausible to expect that the material interests of the Jewish middle class would have been wedded to the economic policies of the colonial state" and hypothesizes that this class "invested political effort in, and targeted, the colonial government" (p. 163).

Shamir concludes that, during the Mandate period, "the fundamental Zionist experience was of sharing in the colonial rule over Palestine" (p. 171). He thereby helps to explain important facets both of the nature of Israeli society and of the fraught relationship between this new Jewish society, which was never colonized but rather shared in colonial rule, and the Palestinians. For both British colonial officials and most Zionists, the Palestinian majority was perceived as "the native to be tamed," to be treated "in governmental terms: policing, containment, and control over territory" (p. 169). Not surprisingly, Shamir notes, such an attitude at the very least hindered any dialogue with these "natives," an insight that still applies to this conflict.

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CAESAR E. FARAH. *The Politics of Interventionism in Ottoman Lebanon, 1830–1861*. London and New York: I. B. Tauris, with the Centre for Lebanese Studies, Oxford. 2000. pp. xxv, 816. $85.00.

This is the work of a lifetime. It began as a doctoral thesis at Princeton University in 1957 and now appears as the capstone of Caesar E. Farah's long career. In over 765 pages, the reader learns of a critical juncture in Ottoman Lebanon's nineteenth-century history, from 1831 to 1861. During this period, Europeans injected their own terminology into public discourse about a fabled and ancient land not so far away; they spoke of the "Syrian Question," a wholly owned subsidiary of the more familiar "Eastern Question," the European rivalry over disposition of Ottoman territory, including Lebanon.

One might wonder why a country so small should merit a book so long, but the answer is readily apparent. This book concerns not just the history of the religiously diverse Lebanese (whom the nineteenth-century Ottoman historian Ahmed Cevdet Paşha compared to the inhabitants of Noah's Ark) but also the European powers who intervened in Lebanon and had major interests and institutions there. A kaleidoscopic picture emerges from Farah's research in the archives of ten countries (Austria, France, Great Britain, Italy, Lebanon, the Netherlands, Prussia, Spain, the Turkish Republic, and the United States); his bibliography lists fourteen Arabic manuscripts and twenty-five pages of published primary and secondary sources in many languages.

It is impossible to describe fairly, within the limits prescribed here, the contents of this massive book. Farah argues that European intervention meshed in an unhealthy way with internal processes in the Ottoman lands. Anglo-French missionary rivalry in Lebanon blew up into a major confrontation in 1839 and 1840 over Egypt's decade-long hegemony in Greater Syria (under the rule of Ibrāhīm Pasha, son of the famed Muḥammad ʿAlī Pasha). The British had favored the Ottomans, the French the Egyptians; in Lebanon, this meant a foreign-sponsored conflict of Druzes (British-supported) and Maronite Christians (French-supported). Diplomatic treaties that had granted protection to agents of European diplomats in the Ottoman Empire (the Capitulations, as they were known, went back in some cases historically to the fourteenth century; specialists refer to the result as the protégé system) were abused to allow European intervention in Ottoman and Lebanese affairs on a micromanagerial scale. Within Lebanon, a Maronite clergy increasingly of peasant origin led a Maronite peasant revolt against Maronite landlords, which threatened the Druze land-

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lords who had Maronite peasant clients and tenants. (The Druze are an offshoot of Shi'i Islam and have been part of the Lebanese political, economic, and social fabric since the twelfth century.) Those events in turn fanned the sectarian conflicts that Europeans, in typically simplistic ways reinforced by the emerging European mass media of the day, saw as a stark Christian-Muslim struggle.

The ruling political authority in Lebanon, the Ottoman Empire, had granted virtual autonomy to a multiconfessional Lebanese "feudal" hierarchy, from the initial Ottoman conquest of 1517 down to the 1840s. Farah says that, after that time, the Ottomans were frequently accused of dividing the Lebanese, in conspiratorial fashion, to suit their own purposes. But Farah finds no evidence that such was the case during these crucial decades. Cevdet Paşha's exasperated remarks about Noah's Ark are probably a dramatic if impressionistic illustration of Farah's argument. The Ottomans in this period (1830–1861) embarked on difficult empire-wide reforms that involved greater local intervention on their own part, more demands for equality and representation from many quarters (indigenous and European), better administration (demanded almost universally), and—of course—resistance to European interference. A new Ottoman bureaucratic elite desperately tried to preserve a multinational empire (a Noah's Ark) in an age of nationalism. The Ottomans in geographical Syria (including Lebanon) built, after 1840, on trends established during the Egyptian interregnum of the 1830s to attempt these reforms. After 1840, largely as a result of European intervention, the Ottomans permitted Lebanese autonomy (which, Farah argues, even the most ardent Christian and pro-French politicians acknowledged was fair). However, continued sectarian strife and external European intervention undermined even these modest Ottoman efforts, helping to foment the first civil war among Lebanese in modern times, in 1860–1861. Like all events of modern Lebanese history, this civil war was multidimensional and multicausal.

One of the major interpretive issues in modern Lebanese history concerns the dynamic of external and internal forces during the nineteenth century: European economic and political intervention, local resistance, imperial Ottoman actions. Another issue is motivation. Were Lebanese historical actors of the period 1830–1861 driven by political or religious considerations? Farah argues for the former. His evidence is good, although it will probably not please any of the current actors on the Lebanese political scene, who seem to be stuck in religious-oppositional modes long out of date and never really historically accurate. Farah's book joins excellent works by Kamal S. Salibi, Leila Tarazi Fawaz, Ussama Makdisi, and Engin Deniz Akarli, among others, in dealing with complex and kaleidoscopic issues that are significant not only for the Lebanese, now a decade into recovery from their latest civil war, but for all students of Ottoman history and Lebanese history.

KARL K. BARBIR
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ELIZABETH THOMPSON. *Colonial Citizens: Republican Rights, Paternal Privilege, and Gender in French Syria and Lebanon.* (History and Society of the Modern Middle East.) New York: Columbia University Press. 2000. Pp. xvii, 402. Cloth $49.50, paper $17.50.

The interwar period has attracted little attention from historians of the Middle East until recently. This was particularly true for Syria and Lebanon, with the exception of a few classic studies. "Mandate Studies" are now emerging as a key area of research, however, and Elizabeth Thompson's book will undoubtedly ensure that interest in this period continues.

Thompson's central focus is on how "states and their citizens are constructed under colonialism and then bequeathed to their successors." Under colonial regimes a distinctive kind of civic order—defined as "the broad arena in which states and citizens interact" (p. 1)—emerges through a process of negotiation between colonizers and colonized. Using gender as her primary category of analysis, Thompson traces the emergence of the colonial civic order in Syria and Lebanon after the imposition of French rule, beginning with the "crisis of paternity" in Syria and Lebanon in the aftermath of World War I. The devastation of the war, the resulting economic dislocation and rapid social change, and the lack of postwar independence undermined male authority in the family and on a national level. This crisis generated conflict with the French and among groups within Syria and Lebanon throughout the Mandate period. Thompson traces the evolution of these political and social conflicts as they evolved over time. These struggles were in effect conflicts over the vision of a new civic order, primarily between "republican rights" and "paternal privilege." At the time of independence in 1946, the central political conflicts remained unresolved, and Syrian and Lebanese societies were more polarized than ever.

Throughout this prolonged crisis, gender roles and gender relations were central to the negotiations and conflict over citizenship and political, social, and civic rights. Women were active participants in the political processes that defined a new civic order. Women demanded the vote, changes in laws of personal status, and rights to education and attempted to expand spatial boundaries. These demands generated great controversy and produced a backlash in an atmosphere of intense "gender anxiety." In the process of negotiating terms of citizenship with the French and among groups, males made bargains at the expense of women. Nationalist politicians sacrificed them for the sake of alliances with religious leaders, the labor movement for the sake of class solidarity and the need to appeal to working-class males with close ties to Islamic populist groups. The result was a hierarchy of citizenship

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with women at the bottom. Gender inequality was a basic feature of the colonial civic order.

This book is one of the most significant contributions to the historiography of modern Syria and Lebanon in recent years. It is a theoretically sophisticated analysis of the emergence of the colonial civic order, well grounded in the theoretical and comparative literature on statebuilding, civil society, identity, and gender. It is also a detailed narrative of the events of this period based on a rich collection of sources—French, British, and Syrian official archives, Syrian, Lebanese, and French periodicals, and interviews with participants—that moves us beyond class and sectarian tensions and confrontations with the French that have been the subject of much writing on the Mandate period. As a result, it deepens our understanding of the interwar and postwar years in Syria and Lebanon. Thompson makes a convincing case that postwar political developments in both Lebanon and Syria are rooted in the political dynamics of the interwar period, specifically in the failure to resolve the "built-in contradictions" of the Mandate system. It is this legacy that, in part, explains the failure of these countries to achieve political stability and viable democratic institutions.

Another of the many contributions of this study is to underscore the value of gender analysis for our understanding of historical developments. It explains why gender "became a primary arena for all battles to redefine citizens' rights" (p. 116) by examining men—nationalist elites, Islamic populists, the labor movement, protofascist groups—as well as women. Thompson also documents the history of Syrian and Lebanese women during this period and thereby fills a major gap. Syrian women, like their counterparts elsewhere in the Middle East, were active participants in nationalist and feminist struggles. Their experiences were similar to those of other women in some ways and different in others, and Thompson's nuanced assessment reinforces the importance of looking for explanations of gender inequality in specific historical contexts rather than in essentialist explanations like "Islam."

This book deserves to be widely read.

MARGARET L. MERIWETHER
Denison University

HOURI BERBERIAN. *Armenians and the Iranian Constitutional Revolution of 1905–1911: "The Love for Freedom Has No Fatherland."* Boulder, Colo.: Westview, 2001. Pp. xii, 226. $30.00.

The stock histories of modern Iran stress—often with some exaggeration—the role played by Armenians in the Constitutional Revolution of 1905–1911. None, however, examines in depth who these Armenians were, why they participated, their actual numbers, how many were political activists rather than armed fighters, their organizational and ideological ties, their relationship with the larger Muslim Iranian community, and even where they came from (the Caucasus, the Ottoman Empire, or Iran—and if Iran, whether from the north near the Russian border or from Isfahan, which had housed a vibrant Armenian community ever since the early seventeenth century). Houri Berberian fills this lacuna on the 1905–1911 period, supplementing Mangol Bayat's important *Iran's First Revolution: Shi'ism and the Constitutional Revolution of 1905–1909* (1991) and Janet Afary's recent *The Iranian Constitutional Revolution: Grassroots Democracy, Social Democracy, and the Origins of Feminism* (1996).

Using Armenian and Persian sources as well as European ones, Berberian has produced a succinct and meticulous but highly readable work examining the participation of Armenians in the Constitutional Revolution. She documents the role of the two Armenian nationalist parties—the Dashnaks and Hunchaks—as well as the Social Democrats; the dramatic part played by Yeprem Khan, who led the Dashnak fighters and then became Tehran's chief of police; the strained relationships between Dashnaks, Hunchaks, and Social Democrats; the extent of help sent from the Caucasus by local radicals (Georgian, Russian, and Muslim as well as Armenian); and the links between the failed 1905 revolution in Russia and the successful one in Iran. She also places these activists in particular and the emergence of national identity in general within the context of Armenian communities in Russia, the Ottoman Empire, and northern and southern Iran.

In doing so, Berberian throws light on a number of interrelated issues: the notion of multiple and competing identities; the role of the church as well as the secular intelligentsia in the Armenian communities; the function of "terror" in nationalistic movements; the interaction between Armenian nationalists and social revolutionaries in the Russian Empire; the status of women in traditional Armenian communities; and the reasons why Christian-Muslim violence did not spill over into Iran from the Caucasus in 1905–1908. She concludes with describing the abrupt Armenian "withdrawal" from Iranian politics after 1911. Some scholars, however, would argue that this social democratic tradition continued well into the mid-twentieth century, especially through the Tudeh Party. It did not fade until the emigration of Armenians both to the Soviet Union after 1945 and to the United States after the Islamic Revolution of 1979.

Overall, Berberian has provided us with a highly enjoyable book on a lively topic. It will remain the definitive work on the subject until historians gain free access to the Hunchak archives on Iran; to the Social Democratic records stored in the Caucasus, especially Baku; and, most important of all, to the massive Ottoman files dealing with Iran (any topic related to Armenians, even in Iran, remains taboo for the guardians of these Ottoman files). Until then, Berberian's work will be the last word on the subject.

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SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA

BENGT SUNDKLER and CHRISTOPHER STEED. *A History of the Church in Africa*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2000. Pp. xix, 1232. $140.00

During the twenty years of this monumental book's production, numerous admirable studies of Christianity in Africa appeared, including Adrian Hastings's *The Church in Africa: 1450–1950* (1994), John Baur's *2000 Years of Christianity in Africa: An African History, 62–1992* (1994), Elizabeth Isichei's *A History of Christianity in Africa: From Antiquity to the Present* (1995), and Mark R. Shaw's *The Kingdom of God in Africa: A Short History of African Christianity* (1996). Bengt Sundkler and Christopher Steed's encyclopedic work surpasses them all as the definitive reference survey on the subject. Sundkler, the main author and originator of this project, served as a Lutheran missionary in South Africa and Tanzania, as a foremost proponent of African leadership in the church with his *Bantu Prophets in South Africa* (1948), and as professor of church history at the University of Uppsala. Steed, a historian of Africa, aided Sundkler in the research and is responsible for the book's eventual publication.

Sundkler and Steed's text covers the whole scope of the Christian experience in Africa ranging from Jesus's sojourn in Egypt to the early 1990s. Africa's encounters with Christianity up to 1415 are recounted in the first chapter, while the period from 1415 to 1787, covering early European maritime connections and related Christian activity, is discussed in chapter two. The remaining text revolves around three synthetic and thematic chapters entitled "Overview to the Nineteenth Century," "Continental Panoramas," and "Introduction to Independent Africa." After each of these insightful overviews there are detailed regional and national studies demonstrating the development of the church in the relevant chronological context. The heart of the study is the over five hundred pages on what the authors term "the long nineteenth century," from 1787 to 1919.

Throughout their narrative, the authors are successful in incorporating their basic intentions. One aim is to emphasize the role of "African initiative" (p. 1) and "African actors" (p. 3) in implanting Christianity in Africa and influencing African social structures. Here the book focuses on Africans' efforts to make the church relevant to various African regions and people, as opposed to the traditional approach centering on foreign missionaries and mission agencies. Another emphasis is on the impact of "refugees" and "returnees" in spreading Christianity throughout sub-Saharan Africa (pp. 841, 929). People such as returned slaves, migrant laborers, and those escaping political or economic disturbances often were the means of spreading Christian beliefs and institutions.

The book successfully argues that it is an "ecumenical history" (p. 5). Sundkler and Steed have fairly and evenhandedly covered various Roman Catholic, Protestant, Coptic, Orthodox, and independent church movements throughout Africa. Not all Christian groups are described or catalogued, but a sufficient sampling is given to provide an impression of the range of religious activity that predominated in each area. In addition, all regions of Africa and their experiences with Christianity are covered equitably. The whole panorama of the African encounter with Christianity is recounted, including how the various Christian traditions that were introduced to Africa as well as those originating in Africa found homes there and how Africans have taken ownership of their religious heritage and Christianity's part in it.

While some readers will want more in this regard, the authors also sought to integrate "church history into the wider frame of African history" (p. 5). Commendably, the book does not isolate the church from the rest of society, as is so often done in religious histories. Sundkler and Steed constantly relate church activity to political, educational, and economic factors in African culture in order to show Christianity not as an appendage or as marginalized but as an integral part of the continent's history. Included are Christianity's encounter with Islam and other African religions. Care is also taken to consider "the differences between conditions and cultures in the various parts of Africa" (p. 96). The book provides equitable treatment of the whole continent while still covering region by region and faith group by faith group. In all cases, there is significant emphasis given to African church leaders, including women, and to independent church movements.

Despite over a thousand pages of text, some shortcomings are apparent. The maps and charts provided are helpful but could be even more detailed in supporting the terms used in the text, especially for the nonexpert. Also, while the book mentions the tremendous growth and vitality of the African church (pp. 903, 906, 1038–39) over the last century, this crucial dynamic is not sufficiently developed or analyzed, except by implication. In this regard, the end of the book—a section on Islam and a brief epilogue consisting mainly of seven generalizations—is anticlimactic given the present dynamism of Christianity in Africa. But these shortcomings are relatively minor considering the comprehensiveness and illuminating narrative that make this book the standard treatment of the topic. It is lucidly written in clear prose, and its organization flows smoothly from generalizations and stated emphases to case studies and illustrative detail. This is the most complete single volume on a crucial aspect of Africa's past and present.

CHARLES W. WEBER
Wheaton College

JAN ROGOZIŃSKI. *Honor Among Thieves: Captain Kidd, Henry Every, and the Pirate Democracy in the Indian Ocean*. Mechanicsburg, Pa.: Stackpole Books. 2000. Pp.xxii, 298. $24.95.

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Jan Rogoziński knows a lot about the pirates of the Great Age (c.1680–1720), and he clearly has strong opinions about them and what he regards as their misconstrued legacy. Not a traditional monograph or interpretive essay, the book is rather a pastiche of detailed narrative fragments regarding specific voyages interspersed with the author's dearly held opinions. Binding all of this together is Île St. Marie, off the east coast of Madagascar (or "St. Mary's Island," as it was known in its Anglo-piratical heyday). Here on the western shores of the mighty Indian Ocean a number of famous pirates, among them Henry Every and William Kidd, congregated, careened, and caroused in the couple of decades on either side of the year 1700. The exploits of these men have drawn the interest of multiple authors since Daniel Defoe, and in fact Defoe's work, or at least some of that which has been attributed to him, figures prominently in this book.

As Defoe discovered, pirate stories are inherently delectable, and Rogoziński manages to serve up a few good, if not altogether new, ones. Indeed, aside from sorting out dozens of potentially confusing names, voyages, and attacks and tallying their results in terms of modern dollars, there is little that is novel here (keeping in mind that writing something new on pirates is no small challenge). Rogoziński does offer interesting background on Madagascar itself, and he also provides good coverage of the challenges of long-distance sailing in the era.

Yet in lieu of hard-headed analysis of this particular cycle of piracy (mostly against religious pilgrims), its causes, and its victims' responses, Rogoziński chooses instead to try to debunk what he regards as pernicious pirate myths, particularly those that portray the sea raider as buffoon or beast. These overtly theatrical images, really tired clichés, serve here mostly as straw men, diversions from more serious questions. It is unlikely that readers of a book this detailed and historically grounded will be surprised to find that Kidd, though no saint, was no scowling Captain Hook either.

To offset the myth of the pirate as buffoon or drooling psychopath, Rogoziński offers only somewhat less convincing counter-myths, or at least gross generalizations. We are told that pirates were "just like other men," yet that—in Madagascar at least—they also managed to be colorblind quasi-communists and sexual libertarians. These are not new assertions, and the work of Christopher Hill, Marcus Rediker, B. R. Burg, and others is duly cited. Essentially, although the author has clearly combed through a number of obscure printed sources regarding pirate activity in the Indian Ocean around the turn of the eighteenth century, there is precious little evidence to support the existence of a genuine "radical democracy" (p. 140) on St. Mary's Island. One gets in fact very little sense of what life on this island was like at all.

In attempting to convince the reader of the pirates' honor, extraordinary success as thieves, sexual openness, and other presumably admirable traits, Rogoziński favors repetition and hyperbole over evidence and reasoned argument. Many modern students of pirate life would wish the hearty rogues of the Great Age to have been glamorous, progressive, and rebellious all at once, but in striving to ground this image in history the book comes off instead as a jumble of pedantic asides and narrative fragments. Chapters and sections begin and end abruptly, frequently with little regard to chronological order. There are almost no segues from one story or section to another, and there is no real introduction or conclusion. The history of early modern piracy, like the fiction it inspired, is a rich mine still; the trick, this book suggests, may be knowing how best to refine its more refractory ores.

KRIS LANE
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NEMATA AMELIA BLYDEN. *West Indians in West Africa, 1808–1880: The African Diaspora in Reverse*. (Rochester Studies in African History and the Diaspora, number 8.) Rochester, N.Y.: University of Rochester Press. 2000. Pp. xi, 258. $75.00.

Nemata Amelia Blyden's study addresses one of the least explored areas of West Africa's historiography: the contributions of immigrant West Indians to the region's historical development. She takes us through the circumstances attendant on the imbrication of West Indians into the ethnic complexities of Sierra Leone's Freetown community and attempts to explicate the intercontinental, racial, and social class dimensions of this many-sided British experiment at social engineering. In what is a marvelous addition to the growing body of work that assesses the reverse demographic flow to the African continent, she presents the reader with a fascinating catalog of colonial calculations and subaltern reactions, neatly framed in a series of biographical vignettes that vividly illustrate the many challenges faced by the British in their supervision of this small, yet daunting, colonial project.

Freetown was Britain's attempt at salving its own much-troubled imperial, slave-trading conscience. In creating a home for repatriated ex-slaves from the New World and "recaptives" recently released from illegal slave ships, it hoped, quite condescendingly, that the injected leaven of freed blacks, Christianity, and commerce would uplift the ranks of the benighted indigenes and raise a following of grateful loyalists, eager for tutelage and proud to be vectors of British enlightenment values. This was not to be. Sierra Leone would impose an unacceptably high mortality toll on its white colonial benefactors by the 1830s, making it necessary to supplement their number with black officials of a more robust constitution. Although a number of the immigrant Maroons, Nova Scotians, and other black returnees from slavery had acquired an education that was, at times, far superior to that of their white colonial officials, they were judged to be unfit for high bureaucratic appointments in the local colonial administration and generally received only the more lowly

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jobs. In the search for other, better-prepared blacks, a color-conscious British Raj turned to those educated, light-skinned mulattoes who were already becoming somewhat of a proto-nationalist embarrassment in the West Indian colonies. Thus, Blyden explains, did some very senior positions in the civil service, including the governorship, fall periodically to this second wave of hand-picked West Indian professionals, now thrown incautiously into competition with ambitious and frustrated local black settlers who were eager for advancement, and equally resentful white junior officials.

In richly documented chapters, Blyden charts the progress of this West Indian elite as it worked through its own internal contradictions, at once seeking solidarity with the local black settlers, and the indigenous hosts, while indulging feelings of its own cultural superiority and relishing the classification of its membership as "European." As newspaper barons, judicial leaders, and men of government, they often gave voice to the voiceless, crusaded against the Social Darwinists, and assailed the racist calumnies of those for whom Africa was all Hobbesian. Just as easily, however, they would gratify their class dispositions by supporting unpopular measures promoted by their white colonial associates, and they pandered to racist whims when it suited their sectional interests. Life in the emergent Krio (creole) community, of which they were becoming a part, was thus a kaleidoscope of ever-shifting alliances between various black fractions, with considerations of color, class, regional extraction, and personality interchangeably framing the boundaries. This played handsomely into the hands of white officials and reinforced racist arguments about black temperamental unsuitability for high office. By the 1860s, a climate of intensified British racism, greater white success at coping with the local malarial conditions, and official difficulties with certain West Indian appointees resulted in official termination of the policy of West Indian recruitment. This did not, however, bring more local black settlers into high office; it was the white junior officials who benefited.

Blyden's pioneering review raises several issues for future exploration. We read little of West Indian womanhood in this book, and it should be interesting to discover the roles of wives and daughters in mediating the group into Krio society as it negotiated its identity in the socially volatile Freetown of the nineteenth century. Our appetite for more historical sociology is also whetted by this study. One wonders what social relations were like between the earlier immigrant West Indian working classes and their later, more privileged compatriots. For a group that prided itself in being "European," with members often perceiving of their stay in Freetown as a sojourn en route to a European retirement, the social processes of secondary West Indian adhesion to the larger Krio identity require further elucidation. How did the more exclusive West Indian families transcend their cultural isolation as "strangers" to become Krio? How involved were they with local masked societies, and with various marriage, funerary, and other social ceremonials that were so central to group identity and definition? Sharper delineation of family profiles may well provide greater insight on these issues. They may even help us to understand better the historical difficulties certain Krio families experienced in their social relations with the poorer "village Krio" and the even more socially distant indigenous population. Blyden, who brings such remarkable dexterity to biographical explorations and to the general handling of her sources, should help us find our way to many more interesting answers in her future work.

MAC DIXON-FYLE
DePauw University

JOHANNES FABIAN. *Out of Our Minds: Reason and Madness in the Exploration of Central Africa*. (The Ad. E. Jensen Lectures at the Frobenius-Institut, University of Frankfurt.) Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 2000. Pp. xv, 320.

It is only slightly hyperbolic to say that soon we may be able to teach an entire course on the Western encounter with Africa using only the works of Johannes Fabian and not miss much. His previous books include work on art, language, and time, and in this latest contribution, he provides critical readings of several major exploration texts of the early imperial period. Fabian is not content to criticize these travel stories by consigning them to a discredited, racist, imperial past; instead he makes a relentless effort to relate the practices of the imperial travelers to ongoing anthropological practices. It is this effort that gives his book its distinctive value.

The crux of Fabian's project is a critique of scientific rationality. The "madness" of the book's subtitle refers to a number of states (drunkenness or sickness, for example) and conditions of their journey (such as miscommunication with their interlocutors) that compromised European travelers' claims to be engaged in a rational study of the African continent. Fabian shows the travelers' stories to be riddled with ethnocentric assumptions, illogical acts of stereotyping, and occasionally outright fabrication. Some readers may feel that, contrary to Fabian's assertion of an enduring myth of the rational explorer, this is exactly what they would have expected from such stories. But Fabian is after bigger game. He wants to show that the explorers' practices were foundational for the discipline of anthropology and therefore have continuing effects.

According to one version of the history of anthropology, the institutionalization of ethnographic fieldwork by figures such as Bronisław Malinowski represented an epistemological break from the dilettantish exploits of the explorers. Fabian is not so sure, and in a number of his examples he is provocative and convincing. He shows, for example, that objects taken from Africa to Europe in a haphazard and decidedly unscientific way became anthropology's essential "database" when the discipline emerged. More important,

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he asks probing questions about how present-day power dynamics between Western visitors and "native" interlocutors may be less changed than we might hope.

While it is admirable for Fabian to bring such an insistent and historically informed critique to his own discipline of anthropology, a more systematic consideration of discontinuities between the travelers' reports and ongoing ethnographic practice would actually have made the project more compelling. Fabian observes, for example, that the explorers rarely stayed in one place long enough to get a deep appreciation of context, and he is able to spot apparent ethnographic errors as a result. But this is at least one area where the anthropological imperative to do extended fieldwork in a single site should, in principle, make some difference.

Fabian persuasively adds to our knowledge of anthropology's roots in colonial history. But that history has also given anthropology a self-critical edge that is rarely matched in most other academic disciplines. By not considering ways in which anthropology might actually have improved, Fabian may, ironically, be treating anthropologists much like early explorers and anthropologists treated supposed "primitives": as outside of history, doomed to an endless cycle of repetition of their superstitious rites.

JONATHAN SADOWSKY
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LYN SCHUMAKER. *Africanizing Anthropology: Fieldwork, Networks, and the Making of Cultural Knowledge in Central Africa*. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. 2001. Pp. xii, 376. Cloth $59.95, paper $19.95.

A generalized awareness that ethnographic anthropology was practiced in, and heavily conditioned by, a "colonial situation" may be traced to the 1950s. By 1970, the notion that anthropology was "handmaiden" or "child" of colonialism or imperialism was a frequent trope among radical critics of the discipline. By 1990, the idea was a commonplace of postcolonial discourse, often deployed without examination in the work of graduate students in anthropology and surrounding disciplines.It is the great virtue of Lyn Schumaker's study that it forces readers to think in a more nuanced and case-specific manner about the "colonial situation" of anthropology.

Focusing on a particular institution in a particular colonial situation (the Rhodes-Livingston Institute in what was then Northern Rhodesia), Schumaker places the anthropological work carried on there in "multiple contexts—social, cultural, political, historical, material" as well as national or regional (the British, the American, and the African). However, because her history (although theoretically informed) is a history of anthropology as practice, her "central context" is that of "the field," and her central analytical concept that of the "work culture": the "sum of the technologies, work organization, work processes, uses of space and material artifacts, and ways of representing and thinking about these that are unique to a particular small group or institution" (p. 9).

In this framework, the first two chronological chapters ("Archetypal Experiences" and "The Laboratory in the Field") are devoted to different "field generations": researchers who entered the field at about the same time, were often introduced to fieldwork by the same previous fieldworker, and shared "a larger social network and common experience of historical events," both world and local (p. 37). The first and second generations, from 1938 to 1945, and from 1946 to 1949, were under the dominant influence of the institute's second director, Max Gluckman, who succeeded Godfrey Wilson in 1941, following Wilson's resignation after being banned from the property of the Broken Hill copper mine. The single most influential figure in the early establishment of the institute's distinctive "work culture," Gluckman was also a central figure in a number of the "archetypal experiences" shaping the attitudes of later researchers (including the Zulu dances he later performed at faculty parties at Manchester, the British university to which many of the institute's researchers were connected).

Two following chapters are organized by director rather than generation. "A Lady and an American" treats the directorship of Elizabeth F. Colson (1947–1951), during which "race and gender factors" became more central themes. "Atop the Central African Volcano," covering the term of J. Clyde Mitchell (1952–1955), emphasizes the longer-term shift from village to urban ethnography, amid the changing relationships of the institute to the different groups (Africans, mines, and government) that were each "trying to make the Copperbelt towns their own" (p. 171). The title chapter, "Africanizing Anthropology," focuses on the growing cadre of African research assistants, who played a culturally (and politically) mediating role within the "relatively egalitarian" working environment of the institute (p. 194). Later expatriate directors get relatively short shrift in a chapter on "The Culture of Fieldwork," in which Schumaker discusses, in a historiographically suggestive manner, the "alternative endpoints" her account might have, each highlighting a different aspect of the institute's history and legacy.

Throughout, Schumaker displays a wonderfully nuanced and wide-ranging contextual understanding of issues that are all too often assumed rather than "open for investigation" (p. 125). Carried on in a propitious historiographic moment (the conjunction of opening archives and surviving informants), her own investigation was based on a remarkably wide range of both written and oral sources: archives in Zambia, London, and Oxford; the papers of anthropologists; and interviews with many of the most important participants, including African research assistants tracked down during twenty-two months of her own fieldwork in Zambia—not to mention the numerous strategically chosen photographs, as well as an extensive body of

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secondary literature. On this basis, Schumaker has moved beyond the stereotype of the "lone ethnographer" among dark-skinned "others" to produce a landmark work in the history of anthropology. One can imagine parallel studies of other "team" projects in other colonial situations, in which the notion of "field work culture" might itself be pluralized and relativized. In the meantime, Schumaker has produced a work that will be of substantial interest not only to anthropologists and their historians, but to historians of science generally, and beyond to students of African history and the history of European colonialism.

GEORGE W. STOCKING, JR.
University of Chicago

JOCELYN ALEXANDER, JOANN MCGREGOR, and TERENCE RANGER. *Violence and Memory: One Hundred Years in the "Dark Forests" of Matabeleland*. (Social History of Africa.) Portsmouth: Heinemann. 2000. Pp. xiv, 291. Cloth $65.00, paper $24.95.

This is a dark, dense, and disturbing book. It recounts the many horrors (and memories) associated with the violent history of the Shangani region of Zimbabwe. Known as the Shangani Reserve in the colonial period, and now known as the Lupane and Nkayi districts, the Shangani is located on the northwest frontier of what was the nineteenth-century Ndebele state: "renowned for its dense, hardwood forests, its expansive, waterless ridges of Kalahari sands, its wild animals, tsetse fly and mosquitoes" (p. 19).

This brooding landscape is indelibly marked in the consciousness of the Ndebele people. It has been the site of many key historical moments, often characterized by violence, displacement, and disease. In 1893, Ndebele warriors massacred the Alan Wilson Patrol at Pupu, a settlement deep in the forests of Shangani. King Lobengula was last seen at Pupu. His fate remains a mystery hanging over the landscape. After the 1896 uprising, the forests once again became a place of refuge for rebels. Some adjusted to the spartan existence; others fled or died. Despite its history of disease, drought, and death, the colonial state declared Shangani the primary Ndebele homeland. In the 1940s, colonial officials, inspired by a desire to "improve" and "modernize" African agriculture, forced people to move to the supposedly empty land in Shangani. These evictees were unprepared for the difficulties of Shangani life, and many died, further fueling the negative imaginary of the "dark forests."

Not surprisingly, the Shangani became a prime site for discontent and rebellion. The flawed Land Husbandry Act, with its rigid definition of "modern" agriculture, failed miserably in the complex microclimates of Shangani. This failure frustrated the "modernizing" evictees—the "dressed" people of the school, the store, and the market (p. 50)—who had hoped they could transform the hostile wilderness. These Christian modernizers initially led the attacks on colonial authority, but many came under suspicion as sell-outs, and the nationalist movement spread and deepened as it became increasingly grounded in the complaints and expectations of the poorer peasantry. Local nationalist leaders (and supporters) became less inclined toward mainstream Christianity; more often they were members of Christian apostolic churches sympathetic to "traditional" practices.

The Shangani case supports the contention of authors Jocelyn Alexander, JoAnn McGregor, and Terence Ranger that nationalism must be analyzed both critically and contextually, and that nationalism was "made in the rural areas rather than just imported or imposed" (p. 80). This book argues that the nationalism produced in Shangani was more national in its orientation than elsewhere in Zimbabwe, because the evictees could claim no ancestral title to land or ties to chiefly houses. Nor were chiefly politics as central as in other parts of the country. This historical context explains the widespread support among the local people (chapter seven) and the willingness of many to take up arms against what they saw as an illegitimate Shona-dominated postindependence state.

The book does provide important insights into the nature of a regional nationalism, both before and after independence. The brutal response of the new Zimbabwean state to Shangani "dissidents," with its unnecessary violence, scorched-earth policy, and deliberate targeting of civilians, is vividly illustrated through graphic and often mind-numbing accounts. The consequences of this violence continue to haunt Zimbabwe today. Indeed, the book highlights the continued frustrations over public denial (including by former "dissidents") of the postindependence violence and its deleterious effect on Shangani and the nation. After reading the study, the need for some kind of reconciliation and remembrance cannot be doubted, although the forces keeping this from happening remain largely unexplored.

However, there are silences in this "dark forest" as well. The authors admit that the book is largely a history of people who were involved in the nationalist struggles in Shangani. Those who questioned nationalist actions, the "sell-outs" and "enemies of the people," have little to say here. Their deaths and martyrdom are rarely acknowledged with sympathy, nor are their ideas taken seriously. Yet the demand for uncritical loyalty and the right to kill those who question their "leaders" is one of the most destructive legacies bedeviling Zimbabwe today. This intolerance toward debate and difference has deep roots, which deserve careful historical analysis. Writing nationalist history without acknowledging dissenting voices only reinforces uncritical acceptance of official definitions of "enemies" and friends. Until we know more about those Zimbabweans (whatever their race or ethnic identity) who spoke out, and who often lost their lives for their independence of mind, we will not be able to understand the widespread hostility to open debate

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that is poisoning Zimbabwean society today. This legacy is also entwined in the violence and memory of nationalist and regional struggles, and it, too, deserves historical analysis. The book under review contributes much to our understanding of specific rural nationalist struggles in Zimbabwe. However, its silences leave us with many unanswered, crucially important questions.

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Film Reviews

THE TICHBORNE CLAIMANT. Directed by David Yates; produced by Tom McCabe; screenplay by Joe Fisher. United Kingdom. 1998; color; 94 minutes. Distributed by Redbus Film Distribution.

"This is a true story," reads the opening credit of *The Tichborne Claimant.* And indeed it is. The Tichborne case was the Victorian equivalent of the trial of Martin Guerre. In 1866, a butcher from Wagga Wagga, Australia came to England purporting to be the long-lost aristocrat, Sir Roger Tichborne, who was believed to have drowned at sea in 1854. Despite looking nothing like the original, the claimant was accepted by Sir Roger's mother as her son. It was only with her death that the rest of the Tichborne family, considering the new arrival an imposter, initiated legal proceedings against him. There followed two of the longest trials in English legal history, during which many working-class people came to believe that the claimant was not only genuine but the victim of a conspiracy by the elite. In 1874, the claimant was sentenced to fourteen years in prison, but his cause went on to become one of the largest popular movements of the later Victorian era. It is surprising that it has taken until now for a major film to be made about it.

Joe Fisher's screenplay takes some elaborate liberties with the historical record, but the script closely follows the standard work on the case, Douglas Woodruff's *The Tichborne Claimant* (1957), although it moves the main events forward a few years for no discernable reason. Its other main influence , however, is cinematic: Robert Hamer's *Kind Hearts and Coronets* (1949). While not repeating the plot or equaling the wit of that film, *The Tichborne Claimant* attempts the same ironic gaze at Victoriana. In both, the callousness of the aristocracy suspends conventional morality among its hangers-on, generating figures who attempt to obtain titles and fortunes no matter what the cost. It is a nice touch that the new film was also made at Ealing Studios.

As with *Kind Hearts*, the film opens with a narrator who is beginning to write his memoirs, which are then presented in flashback. In this case, the Louis Mazzini figure is on his deathbed in a workhouse. He is Andrew Bogle (John Kani), the black servant of the Tichbornes, who recalls a notorious fraud that he perpetrated on English high society. According to the film, he had been dispatched to Australia to look for the missing Sir Roger by the Tichbornes, who then abandoned him and refused to pay his passage home. Seeking revenge, Bogle finds an oafish butcher (Robert Pugh) whom, Pygmalion-like, he transforms into an English gentleman and inserts back into the heart of the aristocracy. The film is commendable, among other things, for acknowledging the black presence in Victorian Britain. This plot structure, however, is largely fictitious. Bogle was a Jamaican servant of the Tichbornes who had known the young Sir Roger. He retired to Sydney on a pension from the Tichbornes with his two sons. Bogle did not initiate the claimant's imposture. The claimant had already declared his identity to lawyers in Wagga Wagga before securing a meeting with Bogle, who confirmed him as genuine and testified at his trial. There is no evidence that Bogle was part of a plot against the Tichbornes.

The film never shows us the original Sir Roger, except for an image based on an actual daguerreotype of the young aristocrat onto which the features of Robert Pugh are audaciously morphed. This gets around many of the questions that the Victorian public asked as they poured obsessively over images of Sir Roger and the claimant to discover whether they matched. The film also abandons the most sensational revelation of the Tichborne trial, when the claimant alleged that he (Sir Roger) had seduced his cousin, Lady Katherine Doughty, and secretly married her. Also gone is the bizarre detail that the claimant had a retractable penis. Here the filmmakers, perhaps fearing that this was too unbelievable, simply suggest that he is well endowed (not the same thing).

Otherwise, the film represents events in the way that working-class Tichbornites would have viewed them. The aristocracy is portrayed as villainous, even murdering witnesses in order to crush the claimant. The trial is rigged against him such that, by the end, he has the audience's sympathy. The film captures the class dimensions of the story, showing the claimant raising money for his legal expenses in music halls by asking his proletarian audiences: "Ain't you as good as some duke or earl that's never done a day's work in his life?" This was part of the dynamic of the Tichborne movement, although the film never explores the irony of the

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claimant leading an anti-aristocratic movement whose purpose is to help him regain an aristocratic title. David Yates's pacey direction turns the film into a romp in which the claimant figures as both Victorian grifter and loveable rogue.

Imposter stories continue to fascinate in our culture, not least because they suggest that identity is an unstable entity. This is therefore a tale still resonant in our time. As I left the cinema I overheard audience members arguing enthusiastically about the identity of the claimant, just as the Victorians of the 1870s had done.

ROHAN MCWILLIAM
Anglia Polytechnic University

THE CAT'S MEOW. Produced by Julie Baines and Carol Lewis; directed by Peter Bogdanovich; screenplay by Steven Peros (adapted from his play). 2002; color; 110 minutes. Distributed by Lion's Gate Films.

Writing in *Headline Hollywood: A Century of Film Scandals* (2001), Lucy Fischer remarks, "If Hollywood has been our quintessential Dream Factory, it has also been our premier School for Scandal" (p. 129). On the honor roll of those scandals would be the mysterious death of Hollywood director Thomas Ince in November 1924. Perhaps less well known than such scandals of the 1920s as the Fatty Arbuckle rape trials and the Wallace Reid drug exposé, the Ince affair has nonetheless continued to intrigue people over the years, not just because its principals included William Randolph Hearst, Marion Davies, and Charles Chaplin, but because the circumstances of Ince's death have remained obscure. Indeed, like Charles Dickens's *The Mystery of Edwin Drood*, its enduring fascination lies in the fact that it is, somehow, unfinished (it is unknown whether he was murdered or died of natural causes) and, hence, can never be solved. And, like the Dickens book, many have subsequently contributed their own takes on the problem.

Now Peter Bogdanovich, with *The Cat's Meow*, provides his idiosyncratic interpretation of events. Bogdanovich brings impressive credentials to the project. As a filmmaker, he knows a thing or two about Hollywood history; witness his interview documentaries, his books made in collaboration with famous directors, and the film he made as an affectionate tribute to the silent cinema, *Nickelodeon* (1976). Moreover, he has endured scandals of his own over the years and has been the subject of truth, innuendo, and downright fiction. "Never believe anything you *hear*," he was told once by a Hollywood insider; "and only half of what you *see*!" (Bogdanovich, *Who the Devil Made It* [1997], p. 12).

The Ince affair is "history with a whisper," says the narrative voice of Elinor Glyn at the beginning of *The Cat's Meow*; and this particular account is the version "whispered loudest." The film opens as Glyn and her celebrity buddies board Hearst's yacht, *Oneida*, on November 18, 1924, at a Santa Monica pier for a few days of frolics, dancing, and games to celebrate Ince's forty-third birthday. Besides Glyn, the amazing guest list includes Davies, whose affair with Hearst is the worst kept secret in Hollywood; Chaplin, recently named in a paternity suit by actress Lita Grey and currently infatuated with Davies; Louella Parsons, fledgling reporter and wannabe gossip columnist for Hearst's newspapers; and Ince, a Hollywood producer trying to salvage a failing career with a last-minute merger with Hearst's Cosmopolitan Pictures. During the cruise, Hearst's jealousy over Chaplin's attentions toward Davies finally erupts in violence. Having procured from Ince an erotic letter from Chaplin to Davies, the outraged Hearst mistakes Ince for Chaplin and shoots the wrong man (Ince was wearing Chaplin's derby at the time). In the hastily arranged coverup, Hearst phones Ince's wife and concocts a story of an attempted suicide; Hearst's doctors whisk the body away to Ince's wife's home; and witnesses, who include Parsons and Davies, agree to keep their mouths shut (Parsons uses the incident as a lever to secure for herself a lifetime contract with Hearst). As for Chaplin, he breaks off his affair with Davies and flees to Mexico to marry Lita Grey.

Regarding Ince's death, Hearst news stories initially read that he had been stricken while visiting Hearst's upstate New York ranch. Other newspaper accounts published on November 20, 1924, stated that he had taken ill on the yacht and died the same day he was taken off board. Davies later declared that Ince had taken sick on the yacht and had been removed to his home in Beverly Hills, where he died two days later. Chaplin wrote that Ince died at his home two weeks later. Amazingly, there was no inquest; rather, after considering the matter, the Los Angeles Chief of Homicide and the mortuary attendants declared the official cause of death was "acute indigestion," and he was buried in Hollywood on November 21. In later years, Ince's widow defended Hearst from charges of foul play. Hearst's only guilt, declares biographer David Nasaw, was that he had tried to keep Ince's presence on the yacht a secret "because he did not want the press or the local police investigating his yachting party with champagne flowing in flagrant disregard of the Prohibition laws" (*The Chief* [2000], p. 345).

Bogdanovich will have none of this. With an ear toward the public's thirst for scandal, and as an admirer of John Ford, he has chosen to follow the famous admonition in Ford's *The Man Who Shot Liberty Valance* (1962): "If you have to choose between the fact and the legend, print the legend." It is curious, however, that as a filmmaker himself he has not demonstrated more sympathy with the hapless Ince. Identified here only as the "inventor" of the cowboy movie genre (in the early-to-mid 1910s, Ince's studios produced many popular two and three-reel Westerns by William S. Hart and others), Ince enjoyed equal fame and prestige for a significant series of social problem films, including *The Italian* (1915), a powerful

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indictment of the injustice and bigotry besetting immigrants in New York City, and *Civilization* (1916), an ambitious antiwar drama. Ironically, just a year before scandal would surround his name, he produced *Human Wreckage*, an expose of narcotics peddling that capitalized on the recent death of Wallace Reid (and starred Reid's widow).

All that is forgotten now, and, thanks to Bogdanovich, Ince will be known by today's viewers more for his mysterious demise than his prodigiously productive career. "The U.S. has buried its heroes in legends that are false," Bogdanovich admits, and "has built out of the wilderness an illusory garden." Bogdanovich has himself contributed to this horticultural death and transfiguration. One wonders if some future filmmaker will perform the same surgical procedure on him.

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University of Kansas

MADAME SATÃ. Written and directed by Karim Aïnouz; produced by Walter Salles. Brazil/France. 2002; color; 97 minutes. Distributed by Mars Films.

CIDADE DE DEUS [City of God]. Directed by Fernando Meirelles; co-directed by Kátia Lund; produced Walter Salles; screenplay by Bráulio Mantovani. Brazil. 2002; color; 132 minutes. Distributed by Miramax Films.

ÔNIBUS 174 [Bus 174]. Written and directed by José Padilha; Produced by José Padilha and Marcos Prado. Brazil. 2002; color; 130 minutes. Distributed by Rio Film Company.

Brazilian reality has been marked by various manifestations of violence, from exploitation, slavery, and colonization to contemporary state-organized terror and the corruption and aggression associated with poverty and crime. Today, Brazilian cities like Rio and São Paulo continue to be threatened by these historically rooted ills. Three recent films explore the complexities of Brazil's urban violence in three different historical eras, providing glimpses into worlds difficult to capture in published sources.

The first film, *Madame Satã*, does not purport to be about violence. Indeed, it is a film that celebrates the life of one of Rio de Janeiro's most enduring Bohemian folk heroes despite the violence that pervaded his life. João Francisco dos Santos, better known in Brazil by his stage name Madame Satã, came from the northeastern state of Pernambuco. His mother, a recently freed slave, traded him for a mare when he was still a young child, and he lived a life of virtual slavery before becoming a personality of the Lapa district of Rio de Janeiro, a place known as Rio's Bohemian center. In the 1940s, dos Santos gained fame for his carnival costumes and as a transvestite performer. Black, poor, and homosexual, dos Santos faced tremendous prejudice in a post-abolition society where the concept of "citizen" was only beginning to emerge. Yet he insisted on his rights and defied authority, sometimes with violence. He was convicted of a number of crimes and spent a significant portion of his life in jail. Throughout, he asserted his dignity and safeguarded his right to happiness as he construed it.

The film reflects published information and oral sources about Satã, who died in 1976, including information gleaned from his memoirs (*Memorias de Madame Satã* as told to Sylvan Paezzo [1972]). Karim Aïnouz's wise decision not to narrate his subject's life from birth to death allowed him to focus on a relatively short but important period from the 1930s and early 1940s, before dos Santos became known as Madame Satã (a name he adopts from the film *Madam Satan* [1930] by Cecile B. DeMille). This was the time when he came of age as a performer and discovered Josephine Baker. Aïnouz succeeds in creating an intimate portrait of Satã and the nontraditional family he created. The director clearly admires his subject, who refused to act like a victim, but he is not always faithful to the historical biography, adding characters here and there for dramatic effect. Historians will find no references to the political climate under Getúlio Vargas, who governed Brazil for the first time from 1930–1944, but the film provides an interesting counter-reading of the sanitized version of Brazilian culture presented by the government censors. It is vivid and compelling depiction of dos Santos in the 1930s and life in the legendary streets of Lapa.

Cidade de Deus (2002) by Fernando Meirelles presents audiences with another vision of Rio de Janeiro decades later. Based on Paulo Lins's novel-memoir of the same name (1997), the film traces the development of the favela (shanty town) Cidade de Deus (and the criminal element within it) from its inception in the 1960s to the drug and turf wars of the 1980s. Like the novel, the film views the favela from within. Busca Pé, one of the protagonists of the movie, serves as the narrator, sharing the joys and tribulations of growing up in an urban enclave where the role of the state is visibly absent and where police officials are routinely corrupt. Gangs eventually step into the power vacuum and create their own sense of order through violence and other methods of coercion. They also help create a vibrant drug economy, strengthened by the escalating demand for narcotics both within and outside of the favela.

Like Meirelles's previous film, *Maids* (2001), *Cidade de Deus* avoids didacticism. The film harbors elements of the *Bildungsroman*, conveying the development of the protagonists, and by extension the favela itself, from a time of relative innocence to one of dangerous violence. In addition to the troubled urban machinations that develop from the 1960s to the 1980s, we also see a "normal," vibrant community where children go to school and work. We witness the growth of the narrator's friendships, his first love, his first job, and his desire to master photography. Ironically, it is photography, the art that produces artifacts for a wider voyeuristic public, that "saves" Busca Pé and eventu-

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ally allows him to insert himself into the larger global economy.

Meirelles's film production team has managed to create a hip urban document without taking a moral stance. In fact, the violence is often presented in matter-of-fact style reminiscent of Quentin Tarantino's work. Yet here, too, many historians will be disappointed with the lack of explicit political contextualization. The absence of viable state institutions in the favela, coupled with endemic poverty, led to violence in many areas of the world, but the film only gives passing references to issues of national or local politics and economics. Moreover, the film does not place the development of the favela properly within the Brazilian military dictatorship that began in 1964 and only ended in the middle 1980s.

Cidade de Deus presents us with a number of disturbing images and stories about life in Brazil, but some of the scenes are still sanitized. Screenwriter Bráulio Mantovani cut many of the horrifying scenes from the memoir-novel and has done away with some of the characters to streamline the story. The film is, nonetheless, a compelling urban reconstruction that will engender debates on a variety of social issues, from race, gender, class, and power to corruption and the role of journalism in reporting violence.

At the center of *Ônibus 174* is another of Rio's marginalized subjects: an ex-street child named Sandro do Nascimento. Filmmakers have produced scores of documentaries about the plight of street children, notably including Hector Babenco's acclaimed *Pixote* (1981), but this documentary underscores how "violence engenders violence" in an innovative and compelling manner.

On June 12, 2000, Sandro do Nascimento boarded a local bus in the middle of Botanical Gardens, one of Brazil's middle and working-class neighborhoods. Armed with a pistol, he hijacked the bus and held many of the passengers hostage for more than four hours. Local and national television transmitted every move by the hijacker, the hostages, and the police for the duration of the ordeal, during which time Nascimento threatened to kill hostages and struggled to negotiate his release by the police. Finally he exited the bus with one hostage, at which time police snipers shot him, although not fatally. Nascimento then shot his hostage before being wrestled to the ground and taken away in a police car alive. He arrived at the police station dead, not from the bullet but due to suffocation by the police.

The four-hour ordeal provides the framework of the film, but this documentary develops into a profound personal and historical exploration of violence, poverty, and, indirectly, race in Brazil. The film tries to answer three main questions: who was Nascimento, what made him carry out such an act, and what did the event signify for Brazil? Answers come through extensive research in archives and collections of images and through interviews with former hostages, police officers involved in the incident, friends and family members, and former and current street children. Oral interviews and historical information are placed carefully within the larger narrative to help audiences understand and interpret the issues.

What we learn is as disconcerting as the hijacking incident itself. The facts allow viewers to question the state of human rights in Brazil, the tactics of the Brazilian police, the role of the media, and the meaning of justice. Poor, black, and uneducated, Nascimento witnessed the stabbing death of his mother before taking to the streets. He was a survivor of the Candelaria massacre of 1993, in which police executed several street children in front of the downtown cathedral, purportedly to help "clean up" the city. As a young boy, he experienced the overcrowded and underfunded reform institutions and later stayed in the treacherous adult prison facilities in the state of Rio. According to one sociologist interviewed, Nascimento's misdirected actions represented a struggle against his invisibility as one of the marginalized. This interpretation takes on an ominous tone in light of the scene in which angry bystanders call for Nascimento's immediate death.

The film does not exonerate or give excuses for its subject's violent behavior; it does, however, raise important questions about violence and responsibility, about the urban environment in general and that of Brazil in particular. Like *Madame Satã* and *Cidade de Deus*, *Ônibus 174* reconstructs a complex urban story that comments on violence and much more.

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PATH TO WAR. Directed by John Frankenheimer; produced by Guy Riedel; screenplay by Daniel Giat. USA. 2002; color; 165 minutes. Distributed by Home Box Office.

John Frankenheimer, who died suddenly in July 2002, was best known for his political films of the early 1960s. *Manchurian Candidate* (1962) and *Seven Days in May* (1964) became central documents of the emerging culture of American paranoia, making Frankenheimer the Oliver Stone of his time. Having created a fictional White House in 1964 for *Seven Days in May*, it was fitting that Frankenheimer direct a film about the actual White House of the era and the process by which President Lyndon Johnson committed the United States to the Vietnam War. Devotees of paranoia, hypnotized assassins, and crazed generals will be disappointed by *Path to War*, as it avoids Stoneian detours into speculation and sticks to a meticulously documented script by Daniel Giat. What the result lacks in pace it makes up for in integrity.

During the 1990s, Frankenheimer directed a series of highly acclaimed television films on historical themes including *Against the Wall* (1994), on the Attica Prison rising of 1971, and *George Wallace* (1997) for HBO, and the Civil War film *Andersonville* (1996) for Turner Broadcasting. *Path to War* follows in this

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tradition, charting the progress of Lyndon Johnson (played by the British actor Michael Gambon) from his election in November 1964, through the key policy discussions by which the United States became committed to the Vietnam War, to the moment in March 1968 when Johnson quit the presidential race and announced his determination to sue for peace. This timeframe excludes decisions taken during the Kennedy years and Johnson's manipulation of the Gulf of Tonkin incident, but there is still plenty to tell. The film emphasizes the parallel course of Johnson's "Great Society" programs, and it underlines the degree to which these programs were casualties of his obsession with the war. The debate over U.S. policy in Vietnam eddies between the pro-escalation Secretary of Defense Robert McNamara (Alec Baldwin), the Cassandra-like Undersecretary of State George Ball (Bruce McGill), and the sometime-dove advisor Clark Clifford (Donald Sutherland). True to the events, it is hard to determine the point of no return. Johnson's team are shown to spend their whole war fine tuning: talking about "light at the end of the tunnel" and the one extra notch in escalation that will bring Ho Chi Minh to heel. Everett Dirkson (Philip Baker Hall) calls it "going to war in inches."

As one would expect in a film that credits three historical advisors (Michael Beschloss, Robert Dallek, and Deborah Shapley), *Path to War* displays an eye for detail. Beyond the meticulous attention to the policy discussions, every portrait hangs exactly where it ought, and even the president's photographer—glimpsed only for a moment—looks like the real Johnson White House photographer, Yoichi Okamoto. But such things would be futile without Gambon's towering performance as Johnson. He paints a complex portrait of a man who is as crass and vain as he is inspired and idealistic. Johnson's ability as a politician is clear, as in the scene in which he outmaneuvers Alabama Governor George Wallace (an uncredited appearance from Gary Sinese, who played Wallace in Frankenheimer's 1997 biopic) to accept the Voting Rights Act. Johnson's weaknesses are no less obvious. Toward the end of the film, the president, high on self-pity, rails against his "Kennedy-loving" advisors who, he claims, had misled him. Clifford brings him up short by reminding him that, while they had advised, "YOU decided."

The film avoids heroes or villains, and no character leaves the story with clean hands. Ball and Clifford both compromise their integrity in places, while Johnson's liberal speech writer, Richard Goodwin, is implicated through Johnson's mouth for having "put the tune" to the president's "words of war." Conversely, there is sympathy for both McNamara and Johnson as they realize the enormity of their own errors and the horrible cost of their arrogance.

One key character develops off screen. Johnson's nemesis, Robert F. Kennedy, is seen only in television news clips. Even so, Johnson's hatred of Bobby emerges as one of the most interesting elements in the drama. Johnson complains that John F. Kennedy is "more alive than ever" in "his half-size brother, with one-and-a-half his brains and a tenth his scruples." He recalls how he sat beside Bobby when he encouraged his brother to commit to Vietnam in the first place. Because Bobby Kennedy's role in the Vietnam War is well documented but neglected by his admirers, it is particularly interesting to see it treated here. Frankenheimer was close to Bobby Kennedy and was making a documentary film about him at the time of assassination in 1968; Kennedy spent his last night alive at Frankenheimer's house in Malibu. Friendship notwithstanding, the film does not flinch.

As a contribution to the canon of Vietnam War films, *Path to War* reflects a long overdue maturity. In this version, the Vietnam War is lost because the North Vietnamese are tough and organized while the South Vietnamese regime is flawed and the United States is politically unable to deliver the resources necessary to win. Oft-elevated elements in U.S. representations of the Vietnam War are here placed in context. The domestic peace protestors are peripheral to the decision making, and news coverage is shown to follow rather than to create events. The war is lost in Vietnam, not on the television screen at home.

Path to War chooses historical integrity above digestibility; Frankenheimer is unafraid to make his audience concentrate for nearly three hours. Among the intricacies of cabinet debate, however, there are moments of Shakespearian intensity: the Quaker protestor Norman Morrison immolates himself while McNamara looks on; Johnson struggles to pray as the bombers thunder off to hit Hai Phong harbor for the first time; Johnson sits alone signing a vast pile of letters to the parents of dead GIs. Such moments are worthy not only of the somber subject matter but also of the final film of an American master.

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Collected Essays

These volumes, recently received in the *AHR* office, do not lend themselves readily to unified reviews; the contents are therefore listed.

METHODS/THEORY

BRIAN KEITH AXEL, editor. *From the Margins: Historical Anthropology and Its Future*. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. 2002. Pp. x, 313. Cloth $59.95, paper $19.95.

BRIAN KEITH AXEL, Historical Anthropology and Its Vicissitudes. NICHOLAS B. DIRKS, Annals of the Archive: Ethnographic Notes on the Sources of History. TALAL ASAD, Ethnographic Representation, Statistics, and Modern Power. IRENE SILVERBLATT, New Christians and New World Fears in Seventeenth-Century Peru. PAUL A. SILVERSTEIN, The Kabyle Myth: Colonization and the Production of Ethnicity. ANN LAURA STOLER, Developing Historical Negatives: Race and the (Modernist) Visions of a Colonial State. MICHEL-ROLPH TROUILLOT, Culture on the Edges: Caribbean Creolozatoin in Historical Context. BERNARD S. COHN and TERI SILVIO, Race, Gender, and Historical Narrative in the Reconstruction of a Nation: Remembering the Forgetting of the American Civil War. BRIAN KEITH AXEL, Fantastic Community. JOHN L. COMAROFF and JEAN COMAROFF, Occult Economies and the Violence of Abstraction: Notes from the South African Postcolony.

COMPARATIVE/WORLD

ECKHARDT FUCHS and BENEDIKT STUCHTEY, editors. *Across Cultural Borders: Historiography in Global Perspective*. Lanham, Md.: Rowman and Littlefield. 2002. Pp. vii, 359. Cloth $80.00, paper $32.95.

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ARTICLES

To the Editor:

Regarding the article by Samuel K. Cohn, Jr., "The Black Death: The End of a Paradigm" [*AHR* 107 (June 2002): 703–38], I agree with the points he made about the difficulties in applying modern knowledge of the bubonic plague to the Black Death. These points include the symptoms of the epidemic, its contagious nature, the presence of black rats and rat fleas, the speed of its spread, and the seasonality of outbreaks. In fact, I raised all of these points in my book *Plague? Jesuit Accounts of Epidemic Disease in the Sixteenth Century*, published in 1996 and reviewed in the *AHR* two years later [103 (December 1998): 1579–80]. As indicated by its title, the book focused on the sixteenth century, but I applied my arguments to the earlier epidemics.

I only disagree with the implication that other historians have not challenged the paradigm.

A. Lynn Martin
Research Centre for the History of Food and Drink, University of Adelaide

Samuel K. Cohn, Jr., does not wish to reply.

The Editors

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

To the Editor:

In his review of my book, *To Speak for the People: Public Opinion and the Problem of Legitimacy in the French Revolution* [*AHR* 107 (June 2002): 949–50], Kenneth Margerison refers to my "assumption that public opinion was consistently equated with the sovereignty of the nation," but he objects, insisting that public opinion remained "an agent apart from established authority." As should be apparent, the reviewer is confusing two completely different points: orators' association of public opinion with the will of *the sovereign people* (or nation); and orators' association with public opinion with the will of *the government*. Given the ongoing legitimacy crisis that plagued revolutionary governments, it would be unwise to treat the sovereign people and the government as identical, and it is simply misreading my book to suggest that it did.

I believe the book made it clear that although some orators (usually governing officials) did claim an essential identity between public opinion and governing powers, many others (or the same orators at different times) treated public opinion and the government as separate forces (see pp. 105–06, 141–44). I thus portray conflict and confusion, not consistency, in contemporaries' statements about the relationship between public opinion and governing powers. So whereas I stand by my contention that the vast majority of orators associated public opinion with the will of the sovereign people, I did not argue that revolutionaries *consistently* equated public opinion with established governing powers.

I also find that the reviewers' complaint about the book's "digressions" on prevailing concepts of popular sovereignty and modes of representation conflicts with the call for "more attention to the context in which the language of public opinion was employed." As I stated in the book, one cannot understand claims about public opinion without a sense of contemporaries' views on matters such as the nature of popular sovereignty (including the identity of "the people" and the specific powers of the sovereign) and nature of political representation (including the right of the represented to dictate their opinions to representatives between elections). There are, of course, many different kinds of contexts one might explore, but since the book focused on political culture, I considered it appropriate to place the politics of public opinion

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within the context of the revolutionaries' ideas about how power should be structured.

JON COWANS
Rutgers University, Newark

KENNETH MARGERISON REPLIES:

Jon Cowans is correct in pointing out to the readers of the *AHR* that he never argues in *Speaking for the People* that "revolutionaries *consistently* equated public opinion with established governing powers." Of course, I did not assert in my review that he had made such an argument. I did write that Cowans's work was flawed by his "insistence that revolutionary public opinion be consistently linked to national sovereignty," and I stand by that assessment.

Cowans's work is based on the assumption that the continued debates among revolutionaries regarding the nature of national sovereignty ipso facto reflected confusion about the character and role of public opinion. In his introduction, Cowans argues that, after the declaration of national sovereignty in 1789, "the concepts of public opinion and the will of the sovereign became conflated." This conflation was accompanied by a "degree of confusion and discord that continued to surround the doctrine of national (or popular) sovereignty." Thus "analyzing public opinion in the Revolution requires paying close attention to competing visions and interpretations of sovereignty" (p. 7). My specific criticism is leveled at Cowans's assumption, which is not supported by the evidence he presents, that the revolutionary conception of public opinion is revealed by examining the revolutionaries' often contradictory statements about sovereignty.

Cowans's analysis of the debate over the appeal to the people on the fate of Louis XVI illustrates my point. The question of the appeal in the Convention revolved around the use of a referendum to determine the national will. The Girondins claimed that the appeal would allow the nation to exercise its sovereign authority on the important issue of the king's punishment. The Montagnards insisted that the people had already expressed their will by overthrowing the monarchy on August 10 and that the deputies in the Convention were fully empowered to employ the sovereign authority of the nation (pp. 95–97). What is the connection between this debate and the deputies' understanding of public opinion? If the language Cowans attributes to the deputies is representative of what transpired on the floor of the Convention, discussion of public opinion formed no part of the dispute over the appeal. Instead, the focus of the debate centered on the manner in which the nation's sovereignty was to be exercised. Was public opinion related to the exercise of this sovereignty? The evidence regarding the language of public opinion that Cowans presents a few pages later would seem to indicate just the opposite. Although some revolutionaries made positive statements concerning the value of public opinion, most commentators cited seemed to fear that public opinion was "corrupted," "duped," or "fooled" (pp. 100–02). According to Cowans's evidence, contemporaries never applied such assessments to the general will or national sovereignty. Robespierre, for example, often complained that public opinion could be manipulated, and, therefore, he preferred to place his trust in the general will (p. 100), a clear indication of contemporary *distinction* between opinion and sovereign authority.

The pattern found in this example is repeated throughout *To Speak for the People*. Cowans devotes considerable space to the concept of sovereignty as it developed in the various periods of the revolution's history, and he then proceeds to provide a number of quotes, which often have no connection to issues of sovereignty, demonstrating support for or mistrust of public opinion. Because of the author's failure to provide the clear links that he claims existed between the revolutionaries' understanding of public opinion and their concept of national sovereignty, in my review I characterized aspects of this discussion as "long digressions," which "obfuscate rather than clarify the role that public opinion itself played during the 1790s."

By assuming the conflation of sovereignty and public opinion after 1789, Cowans misreads the revolutionary understanding of public opinion, which was often disassociated from sovereign authority or the general will. On the basis of the evidence he presents, the author has not made a convincing case that public opinion and national sovereignty were different sides of the same coin in the minds of revolutionaries. As I stated in the review and again repeat, by insisting that a direct relationship existed between the revolutionary understandings of sovereignty and opinion, the author fails to recognize the true nature of public opinion as a phenomenon with a history separate from that of national sovereignty.

KENNETH MARGERISON
Southwest Texas State University

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Index to *American Historical Review,* Volume 107

The titles of articles and films in the *AHR* are printed in italics, and titles of books reviewed are in quotation marks. Books of collected essays are designated by (E). The reviewer of a book or film is designated by (R), the author of a letter for the Communications section by (C).

Abbott, Carl (R), 556
Abel, Emily K., "Hearts of Wisdom: American Women Caring for Kin, 1850–1940," 230
Abel, Emily K. (R), 501
Abels, Richard P., and Bernard S. Bachrach, editors, "The Normans and Their Adversaries at War: Essays in Memory of C. Warren Hollister" (E), 999
Abernethy, David R., "The Dynamics of Global Dominance: European Overseas Empires, 1415–1980," 1189
"Abject Loyalty," by Murphy, 1295
"Abortion before Birth Control," by Norgren, 864
Abrahamian, Ervand (R), 1675
Abram, Richard G., and Richard O. Davies, "Betting the Line: Sports Wagering in American Life," 1234
Abrams, Douglas Carl (R), 898
Abrams, Elliott, editor, "The Influence of Faith: Religious Groups and U.S. Foreign Policy" (E), 327
"An Absent Presence," by Simpson, 1581
Abulafia, David (R), 1280
Accampo, Elinor A. (R), 1642
"Across Cultural Borders," edited by Fuchs and Stuchtey (E), 1687
"Across the Great Divide," edited by Basso, McCall, and Garceau, 1219
Adams, Jane (R), 209
Adams, Richard E. W., and Murdo J. MacLeod, editors, "The Cambridge History of the Native Peoples of the Americas," 1602
Adas, Michael (R), 1189
"Adel und Bürgertum in Deutschland," edited by Reif (E), 1693
Adler, Jeffrey S., and David R. Colburn, editors, "African-American Mayors: Race, Politics, and the American City," 249
"Adulterous Alliances," by Helgerson, 1628
"Adventism and the American Republic," by Morgan, 1562
"An Affirmative Action Empire," by Martin, 1325
"Afghan Communism and Soviet Intervention," by Bradsher, 981
"African-American Mayors," edited by Colburn and Adler, 249
"Africanizing Anthropology," by Schumaker, 1679
"After Rome's Fall," edited by Murray, 922
Agarossi, Elena, "A Nation Collapses: The Italian Surrender of September 1943," 967
"Agency and Action in Colonial Africa," edited by Youé and Stapleton (E), 680
Aïnouz, Karim, 1684
Aiken, Katherine G. (R), 1567
Aimee and Jaguar, directed by Fäberböck, reviewed by Mennel, 320
Akenson, Donald Harman (R), 1190
"Alamance," by Beatty, 208
Alamillo, José M. (R), 891
Alba, Richard (R), 220
"Alcohol, Sex, and Gender in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe," by Martin, 1627
Aldrich, Richard J., "The Hidden Hand: Britain, America and Cold War Secret Intelligence," 854
Aldrich, Richard J. (R), 1198
Alexander, Jocelyn, JoAnn McGregor, and Terence Ranger, "Violence and Memory: One Hundred Years in the 'Dark Forests' of Matabeleland," 1680
Alexander, Martin S., and Kenneth Mouré, editors, "Crisis and Renewal in France, 1918–1962" (E), 1347
"Alexander Hamilton and the Persistence of Myth," by Knott, 1554
"Alexander the Great in Fact and Fiction," edited by Bosworth and Baynham, 920
Ali, Daud, Ronald Inden, and Jonathan Walters, "Querying the Medieval: Texts and the History of Practices in South Asia," 1521
Ali Shah, Sayed Wiqar, "Ethnicity, Islam and Nationalism: Muslim Politics in the North-West Frontier Province 1937–1947," 868
"All Our Relations," by Glover, 1223
Allen, Ann Taylor (R), 298
Allen, Craig (R), 238
Allen, Judith A. (R), 272
Allen, Kieran (R), 280
Allen, Michael Thad (R), 298
Allen, Michael Thad, "The Business of Genocide: The SS, Slave Labor, and the Concentration Camps," 1657
Allgor, Catherine, "Parlor Politics: In Which the Ladies of Washington Help Build a City and a Government," 190
"Allianz and the German Insurance Business, 1933–1945," by Feldman, 1311
Allman, Jean, and Victoria Tashjian, " 'I Will Not Eat Stone': A Women's History of Colonial Asante," 984
Alpert, Michael, "Crypto-Judaism and the Spanish Inquisition," 1297
Althoff, Gerd, Johannes Fried, and Patrick J. Geary, editors, "Medieval Concepts of the Past: Ritual, Memory, Historiography" (E), 1345

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
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Altholz, Josef L. (R), 617
Altman, Ida, "Transatlantic Ties in the Spanish Empire: Brihuega, Spain, and Puebla, Mexico, 1560–1620," 848
Álvarez, José E., "The Betrothed of Death: The Spanish Foreign Legion during the Rif Rebellion, 1920–1927," 945
Amanat, Abbas, and Magnus Bernhardsson, editors, "Imagining the End: Visions of Apocalypse from the Ancient Middle East to Modern America" (E), 1339
Amar, Akhil Reed, "The Bill of Rights: Creation and Reconstruction," 177
"Amassing Power," by Massell, 1215
Amat, Jorge, 990
"Die Ambivalente Normalisierung," by Reuther, 1249
Amelang, James S. (R), 282
Amelio, Gianni, 321
"America and Intellectual Cold Wars in Europe," by Berghahn, 1251
"American Archives," by Smith, 547
"American City, Southern Place," by Kimball, 1558
"American Culture, American Tastes," by Kammen, 1577
"An American Obsession," by Terry, 254
"Americans All! Foreign-born Soldiers in World War I," by Ford, 565
"America's Airports," by Bednarek, 895
"America's First Black Town," by Cha-Jua, 206
Ames, Kenneth L. (R), 1572
"Anatomy of Resistance," by St. Pierre, 256
Anbinder, Tyler, "Five Points: The Nineteenth Century New York City Neighborhood That Invented Tap Dance, Stole Elections, and Became the World's Most Notorious Slum," 1227
Anbinder, Tyler, *From Famine to Five Points: Lord Lansdowne's Irish Tenants Encounter North America's Most Notorious Slum*, 351–87
Anchor, Robert (R), 960
"Ancient Siege Warfare," by Kern, 1269
Anderson, Richard (R), 930
Anderson, Sheldon R., "A Cold War in the Soviet Bloc: Polish-East German Relations, 1945–1962," 1660
Anderson, Terry (R), 573
Andersson, Lars M., "En jude är en jude är en jude . . . : Representationen av 'juden' i svensk skämtpress omkring 1900–1930," 286
Ando, Clifford, "Imperial Ideology and Provincial Loyalty in the Roman Empire," 921
Ando, Clifford (R), 1273
Andor, Eszter, and István György Tóth, editors, "Frontiers of Faith: Religious Exchange and the Constitution of Religious Identities 1400–1750" (E), 1000
Andrew, Rod, Jr., "Long Gray Lines: The Military School Tradition, 1839–1915," 200
Andrews, Janice, and Michael Reisch, "The Road Not Taken: A History of Radical Social Work in the United States," 1570
Andrews, Jonathan, and Andrew Scull, "Undertaker of the Mind: John Monro and Mad-Doctoring in Eighteenth-Century England," 1292
Andrić, Stanko, "The Miracles of St. John Capistran," 600
"Anglo-French Relations 1898–1998," edited by Chassaigne and Dockrill (E), 1345
"Anna Chennault," by Forslund, 1585
"Another Country," by Müller, 647
"Another Such Victory," by Offner, 1583
"Anthropology and Antihumanism in Imperial Germany," by Zimmerman, 1652
"Antifeminismus im Kaiserreich," by Planert, 962
"Antitrust and the Formation of the Postwar World," by Wells, 1535
"Apocalypse et salut dans le christianisme ancien et médiéval," by Carozzi, 588
"The Apocalypse in Germany," by Vondung, 639
"Apostles of Disunion," by Dew, 197
Applegate, Celia (R), 295
Arbena, Joseph L., and David G. LaFrance, editors, "Sport in Latin America and the Caribbean" (E), 1344
"The Archaeology of Urban Landscapes," edited by Mayne and Murray (E), 1342
Archer, Richard, "Fissures in the Rock: New England in the Seventeenth Century," 185
"Arme, Bettler, und Vaganten," by Rheinheimer, 604
"Armenians and the Iranian Constitutional Revolution of 1905–1911," by Berberian, 1675
Armitage, David (R), 614
Armstead, Myra B. Young, " 'Lord, Please Don't Take Me in August': African Americans in Newport and Saratoga Springs, 1870–1930," 888
Armstrong, Tim (R), 1186
Arnesen, Eric, "Brotherhoods of Color: Black Railroad Workers and the Struggle for Equality," 897
Arnstein, Walter L. (R), 934
"Les arrêts de règlement du Parlement de Paris au XVIII[e] siècle," by Payen, 1301
Arrom, Silvia Marina, "Containing the Poor: The Mexico City Poor House, 1774–1871," 1261
"Art, Memory, and Family in Renaissance Florence," edited by Ciappelli and Rubin, 302
"Arthur Koestler," by Cesarani, 306
"The Arts of Deception," by Cook, 1557
" 'Aryanisation' in Hamburg," by Bajohr, 1310
"As Long as They Don't Move Next Door," by Meyer, 1237
"Asante Identities," by McCaskie, 669
Ascher, Abraham, "P. A. Stolypin: The Search for Stability in Late Imperial Russia," 662
Ascoli, Albert Russell, and Krystyna von Henneberg, editors, "Making and Remaking Italy: The Cultivation of National Identity around the Risorgimento," 1319
"Ashe County's Civil War," by Crawford, 879
"Asian Merchants and Businessmen in the Indian Ocean and the China Sea," edited by Lombard and Aubin (E), 1343
"Aspekte deutsch-britischer Expansion," by Kirchberger, 643
"Aspiring Saints," by Schutte, 1317
"At Home in the Studio," by Prieto, 1571
"At the Dawn of Modernity," by Levine, 264
"At the Gate of Christendom," by Berend, 1279
Atanarjuat the Fast Runner, directed by Kunuk, reviewed by Sadashige, 989
"The Athenian Nation," by Cohen, 919
Atkins, Annette, "We Grew Up Together: Brothers and Sisters in Nineteenth-Century America," 208
Atkins, E. Taylor, "Blue Nippon: Authenticating Jazz in Japan," 1542
"Atomic Bomb Cinema," by Shapiro, 1587
"Au service de l'église, de la patrie et de la famille," by Cova, 1642

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Aubin, Jean, and Denys Lombard, editors, "Asian Merchants and Businessmen in the Indian Ocean and the China Sea" (E), 1343
Auerbach, Jeffrey (R), 937
"Auf der Suche nach der verlorenen Nation," by Conrad, 1197
"Austerity in Britain," by Zweiniger-Bargielowska, 278
Autio, Sari, "Suunnitelmatalous Neuvosto-Karjalassa 1928–1941: Paikallistason rooli Neuvostoliiton teollistamisessa," 1670
Auyero, Javier, "Poor People's Politics: Peronist Survival Networks and the Legacy of Evita," 585
Avella, Steven M. (R), 1591
"Avenues of Faith," by Shepherd, 223
Axel, Brian Keith, editor, "From the Margins: Historical Anthropology and Its Future" (E), 1687
Axtell, James (R), 872
Azoulay, Katya Gibel (R), 886

Bachrach, Bernard S. (R), 589
Bachrach, Bernard S., "Early Carolingian Warfare: Prelude to Empire," 592
Bachrach, Bernard S., and Richard P. Abels, editors, "The Normans and Their Adversaries at War: Essays in Memory of C. Warren Hollister" (E), 999
Back and Beyond, by Suny, 1476–99
Badger, Anthony J., and Byron E. Shafer, editors, "Contesting Democracy: Substance and Structure in American Political History, 1775–2000" (E), 997
Baguley, David, "Napoleon III and His Regime: An Extravaganza," 846
Bajohr, Frank, " 'Aryanisation' in Hamburg: The Economic Exclusion of Jews and the Confiscation of Their Property in Nazi Germany," 1310
Baker, Jean (R), 190
Baker, Jean H., editor, "Votes for Women: The Struggle for Suffrage Revisited" (E), 1344
Baker, Keith Michael, and Peter Hanns Reill, editors, "What's Left of Enlightenment? A Postmodern Question" (E), 677
Balakrishnan, Gopal, "The Enemy: An Intellectual Portrait of Carl Schmitt," 1654
"Balancing the Scales of Justice," by Crubaugh, 946
Baldasty, Gerald J. (R), 539
Balfour, Michael, editor, "Theatre and War 1933–1945" (E), 680
Ballard, Michael B. (R), 883
"Bananas," by Jenkins, 182
Band of Brothers, directed by Robinson, reviewed by Cull, 991
Bandyopadhyay, Sekhar, editor, "Bengal: Rethinking History: Essays in Historiography" (E), 1343
"Banished Immortal," by Ropp, 518
"Banking and Economic Development," by Triner, 1268
Bankoff, Greg (R), 530
Banner, James M., Jr. (R), 1554
Bannerji, Himani, Shahrzad Mojab, and Judith Whitehead, editors, "Of Property and Propriety: The Role of Gender and Class in Imperialism and Nationalism" (E), 326
Bao, Xiaolan, "Holding Up More Than Half the Sky: Chinese Women Garment Workers in New York City, 1948–92," 905
Bao, Xiaolan (R), 1593
Baranowski, Shelley, and Ellen Furlough, editors, "Being Elsewhere: Tourism, Consumer Culture, and Identity in Modern Europe and North America" (E), 995
"Barbarism and Religion," by Pocock, 498
Barbir, Karl K. (R), 1673
Barbour, Barton H., "Fort Union and the Upper Missouri Fur Trade," 875
Barclay, David E. (R), 296
Barczewski, Stephanie L. (R), 1182
Barkan, Elazar, "Guilt of Nations: Restitution and Negotiating Historical Injustices," 507
Barlow, Frank (R), 265
Barman, Roderick, "Citizen Emperor: Pedro II and the Making of Brazil, 1825–91," 259
Barnes, Kenneth C. (R), 204
Barnes, T. D. (R), 1276
Barnhart, Michael A. (R), 1540
Baron, Samuel H., "Bloody Saturday in the Soviet Union: Novocherkassk, 1962," 1325
Bartky, Ian R., "Selling the True Time: Nineteenth-Century Timekeeping in America," 540
Bartlett, Robert (R), 264
Bartov, Omer (R), 851
Bartov, Omer, and Phyllis Mack, editors, "In God's Name: Genocide and Religion in the Twentieth Century" (E), 325
Baskes, Jeremy, "Indians, Merchants, and Markets: A Reinterpretation of the *Repartimiento* and Spanish-Indian Economic Relations in Colonial Oaxaca, 1750–1821," 579
Basso, Matthew, Laura McCall, and Dee Garceau, editors, "Across the Great Divide: Cultures of Manhood in the American West," 1219
Bates, Crispin, editor, "Community, Empire and Migration: South Asians in Diaspora" (E), 678
Bauer, A. J. (R), 579
Bauman, John F., Roger Biles, and Kristin Szylvian, editors, "From Tenements to the Taylor Homes: In Search of an Urban Housing Policy in Twentieth-Century America," 232
Bauman, Mark K. (R), 1254
Baxter, Douglas Clark (R), 1298
Bay, Mia, "The White Image in the Black Mind: African-American Ideas about White People, 1830–1925," 887
Baynham, E. J., and A. B. Bosworth, editors, "Alexander the Great in Fact and Fiction," 920
Bays, Daniel H. (R), 519
Beattie, Peter M. (R), 1199
Beatty, Bess, "Alamance: The Holt Family and Industrialization in a North Carolina County, 1837–1900," 208
Beckert, Sven, "The Monied Metropolis: New York City and the Consolidation of the American Bourgeoisie, 1850–1896," 557
"Becoming Apart," by Lewis, 175
"Becoming 'Japanese,' " by Ching, 1541
"Becoming Modern," by Søland, 637
Bednarek, Janet R. Daly, "America's Airports: Airfield Development, 1918–1947," 895
Bedos-Rezak, Brigitte Miriam (R), 588
Beech, George T. (R), 593
Beecher, Jonathan, "Victor Considerant and the Rise and Fall of French Romantic Socialism," 631
Beer, Siegfried (R), 279

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
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"Before Jim Crow," by Dailey, 204
"The Begums of Bhopal," by Khan, 528
"Being Elsewhere," edited by Baranowski and Furlough (E), 995
Beinin, Joel (R), 316
Belasco, Warren, and Philip Scranton, editors, "Food Nations: Selling Taste in Consumer Societies" (E), 678
"Belief and Culture in the Middle Ages," edited by Gameson and Leyser (E), 1344
Belknap, Michal R. (R), 1249
Bell, David A. (R), 293
Bell, David A., "The Cult of the Nation in France: Inventing Nationalism, 1680–1800," 1638
Bell, Edward (R), 1216
Bellassai, Sandro, "La morale comunista: Pubblico e privato nella rappresentazione del PCI (1947–1956)," 304
Beller, Steven, editor, "Rethinking Vienna 1900" (E), 1002
Belmonte, Laura A. (R), 572
" 'Belonging to the World,' " by VanBurkleo, 1552
"Beloved Children," edited by Péter, 655
Belz, Herman (R), 1525
Ben-Amos, Avner, "Funerals, Politics, and Memory in Modern France, 1789–1996," 1641
"Benandanti e inquisitori nel Friuli del Seicento," by Nardon, 1315
Bender, Thomas, *Strategies of Narrative Synthesis in American History*, 129–53
Benedict, Barbara M., "Curiosity. A Cultural History of Early Modern Inquiry," 1291
"Bengal," edited by Bandyopadhyay (E), 1343
Benjamin, Thomas, "La Revolución: Mexico's Great Revolution as Memory, Myth, and History," 580
"Benjamin Shambaugh and the Intellectual Foundations of Public History," by Conard, 1184
Bennett, Julian (R), 586
Bentley, Raymond (R), 300
Berberian, Houri, "Armenians and the Iranian Constitutional Revolution of 1905–1911: 'The Love for Freedom Has No Fatherland,' " 1675
Bercaw, Nancy, editor, "Gender and the Southern Body Politic," 180
Berebitsky, Julie, "Like Our Very Own: Adoption and the Changing Culture of Motherhood, 1851–1950," 229
Berend, Nora (R), 600
Berend, Nora, "At the Gate of Christendom: Jews, Muslims and 'Pagans' in Medieval Hungary, c. 1000–c. 1300," 1279
Beresford, Bruce, 673
Berg, Manfred, and Martin H. Geyer, editors, "Two Cultures of Rights: The Quest for Inclusion and Participation in Modern America and Germany" (E), 1341
Berg, Werner, "Die Teilung der Leitung: Ursprünge industriellen Managements in den landwirtschaftlichen Gutsbetrieben Europas," 155
Bergad, Laird W., "Slavery and the Demographic and Economic History of Minas Gerais, Brazil, 1720–1888," 258
Bergad, Laird W. (C), 1020
Berger, Gordon M. (R), 174
Bergère, Marie-Claire (R), 1203
Bergeron, Arthur W., Jr., and Lawrence Lee Hewitt, editors, "Louisianians in the Civil War" (E), 1690
Berghahn, Volker R., "America and Intellectual Cold Wars in Europe: Shepard Stone between Philanthropy, Academy, and Diplomacy," 1251
Berghoff, Hartmut, *et al.*, "The Making of Modern Tourism: The Cultural History of the British Experience, 1600–2000" (E), 1692
Bergmann, Werner, Christhard Hoffmann, and Helmut Walser Smith, editors, "Exclusionary Violence: Antisemitic Riots in Modern German History" (E), 1693
Berkeley, Kathleen C. (R), 1558
Berkowitz, Alan J., "Patterns of Disengagement: The Practice and Portrayal of Reclusion in Early Medieval China," 1537
Berkowitz, Michael, "The Jewish Self-Image in the West," 163
Berkowitz, Michael (R), 306
Berman, Constance H. (R), 598
Berman, Larry, "No Peace, No Honor: Nixon, Kissinger, and Betrayal in Vietnam," 574
Bernard, G. W. (R), 931
Bernhardsson, Magnus, and Abbas Amanat, editors, "Imagining the End: Visions of Apocalypse from the Ancient Middle East to Modern America" (E), 1339
Bernstein, Alison (R), 1580
Bernstein, David E., "Only One Place of Redress: African Americans, Labor Regulations, and the Courts from Reconstruction to the New Deal," 567
Bernstein, John Andrew (R), 608
Bernstein, Laurie (R), 660
Berridge, Virginia (R), 509
Berry, Mary Frances (R), 1552
"Bêtes et hommes dans le monde médiéval," by Voisenet, 1277
"The Betrothed of Death," by Álvarez, 945
"Betting the Line," by Davies and Abram, 1234
"Between Geography and History," by Clarke, 1272
"Between God and Tsar," by Thyrêt, 1323
"The Bewitchment of Silver," by Deustua, 582
"Beyond Atlanta," by Tuck, 1595
"Beyond Carnival," by Green, 261
"Beyond the Synagogue Gallery," by Goldman, 222
Biale, David (R), 1285
Bickers, Robert, "Britain in China: Community, Culture and Colonialism 1900–1949," 165
Bickers, Robert, and Christian Henriot, editors, "New Frontiers: Imperialism's New Communities in East Asia, 1842–1953" (E), 1343
Biddle, Tami Davis, "Rhetoric and Reality in Air Warfare: The Evolution of British and American Ideas about Strategic Bombing, 1914–1945," 1531
Biggs, Lindy (R), 540
Biles, Roger (R), 245
Biles, Roger, John F. Bauman, and Kristin Szylvian, editors, "From Tenements to the Taylor Homes: In Search of an Urban Housing Policy in Twentieth-Century America," 232
"The Bill of Rights," by Amar, 177
Bindas, Kenneth J. (R), 901
Bindas, Kenneth J., "Swing, That Modern Sound," 901
"Bioethics in America," by Stevens, 1599
Bird, Stephen, "Reinventing Voltaire: The Politics of Commemoration in Nineteenth-Century France," 292
Birdwell, Michael E. (R), 574

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Bireley, Robert (R), 640
"Bishops and Reform in the English Church, 1520–1559," by Carleton, 1288
"Bishops, Councils, and Consensus in the Visigothic Kingdom, 589–633," by Stocking, 590
"The Bishop's Palace," by Miller, 595
"Biskopen visiterar," by Larsson, 638
Black, Eugene C. (R), 275
The Black Death, by Cohn, 703–38
Black Hawk Down, directed by Scott, reviewed by Coatney, 1338
Blackett, R. J. M., "Divided Hearts: Britain and the American Civil War," 617
Blackford, Mansel G., "Fragile Paradise: The Impact of Tourism on Maui, 1959–2000," 562
Blair, Karen J. (R), 1571
Blair, William (R), 199
Blanke, David, "Sowing the American Dream: How Consumer Culture Took Root in the Rural Midwest," 209
Blanks, David R., and Michael Frassetto, editors, "Western Views of Islam in Medieval and Early Modern Europe: Perception of Other" (E), 327
Blastenbrei, Peter (R), 1318
Blaszczyk, Regina Lee (R), 1577
Bleser, Carol K., and Lesley J. Gordon, editors, "Intimate Strategies of the Civil War: Military Commanders and Their Wives" (E), 326
"A Blessed Company," by Nelson, 1222
Blethen, H. Tyler (R), 1228
Blevins, Brooks (R), 1545
Blight, David W., "Race and Reunion: The Civil War in American Memory," 203
Bliss, Michael, "William Osler: A Life in Medicine," 532
"Blood in the City," by Burton, 1303
"Bloody Saturday in the Soviet Union," by Baron, 1325
Bloom, Alexander, editor, "Long Time Gone: Sixties America Then and Now," 573
Blue, Frederick J. (R), 193
"Blue Coat or Powdered Wig," by King, 1604
"Blue Nippon," by Atkins, 1542
Blum, Carol (R), 1291
Blumenfeld-Kosinski, Renate (R), 594
Blustein, Bonnie Ellen (R), 532
Blyden, Nemata Amelia, "West Indians in West Africa, 1808–1880: The African Diaspora in Reverse," 1677
Boatwright, Mary T., "Hadrian and the Cities of the Roman Empire," 586
Bodenhorn, Howard, "A History of Banking in Antebellum America: Financial Markets and Economic Development in the Era of Nation-Building," 541
"Bodies and Souls," by Schultheiss, 952
Boer, Wietse de, "The Conquest of the Soul: Confession, Discipline, and Public Order in Counter-Reformation Milan," 1316
Bogdanovich, Peter, 1683
Bogue, Allan G. (R), 874
Bogue, Margaret Beattie (R), 212
Bogue, Margaret Beattie, "Fishing the Great Lakes: An Environmental History 1783–1933," 213
Boia, Lucian, "History and Myth in Romanian Conciousness," 968
"Bondetro och kyrkoro," by Malmstedt, 1645
Bontemps, Alex, "The Punished Self: Surviving Slavery in the Colonial South," 1559
Booth, Emily, and Anthony Disney, editors, "Vasco da Gama and the Linking of Europe and Asia" (E), 993
Booth, Marilyn, "May Her Likes Be Multiplied: Biography and Gender Politics in Egypt," 667
Borer, Douglas A., "Superpowers Defeated: Vietnam and Afghanistan Compared," 166
"Born in Bondage," by Schwartz, 1231
"Born to Rule," by Wasson, 934
Borstelmann, Thomas, "The Cold War and the Color Line: American Race Relations in the Global Arena," 1250
Bosworth, A. B., and E. J. Baynham, editors, "Alexander the Great in Fact and Fiction," 920
Boterbloem, Kees (R), 1325
"Bo-tsotsi," by Glaser, 671
Bouchard, Constance Brittain, " 'Those of My Blood': Constructing Noble Families in Medieval Francia," 924
Boureau, Alain, "The Myth of Pope Joan," 926
Bourgeois, Daniel, "Das Geschäft mit Hitlerdeutschland: Schweizer Wirtschaft und Drittes Reich," 956
Bourqia, Rahma, and Susan Gilson Miller, editors, "In the Shadow of the Sultan: Culture, Power, and Politics in Morocco," 982
Bowen, H. V., Margarette Lincoln, and Nigel Rigby, editors, "The Worlds of the East India Company" (E), 1687
Bowen, Wayne H., "Spaniards and Nazi Germany: Collaboration in the New Order," 284
Bowling, Kenneth R., and Donald R. Kennon, editors, "The House and Senate in the 1790s: Petitioning, Lobbying, and Institutional Development" (E), 1690
Bowlus, Charles R. (R), 592
Bowman, Carl F., and Donald B. Kraybill, "On the Backroad to Heaven: Old Order Hutterites, Mennonites, Amish, and Brethren," 225
Boyd, Jean, and Beverly B. Mack, "One Woman's Jihad: Nana Asma'u; Scholar and Scribe," 318
Boyle, Sheila Tully, and Andrew Bunie, "Paul Robeson: The Years of Promise and Achievement," 564
Braddick, Michael J. (R), 933
Braddick, Michael J., and John Walter, editors, "Negotiating Power in Early Modern Society: Order, Hierarchy and Subordination in Britain and Ireland" (E), 679
Bradford, Helen (R), 671
Bradley, Joseph, *Subjects into Citizens: Societies, Civil Society, and Autocracy in Tsarist Russia,* 1094–1123
Bradley, Mark Philip, and Patrice Petro, editors, "Truth Claims: Representation and Human Rights" (E), 1689
Bradsher, Henry S., "Afghan Communism and Soviet Intervention," 981
Brand, Paul (R), 1621
Brands, H. W. (R), 854
Brands, H. W., "The Strange Death of American Liberalism," 1601
Branson, Susan, "These Fiery Frenchified Dames: Women and Political Culture in Early National Philadelphia," 538
Brantlinger, Patrick (R), 616
Brantlinger, Patrick, *A Response to "Beyond the Cultural Turn,"* 1500–12
Brattain, Michelle, "The Politics of Whiteness: Race, Workers, and Culture in the Modern South," 1239
Braun, Mark Edward (R), 907

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Braunstein, Peter, and Michael William Doyle, editors, "Imagine Nation: The American Counterculture of the 1960s and '70s" (E), 998
"Brave Men of the Hills," by Ghosh, 1210
Breckenridge, Carol A., *et al.*, editors, "Cosmopolitanism" (E), 1339
Breckman, Warren, "Marx, the Young Hegelians, and the Origin of Radical Social Theory: Dethroning the Self," 158
Breen, Louise A., "Transgressing the Bounds: Subversive Enterprises among the Puritan Elite in Massachusetts, 1630–1692," 185
Breen, Louise A. (R), 1528
Breines, Paul (R), 1322
Breitenbach, Esther, *et al.*, editors, "The Changing Politics of Gender Equality in Britain" (E), 1347
Brennan, James P., and Ofelia Pianetto, editors, "Region and Nation: Politics, Economics, and Society in Twentieth-Century Argentina," 915
Brenner, Louis, "Controlling Knowledge: Religion, Power and Schooling in a West African Muslim Society," 1333
Brennwald, Silvia, "Die Kirche und der Maya-Katholizismus: Die katholische Kirche und die indianischen Dorfgemeinschaften in Guatemala 1750–1821 und 1945–1970," 1608
Breward, Christopher, "The Hidden Consumer: Masculinities, Fashion, and City Life 1860–1914," 619
Breward, Christopher (R), 852
Brewer, Priscilla J., "From Fireplace to Cookstove: Technology and the Domestic Ideal in America," 1217
Bride of the Wind, directed by Beresford, reviewed by Tibbetts, 673
"Bridging the Atlantic," edited by Glaser and Wellenreuther (E), 1688
Brigham, Robert K. (R), 1208
"Bring Out Your Dead," by Grafton, 1625
"Britain and the German Question," by Müller, 1634
"Britain and the Occupation of Austria, 1943–45," by Hills, 279
"Britain and the Spanish Anti-Franco Opposition, 1940–1950," by Dunthorn, 623
"Britain in China," by Bickers, 165
"British and American Anticommunism before the Cold War," by Ruotsila, 853
"The British Communist Party and Moscow, 1920–1943," by Thorpe, 941
Britton, John A. (R), 257
"Broadcasting Fr edom," by Puddington, 930
Brook, Timothy (R), 172
Brook, Timothy, and Bob Tadashi Wakabayashi, editors, "Opium Regimes: China, Britain, and Japan, 1839–1952," 169
Brooks, Barbara J., "Japan's Imperial Diplomacy: Consuls, Treaty Ports, and War in China 1895–1938," 1540
Brooks, James F., editor, "Confounding the Color Line: The Indian-Black Experience in North America" (E), 1690
Brooks, Jeffrey (R), 664, 972
Brophy, James M. (R), 961
Brose, Eric Dorn, "The Kaiser's Army: The Politics of Military Technology in Germany during the Machine Age, 1870–1918," 1309
"Brotherhoods of Color," by Arnesen, 897
Browder, George C. (R), 1312
Brower, Daniel (R), 309
Brown, Canter, Jr., and Larry Eugene Rivers, "Laborers in the Vineyard of the Lord: The Beginnings of the AME Church in Florida, 1865–1895," 554
Brown, Judith M., and Robert Eric Frykenberg, editors, "Christians, Cultural Interactions, and India's Religious Traditions" (E), 1689
"Brown v. Board of Education," by Patterson, 247
Brownell, Susan, and Jeffrey N. Wasserstrom, editors, "Chinese Femininities/Chinese Masculinities: A Reader" (E), 995
"Brownsville, Brooklyn," by Pritchett, 1590
Bruce, Dickson D., Jr. (R), 877
Bruess, Gregory L. (R), 1668
Brummett, Palmira, "Image and Imperialism in the Ottoman Revolutionary Press, 1908–1911," 1326
Brundage, James A. (R), 266
Brunelle, Gayle K. (R), 288
Bryant, Keith L., Jr., "Culture in the American Southwest: The Earth, the Sky, the People," 1566
Bucur, Maria, and Nancy M. Wingfield, editors, "Staging the Past: The Politics of Commemoration in Habsburg Central Europe, 1848 to the Present," 1662
Buff, Rachel (R), 852
Buffalo Bill Meets Dracula, by Warren, 1124–57
Buffington, Robert (R), 915
Buhle, Paul, and Dave Wagner, "A Very Dangerous Citizen: Abraham Lincoln Polonsky and the Hollywood Left," 1586
Buhler-Wilkerson, Karen, "No Place Like Home: A History of Nursing and Home Care in the United States," 1574
"Building an American Identity," by Smeins, 1564
"Building the Invisible Orphanage," by Crenson, 228
Bukowczyk, John J. (R), 219
Bullard, Alice, "Exile to Paradise: Savagery and Civilization in Paris and the South Pacific, 1790–1900," 511
Bungert, Heike (R), 1313
Bunie, Andrew, and Sheila Tully Boyle, "Paul Robeson: The Years of Promise and Achievement," 564
Burbank, Jane (R), 308
Burggraaff, Winfield J. (R), 1610
Burr, Christina (R), 531
Burr, David, "The Spiritual Franciscans: From Protest to Persecution in the Century after Saint Francis," 1282
Burrow, J. W., "The Crisis of Reason: European Thought, 1848–1914," 608
Burrows, Simon, "French Exile Journalism and European Politics 1792–1814," 628
Burrows, Simon (R), 1640
Burt, Larry (R), 566
Burt, Roger (R), 855
Burton, Antoinette (R), 497
Burton, Antoinette, editor, "Gender, Sexuality and Colonial Modernities," 512
Burton, Richard D. E., "Blood in the City: Violence and Revelation in Paris, 1789–1945," 1303
Busch, Briton C. (R), 316
Bush, Barbara, "Imperialism, Race and Resistance: Africa and Britain, 1919–1945," 165
Bush, Perry (R), 225
"A Bushel of Pearls," by Hsü, 1202
"The Business of Genocide," by Allen, 1657
Bussel, Robert (R), 217

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Butler, Kim D. (R), 260
Butler, Lindley S. (C), 1019
Butterwick, Richard, editor, "The Polish-Lithuanian Monarchy in European Context, c. 1500–1795" (E), 1002
Bynum, Caroline Walker (R), 1622
Bynum, Caroline Walker, "Metamorphosis and Identity," 1623
Bynum, Victoria E., "The Free State of Jones: Mississippi's Longest Civil War," 880
Bynum, W. F. (R), 274
"Byzantine Law," edited by Papastathis (E), 1003

Cain, Patricia A. (R), 576
Calandri, Elena, and Antonio Varsori, editors, "The Failure of Peace in Europe, 1943–48" (E), 1346
Caldwell, Peter C., and William E. Scheuerman, editors, "From Liberal Democracy to Fascism" (E), 1347
"California Earthquakes," by Geschwind, 892
Callahan, Raymond (R), 1210
Callow, John, "The Making of King James II: The Formative Years of a Fallen King," 934
"The Cambridge History of the Native Peoples of the Americas," edited by Adams and MacLeod, 1602
Cameron, J. David (R), 610
Campbell, Brian (R), 1620
Campbell, Bruce M. S., "English Seigniorial Agriculture, 1250–1450," 1281
Campbell, Gail, Beverly Lemire, and Ruth Pearson, editors, "Women and Credit: Researching the Past, Refiguring the Future" (E), 1688
Campbell, Joan (R), 644
Campbell, Mary Baine (R), 1623
Cannadine, David, "Ornamentalism: How the British Saw Their Empire," 497
"Cantinflas and the Chaos of Mexican Modernity," by Pilcher, 914
Cantor, Ron (C), 341
Cantrell, Gregg (R), 198
Caplan, Jane, and John Torpey, editors, "Documenting Individual Identity: The Development of State Practices in the Modern World" (E), 994
"Captive University," by Connelly, 611
Carlebach, Elisheva, "Divided Souls: Converts from Judaism in Germany, 1500–1750," 1649
Carleton, Kenneth, "Bishops and Reform in the English Church, 1520–1559," 1288
Carlson, Andrew R. (R), 670
Carmichael, Cathie, and James Gow, "Slovenia and the Slovenes: A Small State and the New Europe," 657
Carnes, Mark C., editor, "Novel History: Historians and Novelists Confront America's Past (and Each Other)," 502
Carney, Elizabeth Donnelly, "Women and Monarchy in Macedonia," 1617
Caron, Vicki (R), 957
Carozzi, Claude, "Apocalypse et salut dans le christianisme ancien et médiéval," 588
Carriker, Robert C. (R), 875
Carroll, Francis M., "A Good and Wise Measure: The Search for the Canadian-American Boundary, 1783–1842," 1214
Carson, Mina (R), 241
Cashin, Edward J. (R), 872
Cashin, Edward J., and Glenn T. Eskew, editors, "Paternalism in a Southern City: Race, Religion, and Gender in Augusta, Georgia," 553
Casper, Scott E., and Lucinda M. Long, editors, "Moving Stories: Migration and the American West, 1850–2000" (E), 997
Cassell, Ronald D. (R), 276
Cassidy, James G., "Ferdinand V. Hayden: Entrepreneur of Science," 211
Castelnau-L'Estoile, Charlotte de, "Les ouvriers d'une vigne stérile: Les Jésuites et la conversion des Indiens au Brésil 1580–1620," 1613
Castiglione, Dario, and Iain Hampsher-Monk, editors, "The History of Political Thought in National Context" (E), 994
"Catholic Revival in the Age of the Baroque," by Forster, 640
The Cat's Meow, directed by Bogdanovich, reviewed by Tibbetts, 1683
Caulfield, Sueann, "In Defense of Honor: Sexual Morality, Modernity, and Nation in Early-Twentieth-Century Brazil," 1614
Cavanaugh, Catherine (R), 1545
Celenza, Christopher S., "Renaissance Humanism and the Papal Curia: Lapo da Castiglionchio the Younger's *De curiae commodis*," 650
Cesarani, David, "Arthur Koestler: The Homeless Mind," 306
"The Chaco Mission Frontier," by Saeger, 1261
Cha-Jua, Sundiata Keita, "America's First Black Town: Brooklyn, Illinois, 1830–1915," 206
Chakrabarty, Dipesh (R), 866
Chambers, Sarah C., "From Subjects to Citizens: Honor, Gender, and Politics in Arequipa, Peru 1780–1854," 1612
Chandler, David, "Voices from S-21: Terror and History in Pol Pot's Secret Prison," 1209
Chanet, Jean-François, "Les félibres cantaliens: Aux sources du régionalisme auvergnat (1879–1914)," 292
Chang, Chun-shu (R), 1537
Changbin, Jiang, and Robert S. Ross, editors, "Re-examining the Cold War: U.S.-China Diplomacy, 1954–1973" (E), 995
"The Changing Politics of Gender Equality in Britain," edited by Breitenbach, *et al.* (E), 1347
"Changing Tracks," by Rawson, 893
"Chaplain to the Confederacy," by Fuller, 199
Chaplin, Joyce E., "Subject Matter: Technology, the Body, and Science on the Anglo-American Frontier, 1500–1676," 183
Chapman, Herrick (R), 954
Chappell, John D. (R), 1579
"Charity and the London Hospitals 1850–1898," by Waddington, 276
Charle, Christophe, "La crise des sociétés imperiales: Allemagne, France, Grande-Bretagne (1900–1940)," 1286
"Chasing Spies," by Theoharis, 1584
Chassaigne, Philippe, and Michael Dockrill, editors, "Anglo-French Relations 1898–1998: From Fashoda to Jospin" (E), 1345
Chateauvert, Melinda (R), 897
Cheek, Timothy (R), 524
Chen, Jian, "Mao's China and the Cold War," 1204
Cheng, Yong (R), 219
"Chère Algérie," by Lefeuvre, 1331

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ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Cherry, John F. (R), 1616
Chesebrough, David B. (R), 1232
"The Chief Justiceship of Warren Burger, 1969–1986," by Maltz, 250
"Childhood, Class and Kin in the Roman World," edited by Dixon, 1620
"Childhood, Memory and Autobiography in Holland," by Dekker, 1644
"Chinese Femininities/Chinese Masculinities," edited by Brownell and Wasserstrom (E), 995
"Chinese Nationalism in Perspective," edited by Wei and Liu (E), 678
Ching, Leo T. S., "Becoming 'Japanese': Colonial Taiwan and the Politics of Identity Formation," 1541
Chittolini, Giorgio, and Kaspar Elm, editors, "Ordini religiosi a società politica in Italia e Germania nei secoli XIV e XV" (E), 1691
Chojnacka, Monica, "Working Women of Early Modern Venice," 652
"Choosing Death," by Watt, 648
Chorbajian, Lavon, editor, "The Making of Nagorno-Karabagh: From Secession to Republic" (E), 329
Chow, Kai-wing (R), 168
"Christian Missions and the Enlightenment," edited by Stanley (E), 1345
"Christians, Cultural Interactions, and India's Religious Traditions," edited by Brown and Frykenberg (E), 1689
Chudacoff, Howard P. (R), 563
Chulos, Chris J. (R), 1287
Chulos, Chris J., and Johannes Remy, editors, "Imperial and National Identities in Pre-Revolutionary, Soviet, and Post-Soviet Russia" (E), 1349
Church, S. D., "The Household Knights of King John," 1281
"Church, Censorship and Culture in Early Modern Italy," edited by Fragnito (E), 680
"Church Politics in Seventeenth-Century Rome," by Rodén, 1318
"The CIAM Discourse on Urbanism, 1928–1960," by Mumford, 850
Ciappelli, Giovanni, and Patricia Lee Rubin, editors, "Art, Memory, and Family in Renaissance Florence," 302
Cidade de Deus [*City of God*], directed by Meirelles, reviewed by Davis, 1684
Cimbala, Paul A., and Randall M. Miller, editors, "The Freedmen's Bureau and Reconstruction: Reconsiderations," 202
"Cinema and Urban Future in Shanghai, 1922–1943," edited by Zhang (E), 326
"Cistercians, Heresy and Crusade in Occitania, 1145–1229," by Kienzle, 598
"Citadel to City-State," by Thomas and Conant, 1616
"Citizen Emperor," by Barman, 259
"La città dei crucci," by Connell, 1314
"City Walls," edited by Tracy, 160
"La ciudad de los monos," by Jiménez, 1264
"Civil Defense Begins at Home," by McEnaney, 571
"Civil Rights and Public Accommodations," by Cortner, 248
"Civilians in the Path of War," edited by Grimsley and Rogers (E), 1341
Claeys, Gregory (R), 277
"Claiming the City," by Wingerd, 1591
Clanchy, Michael T. (R), 269
Clancy-Smith, Julia (R), 982
Clapp, Elizabeth J. (R), 1568
Clark, Linda L., "The Rise of Professional Women in France: Gender and Public Administration since 1830," 629
Clarke, Katherine, "Between Geography and History: Hellenistic Constructions of the Roman World," 1272
Clarkson, L. A., and E. Margaret Crawford, "Feast and Famine: Food and Nutrition in Ireland 1500–1920," 1637
"Classroom and Empire," by Dowler, 309
Clay, Catrine, 320
Cleary, Patricia, "Elizabeth Murray: A Woman's Pursuit of Independence in Eighteenth-Century America," 537
Clegg, Cyndia Susan, "Press Censorship in Jacobean England," 1631
Clements, Kendrick A., "Hoover, Conservation, and Consumerism: Engineering the Good Life," 234
Click, Patricia C., "Time Full of Trial: The Roanoke Island Freedmen's Colony, 1862–1867," 549
Clifford, Nicholas, " 'A Truthful Impression of the Country': British and American Travel Writing in China, 1880–1949," 1196
"Cloak and Dollar," by Jeffreys-Jones, 1220
Clunas, Craig (R), 1202
Coates, Colin M. (R), 870
Coatney, Lou (R), 1338
Cochran, Sherman, "Encountering Chinese Networks: Western, Japanese, and Chinese Corporations in China, 1880–1937," 860
Cocks, Catherine, "Doing the Town: The Rise of Urban Tourism in the United States, 1850–1915," 1564
Cocks, Geoffrey (R), 1656
"Code, Custom, and Legal Practice in China," by Huang, 1538
"Coercion, Contract, and Free Labor in the Nineteenth Century," by Steinfeld, 1193
Cohen, Edward E., "The Athenian Nation," 919
Cohen, Miriam (R), 1241
Cohen, William B. (R), 511, 1331
Cohn, Samuel K., Jr., *The Black Death: End of a Paradigm*, 703–38
Colburn, David R., and Jeffrey S. Adler, editors, "African-American Mayors: Race, Politics, and the American City," 249
"The Cold War and the Color Line," by Borstelmann, 1250
"Cold War Civil Rights," by Dudziak, 246
"A Cold War in the Soviet Bloc," by Anderson, 1660
Cole, Joshua (R), 1534
Cole, Mary Hill, "The Portable Queen: Elizabeth I and the Politics of Ceremony," 931
Cole, Mary Hill (R), 1632
Cole, Stephen (R), 1336
Coleborne, Catharine, and Diane Kirkby, editors, "Law, History, Colonialism: The Reach of Empire" (E), 1340
"The Collapse of the Confederacy," edited by Grimsley and Simpson, 883
"Collecting and Historical Consciousness in Early Nineteenth-Century Germany," by Crane, 294
"Collective Action under the Articles of Confederation," by Dougherty, 1551
"Collegij a forma di Seminario," by Negruzzo, 966
"The Colonial Bastille," by Zinoman, 1208

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"Colonial Challenges," by Fabel, 255
"Colonial Citizens," by Thompson, 1674
"The Colonies of Law," by Shamir, 1672
"The Color of Race in America 1900–1940," by Guterl, 887
"The Color of Work," by Minchin, 567
Comerford, Kathleen M., and Hilmar M. Pabel, editors, "Early Modern Catholicism: Essays in Honour of John W. O'Malley, S.J." (E), 1000
"Comic Book Nation," by Wright, 253
"Coming of Age in the Great Depression," by Melzer, 234
"Le commerce du café avant l'ère des plantations coloniales," edited by Tuchscherer (E), 993
"Community, Empire and Migration," edited by Bates (E), 678
"Company Men," by Davis, 227
"Composers of the Nazi Era," by Kater, 646
"Comprare all'americana," by Scarpellini, 1661
"Comrades at Odds," by Rotter, 239
Conant, Craig, and Carol G. Thomas, "Citadel to City-State: The Transformation of Greece, 1200–700 B.C.E.," 1616
Conard, Rebecca (R), 234, 893
Conard, Rebecca, "Benjamin Shambaugh and the Intellectual Foundations of Public History," 1184
Confino, Alon (R), 1662
Conforti, Joseph A., "Imagining New England: Explorations of Regional Identity from the Pilgrims to the Mid-Twentieth Century," 1218
"Confounding the Color Line," edited by Brooks (E), 1690
"Confronting Mass Democracy and Industrial Technology," edited by McCormick (E), 1693
Congdon, Lee (R), 656
Congdon, Lee, "Seeing Red: Hungarian Intellectuals in Exile and the Challenge of Communism," 1322
Conn, Steven (R), 562
Connell, William J., "La città dei crucci: Fazioni e clientele in uno stato repubblicano del '400," 1314
Connelly, John, "Captive University: The Sovietization of East German, Czech, and Polish Higher Education, 1945–1956," 611
Connelly, John (R), 1660
Connelly, Mark, "The Great War: Memory and Ritual Commemoration in the City and East London 1916–1939," 940
Connor, Kimberly Rae (R), 1183
"The Conquest of Ainu Lands," by Walker, 1206
"The Conquest of the Soul," by Boer, 1316
Conrad, Christoph, and Jürgen Kocka, editors, "Staatsbürgerschaft in Europa: Historische Erfahrungen und aktuelle Debatten" (E), 328
Conrad, Sebastian, "Auf der Suche nach der verlorenen Nation: Geschichtsschreibung in Westdeutschland und Japan, 1945–1960," 1197
Conspiracy, directed by Pierson, reviewed by Steinweis, 674
Constable, Giles (R), 264
"Constitutionalism and American Culture," edited by VanBurkleo, Hall, and Kaczorowski (E), 1344
"Constructing Autocracy," by Roller, 1273
"Constructing Class and Nationality in Alsace 1830–1945," by Harvey, 630
"Constructing Cromwell," by Knoppers, 613
"Constructing Socialism," by Stokes, 300
"Containing the Poor," by Arrom, 1261
"Contested Power in Angola, 1840s to the Present," by Heywood, 1334
"Contested Territory," by Wickett, 207
"Contesting Democracy," edited by Shafer and Badger (E), 997
Contreni, John J. (R), 1277
"Controlling Knowledge," by Brenner, 1333
"Controlling the Dragon," by Dodgen, 1537
"Controlling the State," by Gordon, 1525
"Convents and the Body Politic in Late Renaissance Venice," by Sperling, 303
Conversion, Sex, and Segregation, by Nirenberg, 1065–93
Conway, John S. (R), 959
Cook, James W., "The Arts of Deception: Playing with Fraud in the Age of Barnum," 1557
Cooper, Barbara (R), 984
Cooper, Gail (R), 1236
Cooper, Nicola, "France in Indochina: Colonial Encounters," 955
Cooperman, Bernard D., and Barbara Garvin, editors, "The Jews of Italy: Memory and Identity" (E), 1348
Coquery-Vidrovitch, Catherine (R), 983
Corbin, Alain, "The Life of an Unknown: The Rediscovered World of a Clog Maker in Nineteenth-Century France," 950
Corn, Joseph J. (R), 895
Cornwall, Mark, and Murray Frame, editors, "Scotland and the Slavs: Cultures in Contract 1500–2000" (E), 1001
"The Corporation as Family," by Mandell, 1569
"The Corruption of Angels," by Pegg, 925
Corteguera, Luis R. (R), 944
Cortner, Richard C., "Civil Rights and Public Accommodations: 'The Heart of Atlanta Motel' and 'McClung' Cases," 248
Cosmopolitan Domesticity, by Hoganson, 55–83
"Cosmopolitanism," edited by Breckenridge, *et al.* (E), 1339
"Count Marcellinus and His Chronicle," by Croke, 1276
"The Counterrevolution of Slavery," by Sinha, 878
"The Countryside in the Age of the Modern State," edited by Stock and Johnston (E), 679
Courtwright, David T., "Forces of Habit: Drugs and the Making of the Modern World," 509
Coury, Ralph M., "The Making of an Egyptian Arab Nationalist: The Early Years of ʿAzzam Pasha, 1893–1936," 316
Couturier, Edith B. (R), 1263
Cova, Anne, "Au service de l'église, de la patrie et de la famille: Femmes catholiques et maternité sous la III^{e} République," 1642
Cowans, Jon, "To Speak for the People: Public Opinion and the Problem of Legitimacy in the French Revolution," 949
Cowans, Jon (C), 1704
Cox, Howard, "The Global Cigarette: Origins and Evolution of British American Tobacco 1880–1945," 164
Crabb, Ann, "The Strozzi of Florence: Widowhood and Family Solidarity in the Renaissance," 651
Craig, Douglas B., "Fireside Politics: Radio and Political Culture in the United States, 1920–1940," 237
Crane, Elaine Forman (R), 1221
Crane, Susan A., "Collecting and Historical

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ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Consciousness in Early Nineteenth-Century Germany," 294
Crawford, E. Margaret, and L. A. Clarkson, "Feast and Famine: Food and Nutrition in Ireland 1500–1920," 1637
Crawford, Martin (R), 549
Crawford, Martin, "Ashe County's Civil War: Community and Society in the Appalachian South," 879
Cray, Robert E., Jr. (R), 188
"Creating a Public," by Huffman, 524
Creevey, Lucy E. (R), 318
Crenson, Matthew A., "Building the Invisible Orphanage: A Prehistory of the American Welfare System," 228
"Crime, Cultural Conflict, and Justice in Rural Russia, 1856–1914," by Frank, 308
"Crimes against Nature," by Jacoby, 214
"La crise des sociétés impériales," by Charle, 1286
"Crisis and Renewal in France, 1918–1962," edited by Mouré and Alexander (E), 1347
"The Crisis of Democracy in Spain," by Townson, 624
"The Crisis of Reason," by Burrow, 608
Critchlow, Donald T. (R), 1536
Crocker, Ruth (R), 906
Crofts, Daniel W. (R), 197
Croke, Brian, "Count Marcellinus and His Chronicle," 1276
"Crossing Boundaries," edited by Jones (E), 678
"Crowds and Soldiers in Revolutionary North Carolina," by Lee, 1225
"Crowds in Ireland, c. 1720–1920," by Jupp and Magennis, 280
Crowley, David, and Susan E. Reid, editors, "Style and Socialism: Modernity and Material Culture in Post-War Eastern Europe" (E), 1348
Crubaugh, Anthony, "Balancing the Scales of Justice: Local Courts and Rural Society in Southwest France, 1750–1800," 946
Crummey, Donald, "Land and Society in the Christian Kingdom of Ethiopia: From the Thirteenth to the Twentieth Century," 982
"The Crusades from the Perspective of Byzantium and the Muslim World," edited by Laiou and Mottahedeh, 596
"Crypto-Judaism and the Spanish Inquisition," by Alpert, 1297
"Cuba," by Kapcia, 1259
"El cuerpo como texto," by Garcés, 915
Cueto, Marcos (R), 1611
Cull, Nicholas J. (R), 991, 1685
Cullather, Nick (R), 1609
Cullen, Jim (R), 203
"The Cult of the Nation in France," by Bell, 1638
"A Cultural History of Civil Examinations in Late Imperial China," by Elman, 168
Cultural Theory in History Today, by Handler, 1513–20
"Culture and Inflation in Weimar Germany," by Widdig, 963
"Culture in the American Southwest," by Bryant, 1566
"Culture in the Marketplace," by Mullin, 243
"Culture of Misfortune," by Daniel, 568
"The Culture of Sectarianism," by Makdisi, 315
"Cultures of Control," edited by Levin (E), 325
Cumbler, John T., "Reasonable Use: The People, the Environment, and the State, New England 1790–1930," 212
Cumbler, John T. (R), 213
"Cuneiform Texts and the Writing of History," by Van de Mieroop, 1179
Cunningham, Hugh (R), 655
"Curiosity, A Cultural History of Early Modern Inquiry," by Benedict, 1291
Curry, Anne (R), 1281
Curtis, Bruce, "The Politics of Population: State Formation, Statistics, and the Census of Canada, 1840–1875," 1544
Curtis, Bruce (R), 1562
Curtis, Sarah A. (R), 1304
Curtis, Susan (R), 564

Dailey, Jane (R), 180
Dailey, Jane, "Before Jim Crow: The Politics of Race in Postemancipation Virginia," 204
Damousi, Joy (R), 176
Daniel, Clete, "Culture of Misfortune: An Interpretive History of Textile Unionism in the United States," 568
Dardess, John W. (R), 515
Darrow, Margaret M., "French Women and the First World War: War Stories on the Home Front," 929
Dasgupta, Subrata, "Jagadis Chandra Bose and the Indian Response to Western Science," 867
Daunton, Martin, and Matthew Hilton, editors, "The Politics of Consumption: Material Culture and Citizenship in Europe and America" (E), 1341
David, Abraham, "To Come to the Land: Immigration and Settlement in Sixteenth-Century Eretz-Israel," 977
Davidman, Lynn (R), 222
Davies, Richard O., and Richard G. Abram, "Betting the Line: Sports Wagering in American Life," 1234
Davis, Allen F. (R), 1566
Davis, Audrey B. (R), 577
Davis, Belinda J., "Home Fires Burning: Food, Politics, and Everyday Life in World War I Berlin," 298
Davis, Clark, "Company Men: White-Collar Life and Corporate Cultures in Los Angeles, 1892–1941," 227
Davis, Colin J. (R), 567
Davis, Darién (R), 322, 1684
Davis, Hugh (R), 1550
Davis, Jack E., "Race against Time: Culture and Separation in Natchez since 1930," 245
Davis, Jack E. (R), 1595
Davis, James E. (R), 543
Davis, Natalie Zemon, "The Gift in Sixteenth-Century France," 1297
Davis, Robert C., and Benjamin Ravid, editors, "The Jews of Early Modern Venice" (E), 1002
Davis, William C., "The Union That Shaped the Confederacy: Robert Toombs and Alexander H. Stephens," 198
Dawson, Joseph G. III (R), 550
Dawson, Philip (R), 1301
De Jong, Greta (R), 255
De Syon, Guillaume, "Zeppelin! Germany and the Airship, 1900–1939," 1310

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

"Dealing with the Devil," by Sarotte, 301
Dean, Robert D., "Imperial Brotherhood: Gender and the Making of Cold War Foreign Policy," 1584
"The Debate over Slavery," by Ericson, 196
DeBlack, Thomas A., and Randy Finley, editors, "The Southern Elite and Social Change: Essays in Honor of Willard B. Gatewood, Jr." (E), 1343
Debo, Richard K. (R), 273
"Deep Souths," by Harris, 205
"Defeated Flesh," by Taithe, 632
"Defining a British State, Treason and National Identity, 1608–1820," by Steffen, 932
Degler, Carl N. (R), 882
DeGroot, Gerard J., and Corinna Peniston-Bird, editors, "A Soldier and a Woman: Sexual Integration in the Military," 1199
Dekker, Rudolf, "Childhood, Memory and Autobiography in Holland: From the Golden Age to Romanticism," 1644
"Del estado liberal a la nacion católica," by Zanatta, 917
"Delta Sugar," by Rehder, 255
D'Emilio, John (R), 254
"Democracy and Slavery in Frontier Illinois," by Simeone, 543
"The Demography of Victorian England and Wales," by Woods, 935
"Denazification in Soviet-Occupied Germany," by Vogt, 299
Dennis, Matthew, William Pencak, and Simon P. Newman, editors, "Riot and Revelry in Early America" (E), 1689
"Departing from Deviance," by Minton, 1598
Derry, Margaret, "Ontario's Cattle Kingdom: Purebred Breeders and Their World, 1870–1920," 1545
Deshmukh, Marion F. (R), 963
Deustua, José R., "The Bewitchment of Silver: The Social Economy of Mining in Nineteenth-Century Peru," 582
Deverell, William, and Tom Sitton, editors, "Metropolis in the Making: Los Angeles in the 1920s" (E), 327
"Devices and Desires," by Sandelowski, 896
The Devil in the Convent, by Sluhovsky, 1379–1411
Dew, Charles B., "Apostles of Disunion: Southern Secession Commissioners and the Causes of the Civil War," 197
Dewey, Scott Hamilton, "Don't Breathe the Air: Air Pollution and U.S. Environmental Politics, 1945–1970," 570
Diakonoff, Igor M., "The Paths of History," 154
Diamant, Neil J., "Revolutionizing the Family: Politics, Love, and Divorce in Urban and Rural China, 1949–1968," 1539
Díaz, María Elena, "The Virgin, the King, and the Royal Slaves of El Cobre: Negotiating Freedom in Colonial Cuba, 1670–1780," 912
Dickinson, Frederick R., "War and National Reinvention: Japan in the Great War, 1914–1919," 174
Dickinson, Frederick R. (R), 1541
Diehl, James M. (R), 1527
Digeser, Elizabeth DePalma, "The Making of a Christian Empire: Lactantius and Rome," 587
Diggins, John Patrick, "On Hallowed Ground: Abraham Lincoln and the Foundations of American History," 157
Din, Gilbert C., "Spaniards, Planters, and Slaves: The Spanish Regulation of Slavery in Louisiana, 1763–1803," 187
Diner, Hasia R., "Lower East Side Memories: A Jewish Place in America," 221
"Diplomacy before the Russian Revolution," by Hughes, 273
Dippie, Brian W. (R), 1219
"Disabled Veterans in History," edited by Gerber, 1527
"Disciplining Punishment," by Sen, 1211
Disney, Anthony, and Emily Booth, editors, "Vasco da Gama and the Linking of Europe and Asia" (E), 993
"Disputed Mission," by Županov, 527
"Disraeli's Jewishness," edited by Endelman and Kushner (E), 1346
The Dissolution of the British Empire in the Era of Vietnam, by Louis, 1–25
"Distant Ties," by McMurray, 1531
"Divergent Jewish Cultures," edited by Moore and Troen (E), 1342
"Divided Hearts," by Blackett, 617
"The Divided Past," edited by Klessmann (E), 1002
"Divided Souls," by Carlebach, 1649
"The Dixiecrat Revolt and the End of the Solid South, 1932–1968," by Frederickson, 245
Dixon, Suzanne, editor, "Childhood, Class and Kin in the Roman World," 1620
Dixon-Fyle, Mac (R), 1677
Doan, Ruth Alden (R), 1562
Dockrill, Michael, and Philippe Chassaigne, editors, "Anglo-French Relations 1898–1998: From Fashoda to Jospin" (E), 1345
"Doctors and Reformers," by Engel, 1575
"Documenting Individual Identity," edited by Caplan and Torpey (E), 994
Dodgen, Randall A., "Controlling the Dragon: Confucian Engineers and the Yellow River in Late Imperial China," 1537
Doenecke, Justus D., "Storm on the Horizon: The Challenge to American Intervention, 1939–1941," 1579
Doherty, Thomas (R), 1576
Doig, Jameson W., "Empire on the Hudson: Entrepreneurial Vision and Political Power at the Port of New York Authority," 1589
"Doing the Town," by Cocks, 1564
"Doña María's Story," by James, 1615
Donnelly, Mark (R), 278
"Don't Breathe the Air," by Dewey, 570
Dore, Elizabeth (R), 1615
Dorwart, Jeffery M. (R), 201
"Double Character," by Gross, 877
Doubleday, Simon R., "The Lara Family: Crown and Nobility in Medieval Spain," 1625
Dougherty, Keith L., "Collective Action under the Articles of Confederation," 1551
Doughty, Robin (R), 890
Douglas, Lawrence, "The Memory of Judgment: Making Law and History in the Trials of the Holocaust," 851
Dowler, Wayne, "Classroom and Empire: The Politics of Schooling Russia's Eastern Nationalities, 1860–1917," 309
Down to Earth, by Steinberg, 798–820
"Downtown," by Fogelson, 556
Doyle, Michael William, and Peter Braunstein, editors,

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"Imagine Nation: The American Counterculture of the 1960s and '70s" (E), 998
Drake, Paul W. (R), 586
"Dreams of a More Perfect Union," by Kersh, 532
Dubofsky, Melvyn (R), 1592
DuBois, Ellen Carol (R), 216
Dubow, Saul, editor, "Science and Society in Southern Africa," 987
Dubuis, Olivier F., "Le faux monnayage dans le Pays de Vaud (1715–1750): Crime et répression," 649
Dudziak, Mary L., "Cold War Civil Rights: Race and the Image of American Democracy," 246
"Dueling Visions," by Krebs, 240
Duffy, Eamon, "The Voices of Morebath: Reformation and Rebellion in an English Village," 1630
Duffy, Patrick J., David Edwards, and Elizabeth FitzPatrick, editors, "Gaelic Ireland c. 1250–c. 1650: Land, Lordship and Settlement" (E), 1691
Dunch, Ryan, "Fuzhou Protestants and the Making of a Modern China 1857–1927," 519
Dunlap, Thomas R., "Nature and the English Diaspora: Environment and History in the United States, Canada, Australia, and New Zealand," 509
Dunning, Chester S. L., "Russia's First Civil War: The Time of Troubles and the Founding of the Romanov Dynasty," 658
Dunthorn, David, "Britain and the Spanish Anti-Franco Opposition, 1940–1950," 623
"Duquesne and the Rise of Steel Unionism," by Rose, 1243
Duskin, J. Eric, "Stalinist Reconstruction and the Confirmation of a New Elite, 1945–1953," 974
"Dust Bowl, USA," by Lookingbill, 1245
Dwyer, Philip G. (R), 1650
"The Dynamics of Global Dominance," by Abernethy, 1189
"The Dynamics of Military Revolution 1300–2050," edited by Knox and Murray (E), 677

"Early Carolingian Warfare," by Bachrach, 592
"Early Irish Kingship and Succession," by Jaski, 1278
"Early Modern Catholicism," edited by Comerford and Pabel (E), 1000
"East Anglia's History," edited by Harper-Bill, Rawcliffe, and Wilson (E), 1692
Eckert, Andreas, "Grundbesitz, Landkonflikte und kolonialer Wandel: Douala 1880 bis 1960," 670
"The Economic Cold War," by Jackson, 1198
"Écrit et pouvoir dans les chancelleries médiévales," edited by Fianu and Guth, 269
Edelman, Robert, *A Small Way of Saying "No": Moscow Working Men, Spartak Soccer, and the Communist Party, 1900–1945*, 1441–75
"Edge of the Sword," by Tunnell, 550
Edles, Laura Desfor (R), 283
"Educando a Costa Rica," by Molina and Palmer, 257
"Edward Sorin," by O'Connell, 1561
Edwards, David, Patrick J. Duffy, and Elizabeth FitzPatrick, editors, "Gaelic Ireland c. 1250–c. 1650: Land, Lordship and Settlement" (E), 1691
Edwards, M. J. (R), 587
Efron, John M., "Medicine and the German Jews: A History," 1308
Eglin, John, "Venice Transfigured: The Myth of Venice in British Culture, 1660–1797," 614
Eisenstein, Elizabeth L., *Reply*, 126–28
Eisenstein, Elizabeth L., *An Unacknowledged Revolution Revisited*, 87–105
Eisner, Marc Allen (R), 1535
Ekechi, Felix K. (R), 985
"Elizabeth Murray," by Cleary, 537
Ell, Paul S., and K. D. M. Snell, "Rival Jerusalems: The Geography of Victorian Religion," 617
Elliott, Dyan, *Seeing Double: John Gerson, the Discernment of Spirits, and Joan of Arc*, 26–54
Elliott, Mark C., "The Manchu Way: The Eight Banners and Ethnic Identity in Late Imperial China," 856
Ellis, Mark, "Race, War, and Surveillance: African Americans and the United States Government during World War I," 1573
Elm, Kaspar, and Giorgio Chittolini, editors, "Ordini religiosi a società politica in Italia e Germania nei secoli XIV e XV" (E), 1691
Elman, Benjamin A., "A Cultural History of Civil Examinations in Late Imperial China," 168
Elman, Benjamin A. (R), 1201
Elshtain, Jean Bethke, "Jane Addams and the Dream of American Democracy: A Life," 1567
"Emancipation och religion," by Hammar, 638
"The Embarrassment of Slavery," by Salman, 1543
"Embodiment of a Nation," by Tichi, 1186
Emmer, Pieter C. (R), 1258
"Emperor Francis Joseph, King of the Hungarians," by Gerő, 305
"Empire on the Hudson," by Doig, 1589
Emsley, Clive (R), 1285
Encarnación, Karen Rosoff, and Anne L. McClanan, editors, "The Material Culture of Sex, Procreation, and Marriage in Premodern Europe" (E), 1344
"Encountering Chinese Networks," by Cochran, 860
Endelman, Todd M., and Tony Kushner, editors, "Disraeli's Jewishness" (E), 1346
"Enemies of the Country," edited by Inscoe and Kenzer, 882
"Enemies of the Enlightenment," by McMahon, 1300
"Enemies Within," by Goldberg, 909
"The Enemy," by Balakrishnan, 1654
Engel, Barbara Alpern (R), 665
Engel, Jonathan, "Doctors and Reformers: Discussion and Debate over Health Policy, 1925–1950," 1575
"The English in Rome 1362–1420," by Harvey, 270
"English Seigniorial Agriculture, 1250–1450," by Campbell, 1281
"English-Speaking Communities in Latin America," edited by Marshall (E), 998
Engman, Max, "Lejonet och Dubbelörnen: Finlands imperiella decennier 1830–1890," 1306
"Enlightened Nationalism," by Levinger, 296
Entelis, John P. (R), 1332
"The Ephemeral Museum," by Haskell, 1629
"Epic Encounters," by McAlister, 910
"Epidemics and Genocide in Eastern Europe 1890–1945," by Weindling, 1656
Epstein, James (R), 1293
Epstein, Stephan R., editor, "Town and Country in Europe, 1300–1800," 601
Epstein, Steven A. (R), 601
Ericson, David F., "The Debate over Slavery:

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Antislavery and Proslavery Liberalism in Antebellum America," 196
Ericson, Edward E. III, "Feeding the German Eagle: Soviet Economic Aid to Nazi Germany, 1933–1941," 610
Ericson, Steven J. (R), 175
Ernst, Eldon G. (R), 555
Ernst, Waltraud, editor, "Plural Medicine, Tradition and Modernity, 1800–2000" (E), 1687
Escobar Ohmstede, Antonio, and Jorge Silva Riquer, coordinators, "Mercados indígenas en México, Chile y Argentina: Siglos XVIII–XIX" (E), 998
Eskew, Glenn T., and Edward J. Cashin, editors, "Paternalism in a Southern City: Race, Religion, and Gender in Augusta, Georgia," 553
Eskildsen, Robert, *Of Civilization and Savages: The Mimetic Imperialism of Japan's 1874 Expedition to Taiwan*, 388–418
Eskridge, William N., Jr., "Gaylaw: Challenging the Apartheid of the Closet," 576
"Estudios de historia social de Tucumán," by Marcos Bonano (E), 998
"Ethnicity, Islam and Nationalism," by Ali Shah, 868
Ethridge, Robbie, and Charles Hudson, editors, "The Transformation of the Southeastern Indians, 1540–1760" (E), 996
"Ett fattigt men fritt folk," by Nordin, 1646
Etulain, Richard W. (R), 243
"Europa an der Wende vom elften zum zwoelften Jahrhundert," edited by Herbers (E), 327
"European Feminisms 1700–1950," by Offen, 272
Evenden, Doreen, "The Midwives of Seventeenth-Century London," 274
"Everyday Life in the German Book Trade," by Selwyn, 641
"Exclusionary Violence," edited by Hoffmann, Bergmann, and Smith (E), 1693
"Exile to Paradise," by Bullard, 511
"Expectations of the Law in the Middle Ages," edited by Musson (E), 999

Fabel, Robin F. A., "Colonial Challenges: Britons, Native Americans, and Caribs, 1759–1775," 255
Fäberböck, Max, 320
Fabian, Ann, "The Unvarnished Truth: Personal Narratives in Nineteenth-Century America," 1183
Fabian, Johannes, "Out of Our Minds: Reason and Madness in the Exploration of Central Africa," 1678
"Facing East from Indian Country," by Richter, 872
Fahs, Alice, "The Imagined Civil War: Popular Literature of the North and South, 1861–1865," 881
"The Failure of Peace in Europe, 1943–48," edited by Varsori and Calandri (E), 1346
Fairman, Julie (R), 896
"Faith and Family," by Swierenga, 1229
Falola, Toyin, "Nationalism and African Intellectuals," 670
Fan-sen, Wang, "Fu Ssu-nien: A Life in Chinese History and Politics," 172
Farah, Caesar E., "The Politics of Interventionism in Ottoman Lebanon, 1830–1861," 1673
Farnham, Christie Anne (R), 552
Farrell, Sean (R), 1295
Farrenkopf, John, "Prophet of Decline: Spengler on World History and Politics," 500
"Fascination and Misgivings," by Portes, 633
"Fascist Modernities," by Ghiat, 653
"A Fateful Time," by Rusco, 566
"Le faux monnayage dans le Pays de Vaud (1715–1750)," by Dubuis, 649
Favez, Jean-Claude, "The Red Cross and the Holocaust," 959
Favretto, Ilaria (R), 1321
"Feast and Famine," by Clarkson and Crawford, 1637
"The Federal Appointment Process," by Gerhardt, 534
"Federalism and Enlightenment in Germany, 1740–1806," by Umbach, 960
"Feeding Mexico," by Ochoa, 1607
"Feeding the German Eagle," by Ericson, 610
Feiner, Shmuel, "Haskalah and History: The Emergence of a Modern Jewish Historical Consciousness," 1285
Feldman, Gerald D., "Allianz and the German Insurance Business, 1933–1945," 1311
Feldman, Glenn, editor, "Reading Southern History: Essays on Interpreters and Interpretations" (E), 679
"Les félibres cantaliens," by Chanet, 292
"Fenicotteri in Volo," by Gabrielli, 1321
"Ferdinand V. Hayden," by Cassidy, 211
Ferguson, Niall, "The House of Rothschild," 606
Feros, Antonio, "Kingship and Favoritism in the Spain of Philip III, 1598–1621," 944
Ferrer, Ada (R), 1605
Feuerwerker, Albert (R), 1538
Fianu, Kouky, and DeLloyd J. Guth, editors, "Écrit et pouvoir dans les chancelleries médiévales: Espace français, espace anglais," 269
Fictions of Privacy, by Kaplan, 1031–64
Field, Peter S. (R), 1555
"Fields of Influence," edited by Hamilton (E), 328
Figes, Orlando, and Boris Kolonitskii, "Interpreting the Russian Revolution: The Language and Symbols of 1917," 971
"Fight against Fear," by Webb, 1254
"Fighting for the Union Label," by Wolensky, Wolensky, and Wolensky, 1593
Figueira, Thomas, "The Power of Money: Coinage and Politics in the Athenian Empire," 1270
Finch, Alison (R), 1639
"Finding the West," by Ronda, 1555
Findlen, Paula, and Pamela H. Smith, editors, "Merchants and Marvels: Commerce, Science, and Art in Early Modern Europe" (E), 1000
Finkelstein, Andrea, "Harmony and the Balance: An Intellectual History of Seventeenth-Century English Economic Thought," 933
Finley, Randy, and Thomas A. DeBlack, editors, "The Southern Elite and Social Change: Essays in Honor of Willard B. Gatewood, Jr." (E), 1343
Finzsch, Norbert, and Hermann Wellenreuther, editors, "Visions of the Future in Germany and America" (E), 995
"Fires of Hatred," by Naimark, 609
"Fireside Politics," by Craig, 237
"Firms, Networks and Business Values," by Rose, 1192
Firro, Kais M. (R), 1330
Fischer, Gayle V., "Pantaloons and Power: Nineteenth-Century Dress Reform in the United States," 538
Fischer, Kirsten, "Suspect Relations: Sex, Race, and Resistance in Colonial North Carolina," 1550

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Fischer, Klaus P. (R), 155
Fisher, John (R), 582
"A Fishery for Modern Times," by Wright, 1546
"Fishing the Great Lakes," by Bogue, 213
"Fissures in the Rock," by Archer, 185
FitzPatrick, Elizabeth, Patrick J. Duffy, and David Edwards, editors, "Gaelic Ireland c. 1250–c. 1650: Land, Lordship and Settlement" (E), 1691
Fitzsimmons, Michael P. (R), 946
"Five Points," by Anbinder, 1227
Fleming, K. E. (R), 161
"Der Fliegerblick," by Siegfried, 963
Flores, Dan, "The Natural West: Environmental History in the Great Plains and Rocky Mountains," 890
Flores, Dan (R), 1566
Flory, Stewart (R), 1271
Flynn, John F. (R), 1653
Fogarty, Robert S. (R), 1188
Fogel, Joshua A., "The Nanjing Massacre in History and Historiography," 525
Fogel, Joshua A. (R), 1196
Fogelson, Robert M., "Downtown: Its Rise and Fall, 1880–1950," 556
Foner, Nancy, editor, "Islands in the City: West Indian Migration to New York" (E), 327
"Food Nations," edited by Belasco and Scranton (E), 678
"For Home, Country, and Race," by Heathorn, 620
Forbes, Geraldine (R), 528
"Forces of Habit," by Courtwright, 509
Ford, Nancy Gentile, "Americans All! Foreign-born Soldiers in World War I," 565
"Forests and Peasant Politics in Modern France," by Whited, 947
Forman, Seth (R), 887
"Formative Years," edited by Stern and Markel (E), 1690
Forslund, Catherine, "Anna Chennault: Informal Diplomacy and Asian Relations," 1585
Forster, Marc, "Catholic Revival in the Age of the Baroque: Religious Identity in Southwest Germany, 1550–1750," 640
Forster, Robert (R), 606
"Fort Union and the Upper Missouri Fur Trade," by Barbour, 875
Forth, Christopher E., "Zarathustra in Paris: The Nietzsche Vogue in France, 1891–1918," 634
Fouracre, Paul (R), 1277
Fowler, Kenneth, "Medieval Mercenaries," 600
Fowler, Will, "Tornel and Santa Anna: The Writer and the Caudillo, Mexico 1795–1853," 913
Fox, Jonathan (R), 1607
Fox-Genovese, Elizabeth, and Elisabeth Lasch-Quinn, editors, "Reconstructing History: The Emergence of a New Historical Society," 156
"Fractured Modernity," by Joshi, 1212
"Fragile Paradise," by Blackford, 562
Fragnito, Gigliola, editor, "Church, Censorship and Culture in Early Modern Italy" (E), 680
Frame, Murray, and Mark Cornwall, editors, "Scotland and the Slavs: Cultures in Contract 1500–2000" (E), 1001
"Framing the South," by Graham, 1596
"France and Algeria," by Naylor, 1534
"France and the Après Guerre 1918–1924," by Martin, 954
"France in Indochina," by Cooper, 955
"Francis Bacon and the Transformation of Early-Modern Philosophy," by Gaukroger, 1631
Frank, Ross, "From Settler to Citizen: New Mexican Economic Development and the Creation of Vecino Society, 1750–1820," 536
Frank, Stephen P., "Crime, Cultural Conflict, and Justice in Rural Russia, 1856–1914," 308
Frankenheimer, John, 1685
Frassetto, Michael, and David R. Blanks, editors, "Western Views of Islam in Medieval and Early Modern Europe: Perception of Other" (E), 327
"Frauen und Männer des Bürgertums," by Habermas, 961
Frederickson, Kari, "The Dixiecrat Revolt and the End of the Solid South, 1932–1968," 245
"The Free and Open Press," by Martin, 1548
"The Free State of Jones," by Bynum, 880
"Free to Die for Their Country," by Muller, 904
"The Freedmen's Bureau and Reconstruction," edited by Cimbala and Miller, 202
Freehling, William W., "The South vs. the South: How Anti-Confederate Southerners Shaped the Course of the Civil War," 199
Freeman, Philip (R), 1274
Freiberger, Steven Z. (R), 910
Freifeld, Alice, "Nationalism and the Crowd in Liberal Hungary, 1848–1914," 656
French, John D. (R), 1614
French, Katherine L., "The People of the Parish: Community Life in a Late Medieval English Diocese," 1624
"The French Defence Debate," by Utley, 1305
"French Exile Journalism and European Politics 1792–1814," by Burrows, 628
"The French in Early Florida," by McGrath, 184
"French Resistance," by Mathy, 293
"French Socialists before Marx," by Pilbeam, 951
"French Women and the First World War," by Darrow, 929
"Freud in the Pampas," by Plotkin, 583
Fried, Johannes, Gerd Althoff, and Patrick J. Geary, editors, "Medieval Concepts of the Past: Ritual, Memory, Historiography" (E), 1345
Fried, Richard M. (R), 571
Friedland, Paul (R), 503
Friedman, Isaiah, "Palestine: A Twice-Promised Land? The British, the Arabs and Zionism, 1915–1920," 316
Friedman, Lawrence J. (R), 583
Friend, Julius W. (R), 1305
Fritzsche, Peter (R), 963
From Famine to Five Points, by Anbinder, 351–87
"From Fireplace to Cookstove," by Brewer, 1217
"From Liberal Democracy to Fascism," edited by Caldwell and Scheuerman (E), 1347
From Majesty to Mystery, by Scheer, 1412–40
"From Moon Goddesses to Virgins," by Sigal, 1260
"From *Paesani* to White Ethnics," by Luconi, 220
"From Puerto Rico to Philadelphia," by Whalen, 852
"From Settler to Citizen," by Frank, 536
"From Subjects to Citizens," by Chambers, 1612
"From Tenements to the Taylor Homes," edited by Bauman, Biles, and Szylvian, 232
"From the Margins," edited by Axel (E), 1687

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ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

"Frontiers of Faith," edited by Andor and Tóth (E), 1000
"Frontiers of the Ottoman State, Transjordan 1850–1921," by Rogan, 978
Frost, Dan R. (R), 200
Frost, Dan R., "Thinking Confederates: Academia and the Idea of Progress in the New South," 552
Frost, Jennifer, " 'An Interracial Movement of the Poor': Community Organizing and the New Left in the 1960s," 907
"The Fruits of Natural Advantage," by Stoll, 891
Frykenberg, Robert Eric, and Judith M. Brown, editors, "Christians, Cultural Interactions, and India's Religious Traditions" (E), 1689
"Fu Ssu-nien," by Fan-sen, 172
Fuchs, Eckhardt, and Benedikt Stuchtey, editors, "Across Cultural Borders: Historiography in Global Perspective" (E), 1687
Fuchs, Rachel G. (R), 625
Fuente, Alejandro de la, "A Nation for All: Race, Inequality, and Politics in Twentieth-Century Cuba," 1605
"The Fugitive's Gibraltar," by Grover, 876
Fuller, A. James, "Chaplain to the Confederacy: Basil Manly and Baptist Life in the Old South," 199
"Funerals, Politics, and Memory in Modern France, 1789–1996," by Ben-Amos, 1641
Fung, Edmund S. K. (R), 172
Furlough, Ellen, and Shelley Baranowski, editors, "Being Elsewhere: Tourism, Consumer Culture, and Identity in Modern Europe and North America" (E), 995
"Fuzhou Protestants and the Making of a Modern China 1857–1927," by Dunch, 519

Gabaccia, Donna R., and Fraser Ottanelli, editors, "Italian Workers of the World: Labor Migration and the Formation of Multiethnic States," 1193
Gabrielli, Patrizia, "Fenicotteri in Volo: Donne comuniste nel ventennio fascista," 1321
"Gaelic Ireland c. 1250–c. 1650," edited by Duffy, Edwards, and FitzPatrick (E), 1691
Gagan, David (R), 176
Gagarin, Michael (R), 1618
Galbraith, Gretchen R. (R), 162
Galinsky, Karl (R), 921
Gallant, Thomas W. (R), 849
Gallman, J. Matthew (R), 617
Gallman, J. Matthew, "Receiving Erin's Children: Philadelphia, Liverpool, and the Irish Famine Migration, 1845–1855," 1191
Gambone, Michael D. (R), 1262
Games, Alison (R), 1549
Gameson, Richard, and Henrietta Leyser, editors, "Belief and Culture in the Middle Ages: Studies Presented to Henry Mayr-Harting" (E), 1344
Garceau, Dee, Matthew Basso, and Laura McCall, editors, "Across the Great Divide: Cultures of Manhood in the American West," 1219
Garcés, Carlos Alberto, "El cuerpo como texto: La problemática del castigo corporal en el siglo XVIII," 915
García Hernán, Enrique, "Irlanda y el rey prudente," 931
Gardner, Lloyd (R), 166
Garsoïan, Nina G. (R), 596
Garvin, Barbara, and Bernard D. Cooperman, editors, "The Jews of Italy: Memory and Identity" (E), 1348
Gasster, Michael (R), 522
Gatrell, Peter (R), 973
Gauchet, Marcel, and Gladys Swain, "Madness and Democracy: The Modern Psychiatric Universe," 159
Gaudillière, Jean-Paul, and Ilana Löwy, editors, "Heredity and Infection: The History of Disease Transmission" (E), 1688
Gaukroger, Stephen, "Francis Bacon and the Transformation of Early-Modern Philosophy," 1631
"Gaylaw," by Eskridge, 576
Geary, Patrick J., Gerd Althoff, and Johannes Fried, editors, "Medieval Concepts of the Past: Ritual, Memory, Historiography" (E), 1345
Geifman, Anna (R), 666
Gélinas, Claude, "La gestion de l'étranger: Les Atikamekw et la présence eurocanadienne en Haute-Mauricie 1760–1870," 870
Gelvin, James L. (R), 315
"Gender and the Southern Body Politic," edited by Bercaw, 180
Gender, Religion, and Early Modern Nationalism, by McLaren, 739–67
"Gender, Sexuality and Colonial Modernities," edited by Burton, 512
"Gendered Compromises," by Rosemblatt, 586
"A Gentleman of Color," by Winch, 1550
"The Geographical Imagination in America, 1880–1950," by Schulten, 226
"George Palmer Putnam," by Greenspan, 539
Geraci, Robert P., and Michael Khodarkovsky, editors, "Of Religion and Empire: Missions, Conversion, and Tolerance in Tsarist Russia," 1668
Gerber, David A., editor, "Disabled Veterans in History," 1527
Gerhardt, Michael J., "The Federal Appointment Process: A Constitutional and Historical Analysis," 534
"German Atrocities, 1914," by Horne and Kramer, 1653
"German Federalism," edited by Umbach (E), 1347
"German Travel Cultures," by Koshar, 644
"The German-American Encounter," edited by Trommler and Shore (E), 677
Gerő, András, "Emperor Francis Joseph, King of the Hungarians," 305
Gerteis, Louis S. (R), 202
"Das Geschäft mit Hitlerdeutschland," by Bourgeois, 956
Geschwind, Carl-Henry, "California Earthquakes: Science, Risk and the Politics of Hazard Mitigation," 892
"La gestion de l'étranger," by Gélinas, 870
"Getting It Wrong," by Romney, 871
"Getting Right with God," by Newman, 1596
Geyer, Martin H., and Manfred Berg, editors, "Two Cultures of Rights: The Quest for Inclusion and Participation in Modern America and Germany" (E), 1341
Ghiat, Ruth Ben, "Fascist Modernities: Italy, 1922–1945," 653
Ghosh, Parimal, "Brave Men of the Hills: Resistance and Rebellion in Burma, 1825–1932," 1210
Giebelhaus, August W. (R), 569

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Giesberg, Judith Ann (R), 546
"The Gift in Sixteenth-Century France," by Davis, 1297
Gilje, Paul A. (R), 1225
Gillespie, Joanna Bowen, "The Life and Times of Martha Laurens Ramsay 1759–1811," 1224
Gillett, Andrew, "On Barbarian Identity: Critical Approaches to Ethnicity in the Early Middle Ages" (E), 1691
Gillette, Aaron, "Racial Theories in Fascist Italy," 1320
Gillingham, John, "Richard I," 266
Gilman, Sander L. (R), 159
Gilmore, Glenda Elizabeth (R), 885
Giovacchini, Saverio, "Hollywood Modernism: Film and Politics in the Age of the New Deal," 899
Giovacchini, Saverio (R), 1248
"The Girl on the Magazine Cover," by Kitch, 1572
Glaser, Clive, "Bo-tsotsi: The Youth Gangs of Soweto, 1935–1976," 671
Glaser, Elisabeth, and Hermann Wellenreuther, editors, "Bridging the Atlantic: The Question of American Exceptionalism in Perspective" (E), 1688
Glassberg, David, "Sense of History: The Place of the Past in American Life," 1187
Gleason, Elisabeth G. (R), 965
Gleason, Maud (R), 1270
"The Global Cigarette," by Cox, 164
Glover, Lorri (R), 878
Glover, Lorri, "All Our Relations: Blood Ties and Emotional Bonds among the Early South Carolina Gentry," 1223
"God and Mammon," edited by Noll (E), 997
"God's Two Books," by Howell, 1626
"Going South," by Schultz, 1254
Golas, Peter J., "Science and Civilisation in China," 855
Goldberg, Robert Alan, "Enemies Within: The Culture of Conspiracy of Modern America," 909
"Golden State, Golden Youth," by May, 1588
Goldfield, David (R), 553
Goldman, Karla, "Beyond the Synagogue Gallery: Finding a Place for Women in American Judaism," 222
Goldstein, Ivo (R), 971
Gomez, Michael A. (R), 1559
"A Good and Wise Measure," by Carroll, 1214
Goode, James F. (R), 668
Goodman, James (R), 502
Goodman, Jordan, and Vivien Walsh, "The Story of Taxol: Nature and Politics in the Pursuit of an Anti-Cancer Drug," 577
Goodwin, Janet R. (R), 523
Gordon, Lesley J., and Carol K. Bleser, editors, "Intimate Strategies of the Civil War: Military Commanders and Their Wives" (E), 326
Gordon, Scott, "Controlling the State: Constitutionalism from Ancient Athens to Today," 1525
Gordon, Stewart (R), 1521
Gorn, Elliott J., "Mother Jones: The Most Dangerous Woman in America," 217
Gorsuch, Anne E., "Youth in Revolutionary Russia: Enthusiasts, Bohemians, Delinquents," 310
"Governmentality and the Mastery of Territory in Nineteenth-Century America," by Hannah, 1562
Gow, James, and Cathie Carmichael, "Slovenia and the Slovenes: A Small State and the New Europe," 657
Grabar, Oleg (R), 976
Grafton, Anthony, "Bring Out Your Dead: The Past as Revelation," 1625
Grafton, Anthony, and William R. Newman, editors, "Secrets of Nature: Astrology and Alchemy in Early Modern Europe" (E), 1000
Graham, Allison, "Framing the South: Hollywood, Television, and Race during the Civil Rights Struggle," 1596
Graham, Gael (R), 513
Grant, Julia (R), 208
"Grant," by Smith, 882
"Grant's Lieutenants," edited by Woodworth (E), 678
"Grasping at Independence," by Weise, 1228
Grasso, June (R), 1204
"A Great Civil War," by Weigley, 548
"The Great Divide," by Layman, 908
"The Great War," by Connelly, 940
Green, Elna C. (R), 1242
Green, George D. (R), 541
Green, Ian, "Print and Protestantism in Early Modern England," 1289
Green, James N., "Beyond Carnival: Male Homosexuality in Twentieth Century Brazil," 261
Green, Stanley C. (R), 913
Greenberg, Janelle, "The Radical Face of the Ancient Constitution: St. Edward's 'Laws' in Early Modern Political Thought," 1632
Greenberg, Kenneth S. (R), 1226
Greene, Molly, "A Shared World: Christians and Muslims in the Early Modern Mediterranean," 161
Greenshields, Malcolm (R), 289
Greenspan, Ezra, "George Palmer Putnam: Representative American Publisher," 539
Gregor, A. James, "A Place in the Sun: Marxism and Fascism in China's Long Revolution," 1203
Grell, Ole Peter, and Roy S. Porter, editors, "Toleration in Enlightenment Europe," 604
Grendler, Paul F. (R), 966
Gribbin, Joseph A., "The Premonstratensian Order in Late Medieval England," 267
Grieder, Peter (R), 301
Griffin, Patrick, "The People with No Name: Ireland's Ulster Scots, America's Scots Irish, and the Creation of a British Atlantic World, 1689–1764," 1190
Grimsley, Mark (R), 548
Grimsley, Mark, and Brooks D. Simpson, editors, "The Collapse of the Confederacy," 883
Grimsley, Mark, and Clifford J. Rogers, editors, "Civilians in the Path of War" (E), 1341
Groneman, Carol, "Nymphomania: A History," 501
Gross, Ariela J., "Double Character: Slavery and Mastery in the Antebellum Southern Courtroom," 877
Gross, David, "Lost Time: On Remembering and Forgetting in Late Modern Culture," 505
Gross, Jan T., "Neighbors: The Destruction of the Jewish Community in Jedwabne, Poland," 970
Gross, Robert A. (R), 1547
Grover, Kathryn, "The Fugitive's Gibraltar: Escaping Slaves and Abolitionism in New Bedford, Massachusetts," 876
Grubbs, Judith Evans (R), 1275
"Grundbesitz, Landkonflikte und kolonialer Wandel," by Eckert, 670
"Guilt of Nations," by Barkan, 507
"Gumshoe America," by McCann, 235
"Gunboats, Corruption, and Claims," by McBeth, 1610

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Gunn, Simon, "The Public Culture of the Victorian Middle Class: Ritual and Authority and the English Industrial City 1840–1914," 937
Gunn, Simon (R), 1294
Gustafsson, Harald (R), 1645
Guterl, Matthew Pratt, "The Color of Race in America 1900–1940," 887
Guth, DeLloyd J., and Kouky Fianu, editors, "Écrit et pouvoir dans les chancelleries médiévales: Espace français, espace anglais," 269

Habermas, Rebekka, "Frauen und Männer des Bürgertums: Eine Familiengeschichte (1750–1850)," 961
"Die habsburgische Politik gegenüber den Serben und Montenegrinern 1791–1822," by Tischler, 1667
Hackemer, Kurt, "The U.S. Navy and the Origins of the Military-Industrial Complex, 1847–1883," 201
Hadden, Sally E., "Slave Patrols: Law and Violence in Virginia and the Carolinas," 195
"Hadrian and the Cities of the Roman Empire," by Boatwright, 586
Hagemann, Karen, " 'Mannlicher Muth und Teutsche Ehre': Nation, Militär und Geschlecht zur Zeit der Antinapoleonischen Kriege Preußens," 1650
Hagen, William W. (R), 1663
Haggard, Robert F., "The Persistence of Victorian Liberalism: The Politics of Social Reform in Britain, 1879–1900," 618
Halasz, Alexandra (R), 1290
Hale, Grace Elizabeth (R), 887
Hall, Greg, "Harvest Wobblies: The Industrial Workers of the World and Agricultural Laborers in the American West, 1905–1930," 1244
Hall, Kermit L. (R), 534
Hall, Kermit L., Sandra F. VanBurkleo, and Robert J. Kaczorowski, editors, "Constitutionalism and American Culture: Writing the New Constitutional History" (E), 1344
Hall, Lesley A. (R), 849
Hall, Leslie, "Land and Allegiance in Revolutionary Georgia," 1225
Halperin, Charles J. (R), 658
Hamalainen, Pekka Kalevi (R), 1648
Hamilton, Bernard (R), 925
Hamilton, James, editor, "Fields of Influence: Conjunctions of Artists and Scienctists 1815–1960" (E), 328
Hamm, Theodore, "Rebel and a Cause: Caryl Chessman and the Politics of the Death Penalty in Postwar California, 1948–1974," 1252
Hammar, Inger, "Emancipation och religion: Den svenska kvinnorörelsens pionjärer i debatt om kvinnans kallelse ca 1860–1900," 638
"Hammer and Rifle," by Stone, 973
Hamon, Philippe, " 'Messieurs des finances': Les grands officiers de finance dans la France de la Renaissance," 288
Hampsher-Monk, Iain, and Dario Castiglione, editors, "The History of Political Thought in National Context" (E), 994
Handler, Richard, *Cultural Theory in History Today*, 1513–20
Hanna, Martha (R), 929
Hannah, Matthew G., "Governmentality and the Mastery of Territory in Nineteenth-Century America," 1562
Hanners, John (R), 191
Harbutt, Fraser J. (R), 853
Harding, Rachel E., "A Refuge in Thunder: Candomblé and Alternative Spaces of Blackness," 260
Harley, Sharon (R), 243
"Harmony and the Balance," by Finkelstein, 933
Harp, Stephen L. (R), 630
Harper, John L. (C), 692
Harper-Bill, Christopher, Carole Rawcliffe, and Richard G. Wilson, editors, "East Anglia's History: Studies in Honour of Norman Scarfe" (E), 1692
Harrell, David Edwin, Jr. (R), 224
Harring, Sidney L. (R), 533
Harris, Barbara J. (R), 1284
Harris, Edward M. (R), 919
Harris, J. William, "Deep Souths: Delta, Piedmont, and Sea Island Society in the Age of Segregation," 205
Harris, Tim (R), 934
Harris, Tim, editor, "The Politics of the Excluded, c. 1500–1850" (E), 1001
Harris, William C. (R), 199
Harrison, Carol E. (R), 953
Harrison, Henrietta, "The Making of the Republican Citizen: Political Ceremonies and Symbols in China 1911–1929," 520
Harrold, Stanley (R), 542
Hart, John Mason (R), 580
Hart, Peter (R), 943
Hartford, William F., "Money, Morals, and Politics: Massachusetts in the Age of the Boston Associates," 1556
Hartmann, Susan M. (R), 902
"Harvest Wobblies," by Hall, 1244
Harvey, David Allen, "Constructing Class and Nationality in Alsace 1830–1945," 630
Harvey, Margaret, "The English in Rome 1362–1420: Portrait of an Expatriate Community," 270
Harvey, Paul (R), 223
"Haskalah and History," by Feiner, 1285
Haskell, Francis, "The Ephemeral Museum: Old Master Paintings and the Rise of the Art Exhibition," 1629
Haslip-Viera, Gabriel, editor, "Taíno Revival: Critical Perspectives on Puerto Rican Identity and Cultural Politics" (E), 679
Hassan, John, "A History of Water in Modern England and Wales," 1296
Hathaway, Jane, editor, "Rebellion, Repression, Reinvention: Mutiny in Comparative Perspective" (E), 325
Hathaway, Jane (R), 667
Haubner, Barbara, "Nervenkitzel und Freizeitvergnügen: Automobilismus in Deutschland 1886–1914," 298
Hausleitner, Mariana, "Die Rumänisierung der Bukowina: Die Durchsetzung des nationalstaatlichen Anspruchs Grossrumäniens 1918–1944," 969
Havens, Tom (R), 1207
Haverkamp, Alfred, editor, "Hildegard von Bingen in ihrem historischen Umfeld: Internationaler wissenschaftlicher Kongreß zum 900 jährigen Jubiläum, 13.–19. September 1998, Bingen am Rhein," 594
Hawkesworth, Celia, Muriel Heppell, and Harry Norris,

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editors, "Religious Quest and National Identity in the Balkans" (E), 1002
Hawthorne, Melanie (R), 954
Hay, Jonathan, "Shitao: Painting and Modernity in Early Qing China," 517
Hayden, Michael (R), 1299
Hayes, Jack Irby, Jr., "South Carolina and the New Deal," 898
Hayford, Charles W. (R), 165
Haynes, Rebecca, "Romanian Policy towards Germany, 1936–40," 307
Haywood, Richard Mowbray, "Russia Enters the Railway Age, 1842–1855," 661
Hazelgrove, Jenny, "Spiritualism and British Society between the Wars," 621
"Hearts of Wisdom," by Abel, 230
Heathorn, Stephen, "For Home, Country, and Race: Constructing Gender, Class, and Englishness in the Elementary School, 1880–1914," 620
"Heaven Below," by Wacker, 224
Heckel, Waldemar (R), 920
Hefner, Robert W., editor, "The Politics of Multiculturalism: Pluralism and Citizenship in Malaysia, Singapore, and Indonesia" (E), 996
Heilbron, J. L. (R), 1626
"Heirat als Privileg," by Mantl, 642
Helgerson, Richard, "Adulterous Alliances: Home, State, and History in Early Modern European Drama and Painting," 1628
Henderson, A. Scott, "Housing and the Democratic Ideal: The Life and Thought of Charles Abrams," 232
Henriot, Christian, and Robert Bickers, editors, "New Frontiers: Imperialism's New Communities in East Asia, 1842–1953" (E), 1343
"Henry I," by Hollister, 265
Hepler, Alison L., "Women in Labor: Mothers, Medicine and Occupational Health in the United States, 1890–1980," 1241
Heppell, Muriel, Celia Hawkesworth, and Harry Norris, editors, "Religious Quest and National Identity in the Balkans" (E), 1002
Herbers, Klaus, editor, "Europa an der Wende vom elften zum zwoelften Jahrhundert: Beiträge zu Ehren von Werner Goez" (E), 327
"Heredity and Infection," edited by Gaudillière and Löwy (E), 1688
Herlihy, Patricia (R), 661
Herman, Ellen (R), 252
Herndon, Ruth Wallis, "Unwelcome Americans: Living on the Margin in Early New England," 188
Herring, George C. (R), 574
Hertz, Deborah (R), 1649
Hess, Gary R. (R), 1583
Hesse, Carla, "The Other Enlightenment: How French Women Became Modern," 1638
Hesselink, Reinier H., "Prisoners from Nambu: Reality and Make-Believe in Seventeenth-Century Japanese Diplomacy," 1205
Hettle, Wallace, "The Peculiar Democracy: Southern Democrats in Peace and Civil War," 545
Hewitt, Lawrence Lee, and Arthur W. Bergeron, Jr., editors, "Louisianians in the Civil War" (E), 1690
Heydemann, Steven, editor, "War, Institutions, and Social Change in the Middle East," 313
Heywood, Linda, "Contested Power in Angola, 1840s to the Present," 1334
"The Hidden Consumer," by Breward, 619
"The Hidden Hand," by Aldrich, 854
Higgins, Kathleen J. (R), 1529
"Hijas, novias y esposas," by Rodríguez Sáenz, 1263
"Hildegard von Bingen in ihrem historischen Umfeld," edited by Haverkamp, 594
Hill, Bridget, "Women Alone: Spinsters in England 1660–1850," 1292
Hill, Roland, "Lord Acton," 277
Hillgarth, J. N., "The Mirror of Spain, 1500–1700: The Formation of a Myth," 282
Hillgarth, J. N. (R), 1625
Hills, Alice, "Britain and the Occupation of Austria, 1943–45," 279
Hilton, Matthew, and Martin Daunton, editors, "The Politics of Consumption: Material Culture and Citizenship in Europe and America" (E), 1341
Hilty, James W. (R), 1600
Hinde, Andrew (R), 1526
Hinshaw, John, "Steel and Steelworkers: Race and Class Struggle in Twentieth-Century Pittsburgh," 1594
Hirobe, Izumi, "Japanese Pride, American Prejudice: Modifying the Exclusion Clause of the 1924 Immigration Act," 903
"Histories of Heresy in Early Modern Europe," edited by Laursen (E), 1692
"History and Memory in the Age of Enslavement," by Larson, 1180
"History and Myth in Romanian Conciousness," by Boia, 968
"History and Reading," by LaCapra, 503
"A History of Banking in Antebellum America," by Bodenhorn, 541
"The History of Political Thought in National Context," edited by Castiglione and Hampsher-Monk (E), 994
"A History of Rape," by Vigarello, 625
"A History of the Church in Africa," by Sundkler and Steed, 1676
"A History of Water in Modern England and Wales," by Hassan, 1296
Hitchins, Keith (R), 969
Hixson, Walter L. (R), 1251
Hodes, Martha (R), 1550
Hodgson, Dorothy L., and Sheryl A. McCurdy, editors, " 'Wicked' Women and the Reconfiguration of Gender in Africa" (E), 1349
Hoelscher, Steven (R), 560
Hoffman, Beatrix, "The Wages of Sickness: The Politics of Health Insurance in Progressive America," 231
Hoffman, Beatrix (R), 1574
Hoffman, Philip T., Gilles Postel-Vinay, and Jean-Laurent Rosenthal, "Priceless Markets: The Political Economy of Credit in Paris, 1660–1870," 626
Hoffmann, Christhard, Werner Bergmann, and Helmut Walser Smith, editors, "Exclusionary Violence: Antisemitic Riots in Modern German History" (E), 1693
Hoffmann, David L., and Yanni Kotsonis, editors, "Russian Modernity: Politics, Knowledge, Practices," 664
Hoganson, Kristin, *Cosmopolitan Domesticity: Importing the American Dream, 1865–1920*, 55–83
Hoganson, Kristin (R), 1584
"Holding Up More Than Half the Sky," by Bao, 905
Hölkeskamp, Karl-Joachim, "Schiedsrichter,

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Gesetzgeber und Gesetzgebung im Archaischen Griechenland," 1618
Hollister, C. Warren, "Henry I," 265
Holloran, Peter C. (R), 228
Hollowell, Jonathan, editor, "Twentieth-Century Anglo-American Relations" (E), 325
"Hollywood Modernism," by Giovacchini, 899
Holman, Andrew C., "A Sense of Their Duty: Middle-Class Formation in Victorian Ontario Towns," 176
Holt, Marilyn Irvin, "Indian Orphanages," 1560
Holt, Sharon Ann (R), 551
"The Holy Blood," by Vincent, 1622
Holzer, Harold, editor, "State of the Union: New York and the Civil War" (E), 997
"Home Fires Burning," by Davis, 298
"Homefront," by Lutz, 1239
Homza, Lu Ann (R), 1297
Honey, Maureen (R), 1246
Honhart, Michael (R), 850
"Honor among Thieves," by Rogoziński, 1676
"Honorable Lives," by Uribe-Uran, 1265
"Hoover, Conservation, and Consumerism," by Clements, 234
Hopkins, James K. (R), 623
Horna, Hernán, "La Indianidad antes de la independencia latinamericana," 1603
Horne, Gerald, "Race Woman: The Lives of Shirley Graham Du Bois," 243
Horne, John (R), 1286
Horne, John, and Alan Kramer, "German Atrocities, 1914: A History of Denial," 1653
Horowitz, Joel (R), 917
Horowitz, Maryanne Cline (R), 1627
Horten, Gerd, "Radio Goes to War: The Cultural Politics of Propaganda during World War II," 1248
Host, John (R), 936
Hostetler, Laura, "Qing Colonial Enterprise: Ethnography and Cartography in Early Modern China," 857
Hostetler, Laura (R), 860
"Houdini, Tarzan, and the Perfect Man," by Kasson, 563
"The House and Senate in the 1790s," edited by Bowling and Kennon (E), 1690
"A House Dividing," by Majewski, 194
"The House of Rothschild," by Ferguson, 606
"The Household Knights of King John," by Church, 1281
"Housing and the Democratic Ideal," by Henderson, 232
Houston, R. A. (R), 603
How to Acknowledge a Revolution, by Johns, 106–25
"How to Recover the Holy Land," by Leopold, 599
Howard, Philip A. (R), 578
Howell, Kenneth J., "God's Two Books: Copernican Cosmology and Biblical Interpretation in Early Modern Science," 1626
Hsia, R. Po-chia (R), 648
Hsü, Ginger Cheng-chi, "A Bushel of Pearls: Painting for Sale in Eighteenth-Century Yangchow," 1202
Huang, Philip C. C., "Code, Custom, and Legal Practice in China: The Qing and the Republic Compared," 1538
Hudon, William V. (R), 1316
Hudson, Charles, and Robbie Ethridge, editors, "The Transformation of the Southeastern Indians, 1540–1760" (E), 996
Hudson, Michael C. (R), 979
Huffman, James L., "Creating a Public: People and Press in Meiji Japan," 524
Hughes, Ann (R), 612
Hughes, Michael, "Diplomacy before the Russian Revolution: Britain, Russia and the Old Diplomacy, 1894–1917," 273
Hughes, Michael L., "Shouldering the Burdens of Defeat: West Germany and the Reconstruction of Social Justice," 1658
" 'L'humanité, le christianisme, et la liberté,' " by Klein, 849
Humphrey, Chris, and W. M. Ormrod, editors, "Time in the Medieval World" (E), 999
Hunefeldt, Christine, "Liberalism in the Bedroom: Quarreling Spouses in Nineteenth-Century Lima," 1266
Hunt, Nancy Rose (R), 512
Hunter, F. Robert (R), 1329
Hunter, Phyllis Whitman, "Purchasing Identity in the Atlantic World: Massachusetts Merchants, 1670–1780," 1549
Huppert, George (R), 625
Hurley, Andrew (R), 559
Husband, William B. (R), 1671
Hutchins, Francis G., "Tribes and the American Constitution," 533
Hutton, Patrick H. (R), 505
Hyman, Harold M. (R), 178

" 'I Will Not Eat Stone,' " by Allman and Tashjian, 984
"Ida B. Wells-Barnett and American Reform, 1880–1930," by Schechter, 1566
Igarashi, Yoshikuni (C), 341
Iggers, Georg G. (R), 500
Igler, David, "Industrial Cowboys: Miller and Lux and the Transformation of the Far West, 1850–1920," 1565
Ilič, Melanie, editor, "Women in the Stalin Era" (E), 1003
Ilič, Melanie, "Women Workers in the Soviet Interwar Economy: From 'Protection' to 'Equality,' " 1671
"Image and Imperialism in the Ottoman Revolutionary Press, 1908–1911," by Brummett, 1326
"Imagine Nation," edited by Braunstein and Doyle (E), 998
"The Imagined Civil War," by Fahs, 881
"Imaging Early Modern London," by Merritt (E), 1346
"Imagining New England," by Conforti, 1218
"Imagining the End," edited by Amanat and Bernhardsson (E), 1339
"Immigrant Minds, American Identities," by Øverland, 218
"The Impact of the South African War," edited by Omissi and Thompson (E), 1340
"Imperial and National Identities in Pre-Revolutionary, Soviet, and Post-Soviet Russia," edited by Chulos and Remy (E), 1349
"Imperial Brotherhood," by Dean, 1584
"Imperial Ideology and Provincial Loyalty in the Roman Empire," by Ando, 921
"Imperial Projections," edited by Joshel, Malamud, and McGuire (E), 1339
"Imperialism, Race and Resistance," by Bush, 165
"Improbable Warriors," by Williams, 1246

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"In Defense of Honor," by Caulfield, 1614
"In God's Name," edited by Bartov and Mack (E), 325
"In His Own Right," by Palermo, 1600
"In the Shadow of the Sultan," edited by Bourqia and Miller, 982
"In Therapy We Trust," by Moskowitz, 252
Inden, Ronald, Jonathan Walters, and Daud Ali, "Querying the Medieval: Texts and the History of Practices in South Asia," 1521
"Indian Orphanages," by Holt, 1560
"La Indianidad antes de la independencia latinamericana," by Horna, 1603
"Indians, Merchants, and Markets," by Baskes, 579
"Industrial Cowboys," by Igler, 1565
"The Influence of Faith," edited by Abrams (E), 327
"Information Gathering in Classical Greece," by Russell, 918
Ingersoll, Thomas N. (R), 187
Ingram, Allan (R), 1636
Innes, Matthew, "State and Society in the Early Middle Ages: The Middle Rhine Valley, 400–1000," 923
Inscoe, John C., and Robert C. Kenzer, editors, "Enemies of the Country: New Perspectives on Unionists in the Civil War South," 882
"Inside Greenwich Village," by McFarland, 889
"The Intellectual Life of the British Working Classes," by Rose, 938
"Intellectuals and the Articulation of the Nation," edited by Suny and Kennedy, 506
"Internal Improvement," by Larson, 192
The Internationale, directed by Miller, reviewed by Cole, 1336
"Interpreting the Russian Revolution," by Figes and Kolonitskii, 971
"Interracial Intimacy," by Moran, 886
" 'An Interracial Movement of the Poor,' " by Frost, 907
"Intimate Strategies of the Civil War," edited by Bleser and Gordon (E), 326
Introduction, by Manning, 419–24
"Inventing Home," by Khater, 1328
"Investing for Middle America," by Lipartito and Peters, 1235
"Iran and the Surrounding World," edited by Keddie and Matthee (E), 1694
"Ireland and Europe in the Early Middle Ages," edited by Ní Chatháin and Richter (E), 999
"Irlanda y el rey prudente," by García Hernán, 931
"The Iron Wall," by Shlaim, 1329
"Islands in the City," edited by Foner (E), 327
"ItaliAfrica," edited by Matteo (E), 1339
"Italian Workers of the World," edited by Gabaccia and Ottanelli, 1193

Jackson, Donald C. (R), 1565
Jackson, Ian, "The Economic Cold War: America, Britain and East-West Trade, 1948–63," 1198
Jackson, John P., Jr., "Social Scientists for Social Justice: Making the Case against Segregation," 1597
Jacob, James R. (R), 1631
Jacobs, Lawrence R. (R), 231
Jacobsen, Nils (R), 1608
Jacobson, Charles David, "Ties That Bind: Economic and Political Dilemmas of Urban Utility Networks, 1800–1990," 895
Jacoby, Karl, "Crimes against Nature: Squatters, Poachers, Thieves, and the Hidden History of American Conservation," 214
Jacoby, Russell (R), 1601
Jaffe, James A., "Striking a Bargain: Work and Industrial Relations in England 1815–1865," 936
"Jagadis Chandra Bose and the Indian Response to Western Science," by Dasgupta, 867
Jaher, Frederic Cople (R), 557, 1556
James, Daniel, "Doña María's Story: Life History, Memory, and Political Identity," 1615
"Jane Addams and the Dream of American Democracy," by Elshtain, 1567
Jansen, Katherine L. (R), 926
Janzen, Rod, "The Rise and Fall of Synanon: A California Utopia," 911
"Japan and China," by Wataru, 172
"Japanese Pride, American Prejudice," by Hirobe, 903
"Japan's Imperial Diplomacy," by Brooks, 1540
Jaski, Bart, "Early Irish Kingship and Succession," 1278
Jeffrey, Kirk, "Machines in Our Hearts: The Cardiac Pacemaker, the Implantable Defibrillator, and American Health Care," 577
Jeffreys-Jones, Rhodri, "Cloak and Dollar: A History of American Secret Intelligence," 1220
Jeffreys-Jones, Rhodri (R), 1584
Jenkins, Virginia Scott, "Bananas: An American History," 182
Jennings, Eric T., "Vichy in the Tropics: Pétain's National Revolution in Madagascar, Guadeloupe, and Indochina, 1940–1944," 1533
Jessee, W. Scott, "Robert the Burgundian and the Counts of Anjou, ca. 1025–1098," 593
"Jewish Enlightenment in an English Key," by Ruderman, 275
"The Jewish Self-Image in the West," by Berkowitz, 163
"The Jews of Early Modern Venice," edited by Davis and Ravid (E), 1002
"The Jews of Italy," edited by Cooperman and Garvin (E), 1348
Jiménez, Iván Molina, "La ciudad de los monos: Roberto Brenes Mesén, los católicos heredianos y el conflicto cultural de 1907 en Costa Rica," 1264
Jirran, Raymond J. (C), 1019
Johns, Adrian, *How to Acknowledge a Revolution*, 106–25
Johnson, Christopher H. (R), 947
Johnson, Eric A., "Nazi Terror: The Gestapo, Jews, and Ordinary Germans," 964
Johnson, Herbert A., "Wingless Eagle: U.S. Army Aviation through World War I," 894
Johnson, Lyman L. (R), 1612
Johnson, Richard R. (R), 185
Johnson, Whittington B. (R), 535
Johnston, Patricia (R), 547
Johnston, Robert D., and Catherine McNicol Stock, editors, "The Countryside in the Age of the Modern State: Political Histories of Rural America" (E), 679
Jones, Andrew F., "Yellow Music: Media Culture and Colonial Modernity in the Chinese Jazz Age," 1202
Jones, H. G. (C), 1367
Jones, Larry Eugene, editor, "Crossing Boundaries: The Exclusion and Inclusion of Minorities in Germany and America" (E), 678
Jones, Norman (R), 1288
Jordan, David P. (R), 846

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Jordan, Donald (R), 281
Jordan, William G. (R), 1573
Joshel, Sandra R., Margaret Malamud, and Donald T. McGuire, Jr., editors, "Imperial Projections: Ancient Rome in Modern Popular Culture" (E), 1339
Joshi, Sanjay, "Fractured Modernity: Making of a Middle Class in Colonial North India," 1212
"En jude är en jude är en jude . . . ," by Andersson, 286
"Judgment at Tokyo," by Maga, 526
Jupp, Peter, and Eoin Magennis, "Crowds in Ireland, c. 1720–1920," 280
Jussen, Bernhard, "Spiritual Kinship and Social Practice: Godparenthood and Adoption in the Early Middle Ages," 1277
Juul, Kristine, and Christian Lund, editors, "Negotiating Property in Africa" (E), 1694

Kaczorowski, Robert J., Sandra F. VanBurkleo, and Kermit L. Hall, editors, "Constitutionalism and American Culture: Writing the New Constitutional History" (E), 1344
Kaeuper, Richard W. (R), 600
"The Kaiser's Army," by Brose, 1309
Kaminski, John P. (R), 1551
Kammen, Michael, "American Culture, American Tastes: Social Change and the 20th Century," 1577
Kamphoefner, Walter D. (R), 1229
Kapcia, Antoni, "Cuba: Island of Dreams," 1259
Kaplan, Benjamin J., *Fictions of Privacy: House Chapels and the Spatial Accommodation of Religious Dissent in Early Modern Europe*, 1031–64
Karl, Rebecca E., and Peter Zarrow, editors, "Rethinking the 1898 Reform Period: Political and Cultural Change in Late Qing China" (E), 1342
Karpat, Kemal H. (R), 313
Karpat, Kemal H., "The Politicization of Islam: Reconstructing Identity, State, Faith, and Community in the Late Ottoman State," 1327
Kasson, John F., "Houdini, Tarzan, and the Perfect Man: The White Male Body and the Challenge of Modernity in America," 563
Katagiri, Yasuhiro, "The Mississippi State Sovereignty Commission: Civil Rights and States' Rights," 1253
Kater, Michael H., "Composers of the Nazi Era: Eight Portraits," 646
Kater, Michael H. (R), 1542
"Katharina II., Russland und Europa," edited by Scharf (E), 1002
Katz, David S. (R), 163
Keddie, Nikki R., and Rudi Matthee, editors, "Iran and the Surrounding World: Interactions in Culture and Cultural Politicst" (E), 1694
Keene, Jennifer D. (R), 565
Keita, Maghan, "Race and the Writing of History: Riddling the Sphinx," 497
Keller, Morton, and Phyllis Keller, "Making Harvard Modern: The Rise of America's University," 1578
Keller, Phyllis, and Morton Keller, "Making Harvard Modern: The Rise of America's University," 1578
Kellogg, Frederick (R), 307
Kemeny, P. C. (R), 1233
Kennedy, Michael D., and Ronald Grigor Suny, editors, "Intellectuals and the Articulation of the Nation," 506
Kenney, Padraic (R), 970; (C), 1367
Kennon, Donald R., and Kenneth R. Bowling, editors, "The House and Senate in the 1790s: Petitioning, Lobbying, and Institutional Development" (E), 1690
Kent, John (R), 1533
Kent, Peter C. (R), 967
Kenzer, Robert C. (R), 205
Kenzer, Robert C., and John C. Inscoe, editors, "Enemies of the Country: New Perspectives on Unionists in the Civil War South," 882
Keppel, Ben (R), 249
Kerans, David, "Mind and Labor on the Farm in Black-Earth Russia, 1861–1914," 1669
Kern, Kathi, "Mrs. Stanton's Bible," 216
Kern, Louis J. (R), 911
Kern, Paul Bentley, "Ancient Siege Warfare," 1269
Kersh, Rogan, "Dreams of a More Perfect Union," 532
Kertzer, David I. (R), 304
Khalidi, Rashid (R), 1672
Khan, Shaharyar M., "The Begums of Bhopal: A Dynasty of Women Rulers in Raj India," 528
Khare, R. S. (R), 869
Khater, Akram Fouad, "Inventing Home: Emigration, Gender, and the Middle Class in Lebanon, 1870–1920," 1328
Khodarkovsky, Michael, and Robert P. Geraci, editors, "Of Religion and Empire: Missions, Conversion, and Tolerance in Tsarist Russia," 1668
Kienzle, Beverly Mayne, "Cistercians, Heresy and Crusade in Occitania, 1145–1229: Preaching in the Lord's Vineyard," 598
Kimball, Gregg D., "American City, Southern Place: A Cultural History of Antebellum Richmond," 1558
"Kindergartens and Cultures," by Wollons, 162
King, Stewart R., "Blue Coat or Powdered Wig: Free People of Color in Pre-Revolutionary Saint Domingue," 1604
"Kingship and Favoritism in the Spain of Philip III, 1598–1621," by Feros, 944
Kipp, Rita Smith (R), 528
Kirchberger, Ulrike, "Aspekte deutsch-britischer Expansion: Die Überseeinteressen der deutschen Migranten in Großbritanien in der Mitte des 19. Jahrhunderts," 643
"Die Kirche und der Maya-Katholizismus," by Brennwald, 1608
Kirkby, Diane, and Catharine Coleborne, editors, "Law, History, Colonialism: The Reach of Empire" (E), 1340
Kitch, Carolyn, "The Girl on the Magazine Cover: The Origins of Visual Stereotypes in American Mass Media," 1572
Kitchen, Martin (R), 1309
Klein, Martin A. (R), 1333
Klein, Natalie, " 'L'humanité, le christianisme, et la liberté': Die internationale philhellenische Vereinsbewegung der 1820er Jahre," 849
Klessmann, Christoph, editor, "The Divided Past: Rewriting Post-War German History" (E), 1002
Kling, David W. (R), 189
"Knights of the Cloister," by Selwood, 1280
Knobel, Dale T. (R), 1191
Knoppers, Laura Lunger, "Constructing Cromwell: Ceremony, Portrait and Print, 1645–1661," 613
Knott, Stephen F., "Alexander Hamilton and the Persistence of Myth," 1554
Knox, MacGregor, and Williamson Murray, editors,

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"The Dynamics of Military Revolution 1300–2050" (E), 677
Knupfer, Anne Meis, "Reform and Resistance: Gender, Delinquency, and America's First Juvenile Court," 1241
Koblitz, Ann Hibner, "Science, Women and Revolution in Russia," 661
Kocka, Jürgen, and Christoph Conrad, editors, "Staatsbürgerschaft in Europa: Historische Erfahrungen und aktuelle Debatten" (E), 328
Koditschek, Theodore (R), 935
Kolmerten, Carol (R), 538
Kolonitskii, Boris, and Orlando Figes, "Interpreting the Russian Revolution: The Language and Symbols of 1917," 971
"Korea under the American Military Government, 1945–1948," edited by Oh (E), 1689
Koshar, Rudy, "German Travel Cultures," 644
Kosto, Adam J. (R), 591
Kosto, Adam J., "Making Agreements in Medieval Catalonia: Power, Order, and the Written Word, 1000–1200," 593
Kosztolnyik, Z. J. (R), 305
Kotlowski, Dean, "Nixon's Civil Rights: Politics, Principle, and Policy," 1256
Kotsonis, Yanni (R), 1669
Kotsonis, Yanni, and David L. Hoffmann, editors, "Russian Modernity: Politics, Knowledge, Practices," 664
Koziol, Geoffrey (R), 924
Kozlowski, Gregory C. (R), 868
Kraay, Hendrik (R), 1267
Kramer, Alan, and John Horne, "German Atrocities, 1914: A History of Denial," 1653
Kramer, Paul A. (R), 1543
Krapauskas, Virgil, "Nationalism and Historiography: The Case of Nineeteenth-Century Lithuanian Historicism," 1666
Kraus, Christina S. (R), 1619
Kraut, Benny (R), 221
Kraybill, Donald B., and Carl F. Bowman, "On the Backroad to Heaven: Old Order Hutterites, Mennonites, Amish, and Brethren," 225
Krebs, Ronald R., "Dueling Visions: U.S. Strategy toward Eastern Europe under Eisenhower," 240
Krugler, David F. (R), 237
Kubicek, Robert (R), 987
Kuehn, Thomas (R), 652
Kugel, Rebecca (R), 214
Kuhn, Philip A. (R), 167
Kuisel, Richard (R), 633
Kuklick, Henrika (R), 1211
"Kultur-Diskurs," edited by Riekenberg, Rinke, and Schmidt (E), 1690
Kumar, Nita, "Lessons from Schools: The History of Education in Banaras," 1213
Kunuk, Zacharias, 989
Kushner, Tony, and Todd M. Endelman, editors, "Disraeli's Jewishness" (E), 1346
"Kuwait 1950–1965," by Smith, 980
Kwan, Man Bun, "The Salt Merchants of Tianjin: State-Making and Civil Society in Late Imperial China," 859
Kwass, Michael (R), 626
Kwolek-Folland, Angel (R), 1569
Kyvig, David E., editor, "Unintended Consequences of Constitutional Amendment," 178

La Berge, Ann F. (R), 632
"Laborers in the Vineyard of the Lord," by Rivers and Brown, 554
LaCapra, Dominick, "History and Reading: Tocqueville, Foucault, French Studies," 503
LaFrance, David G., and Joseph L. Arbena, editors, "Sport *in* Latin America and the Caribbean" (E), 1344
Laiou, Angeliki E., and Roy Parvis Mottahedeh, editors, "The Crusades from the Perspective of Byzantium and the Muslim World," 596
Lamberg-Karlovsky, C. C. (R), 975
"Land and Allegiance in Revolutionary Georgia," by Hall, 1225
"Land and Society in the Christian Kingdom of Ethiopia," by Crummey, 982
Landau, Norma (R), 1633
Landes, Joan B. (R), 1638
Landsberg, Brian K. (R), 247
Landy, Marcia (R), 1319
Lane, Kris (R), 1676
LaPalombara, Joseph (C), 692
"The Lara Family," by Doubleday, 1625
Larner, John, "Marco Polo and the Discovery of the World," 271
Larsen, Lawrence H. (R), 550
Larson, Gerald James, editor, "Religion and Personal Law in Secular India: A Call to Judgment" (E), 996
Larson, John Lauritz, "Internal Improvement: National Public Works and the Promise of Popular Government in the Early United States," 192
Larson, Pier M., "History and Memory in the Age of Enslavement: Becoming Merina in Highland Madagascar, 1770–1822," 1180
Larsson, Olle, "Biskopen visiterar: Den kyrkliga överhetens möte," 638
Lasch-Quinn, Elisabeth, and Elizabeth Fox-Genovese, editors, "Reconstructing History: The Emergence of a New Historical Society," 156
Laslett, John H. M. (R), 510
Laughlin, Kathleen A., "Women's Work and Public Policy: A History of the Women's Bureau, U.S. Department of Labor 1945–1970," 242
Laurie, Bruce (R), 876
Laursen, John Christian, editor, "Histories of Heresy in Early Modern Europe: For, Against, and Beyond Persecution and Toleration" (E), 1692
"Law and War," by Maguire, 1249
"Law, History, Colonialism," edited by Kirkby and Coleborne (E), 1340
"Law, Laity and Solidarities," edited by Stafford, Nelson, and Martindale (E), 1345
Lawson, Steven F. (R), 246
"Laying Down the Law," by Matthews, 1275
Layman, Geoffrey, "The Great Divide: Religious and Cultural Conflict in American Party Politics," 908
Le Sueur, James D., "Uncivil War: Intellectuals and Identity Politics during the Decolonization of Algeria," 1332
"Lebanon," by Zisser, 979
Lee, A. D. (R), 918

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Lee, Robert (R), 642
Lee, Wayne E., "Crowds and Soldiers in Revolutionary North Carolina: The Culture of Violence in Riot and War," 1225
Lees, Andrew (R), 294
Lefeuvre, Daniel, "Chère Algérie: Comptes et mécomptes de la tutelle coloniale, 1930–1962," 1331
"Left Liberals, the State, and Popular Politics in Wilhelmine Germany," by Thompson, 1653
"The Legalist Reformation," by Nelson, 226
Lehning, James R. (R), 292
"Lejonet och Dubbelörnen," by Engman, 1306
Lemire, Beverly, Ruth Pearson, and Gail Campbell, editors, "Women and Credit: Researching the Past, Refiguring the Future" (E), 1688
Lemmings, David, "Professors of the Law: Barristers and English Legal Culture in the Eighteenth Century," 1633
Lenger, Friedrich, editor, "Towards an Urban Nation: Germany since 1870" (E), 1693
"Lenin," by Service, 663
Leonard, Jane Kate (R), 860
Leopold, Antony, "How to Recover the Holy Land: The Crusade Proposals of the Late Thirteenth and Early Fourteenth Centuries," 599
"Lessons from Schools," by Kumar, 1213
" 'Let No Guilty Man Escape,' " by Tuller, 550
Levin, Miriam R., editor, "Cultures of Control" (E), 325
Levine, David, "At the Dawn of Modernity: Biology, Culture, and Material Life in Europe after the Year 1000," 264
Levinger, Matthew, "Enlightened Nationalism: The Transformation of Prussian Political Culture 1806–1848," 296
Levy, Carl, and Mark Roseman, editors, "Three Postwar Eras in Comparison: Western Europe 1918–1945–1989" (E), 1688
Lewis, Martin W. (R), 226
Lewis, Michael, "Becoming Apart: National Power and Local Politics in Toyama, 1868–1945," 175
Lewis, Michael (R), 863
Lewis, Robert, "Manufacturing Montreal: The Making of an Industrial Landscape, 1850 to 1930," 531
Leyser, Henrietta, and Richard Gameson, editors, "Belief and Culture in the Middle Ages: Studies Presented to Henry Mayr-Harting" (E), 1344
Li, Fei Fei, Robert Sabella, and David Liu, editors, "Nanking 1937: Memory and Healing" (E), 1342
Libby, Douglas Cole (R), 258
"Liberalism in the Bedroom," by Hunefeldt, 1266
Lichtenstein, Diane (R), 907
Lichtenstein, Nelson, "State of the Union: A Century of American Labor," 1592
"The Life and Times of Martha Laurens Ramsay 1759–1811," by Gillespie, 1224
"Life Has Become More Joyous, Comrades," by Petrone, 311
"The Life of an Unknown," by Corbin, 950
"The Life of Marie d'Agoult, alias Daniel Stern," by Stock-Morton, 1639
"Like Our Very Own," by Berebitsky, 229
"The Limits of Rural Capitalism," by Sylvester, 1545
Lincoln, Margarette, H. V. Bowen, and Nigel Rigby, editors, "The Worlds of the East India Company" (E), 1687
Lindenmeyer, Kriste (R), 1570
Linder, Doris H. (R), 637
Linebaugh, Peter, and Marcus Rediker, "The Many-Headed Hydra: Sailors, Slaves, Commoners, and the Hidden History of the Revolutionary Atlantic," 1529
"Lines in the Sand," by Lockley, 535
Ling, Huping (R), 905
Linn, Brian McAllister, "The Philippine War 1899–1902," 530
Lipartito, Kenneth, and Carol Heher Peters, "Investing for Middle America: John Elliott Tappan and the Origins of American Express Financial Advisors," 1235
Lippy, Charles H. (R), 1596
"Literacy and Written Culture in Early Modern Central Europe," by Tóth, 654
"Literary Texts and the Roman Historian," by Potter, 1619
Litoff, Judy Barrett (R), 230
Liu, David, Fei Fei Li, and Robert Sabella, editors, "Nanking 1937: Memory and Healing" (E), 1342
Liu, Xiaoyuan, and C. X. George Wei, editors, "Chinese Nationalism in Perspective: Historical and Recent Cases" (E), 678
Livesey, James, "Making Democracy in the French Revolution," 1302
"Living Images," edited by Sharf and Sharf (E), 1342
"Local Matters," edited by Waldrep and Nieman, 1230
Locher-Scholten, Elsbeth, "Women and the Colonial State: Essays on Gender and Modernity in the Netherlands Indies 1900–1942," 528
Lockenour, Jay, "Soldiers as Citizens: Former Wehrmacht Officers in the Federal Republic of Germany, 1945–1955," 1313
Lockley, Timothy James, "Lines in the Sand: Race and Class in Lowcountry Georgia, 1750–1860," 535
Lodwick, Kathleen L. (R), 516
"The Logic of Charity," by van Leeuwen, 636
Lombard, Denys, and Jean Aubin, editors, "Asian Merchants and Businessmen in the Indian Ocean and the China Sea" (E), 1343
Long, Lucinda M., and Scott E. Casper, editors, "Moving Stories: Migration and the American West, 1850–2000" (E), 997
"Long Gray Lines," by Andrew, 200
"Long Time Gone," edited by Bloom, 573
Longfellow, David (R), 290
Longmore, Paul K., and Lauri Umansky, editors, "The New Disability History: American Perspectives," 1523
Lookingbill, Brad D., "Dust Bowl, USA: Depression America and the Ecological Imagination, 1929–1941," 1245
LoPatin-Lummis, Nancy (R), 618
"Lord Acton," by Hill, 277
"Lord Hailey, the Colonial Office and the Politics of Race and Empire in the Second World War," by Wolton, 622
" 'Lord, Please Don't Take Me in August,' " by Armstead, 888
"Lost Time," by Gross, 505
Louis, Wm. Roger, *The Dissolution of the British Empire in the Era of Vietnam*, 1–25
"Louisianians in the Civil War," edited by Hewitt and Bergeron (E), 1690
Love Story, directed by Clay, reviewed by Mennel, 320
Lowe, Kate (R), 303
"Lower East Side Memories," by Diner, 221

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Löwy, Ilana, and Jean-Paul Gaudillière, editors, "Heredity and Infection: The History of Disease Transmission" (E), 1688
Lozovsky, Natalia, " 'The Earth Is Our Book': Geographical Knowledge in the Latin West ca. 400–1000," 589
Lu, Hanchao (R), 1202
Luconi, Stefano, "From *Paesani* to White Ethnics: The Italian Experience in Philadelphia," 220
Ludden, David, *Modern Inequality and Early Modernity: A Comment for the AHR on Articles by R. Bin Wong and Kenneth Pomeranz*, 470–80
Lukowski, J. T. (R), 1665
Lumumba, directed by Peck, reviewed by Ongiri, 675
Lund, Christian, and Kristine Juul, editors, "Negotiating Property in Africa" (E), 1694
Lunenfeld, Marvin (R), 285
"The Lure of the Modern," by Shih, 521
"A Lust for Virtue," by Riley, 1299
Lutz, Catherine, "Homefront: A Military City and the American Twentieth Century," 1239
Lynch, Timothy P., "Strike Songs of the Depression," 901
"A Lynching in the Heartland," by Madison, 1238
Lyons, Martyn, "Readers and Society in Nineteenth-Century France: Workers, Women, Peasants," 1304

Macaulay, Neill (R), 259
"Machines in Our Hearts," by Jeffrey, 577
"Macht und Ohnmacht der Verflechtung," by Reinhardt, 965
Mack, Beverly B., and Jean Boyd, "One Woman's Jihad: Nana Asma'u; Scholar and Scribe," 318
Mack, Phyllis, and Omer Bartov, editors, "In God's Name: Genocide and Religion in the Twentieth Century" (E), 325
Mackerras, Colin (R), 858
MacLean, Nancy (R), 1239
MacLeod, Murdo J., and Richard E. W. Adams, editors, "The Cambridge History of the Native Peoples of the Americas," 1602
MacMaster, Neil (R), 1320
MacMullen, Ramsay, "Romanization in the Time of Augustus," 921
Madame Satã, directed by Aïnouz, reviewed by Davis, 1684
Madigan, Kevin (R), 1282
Madison, James H., "A Lynching in the Heartland: Race and Memory in America," 1238
"Madness and Democracy," by Gauchet and Swain, 159
"Mae West," by Watts, 1576
Maga, Tim, "Judgment at Tokyo: The Japanese War Crimes Trials," 526
Magennis, Eoin, and Peter Jupp, "Crowds in Ireland, c. 1720–1920," 280
Maguire, Peter, "Law and War: An American Story," 1249
Mah, Harold (R), 158
Mahoney, Timothy R. (R), 873
"Maida Springer," by Richards, 1532
Maids [*Domésticas*], directed by Meirelles, reviewed by Davis, 322
Main, Gloria L., "Peoples of a Spacious Land: Families and Cultures in Colonial New England," 1221
Maines, Rachel (R), 501
"Les maîtres du secret," by Rivoal, 1330
Majewski, John, "A House Dividing: Economic Development in Pennsylvania and Virginia before the Civil War," 194
Makdisi, Ussama, "The Culture of Sectarianism: Community, History, and Violence in Nineteenth-Century Ottoman Lebanon," 315
Makdisi, Ussama, *Ottoman Orientalism*, 768–96
"The Makers of British Foreign Policy," edited by Otte (E), 1346
"Making Agreements in Medieval Catalonia," by Kosto, 593
"Making and Remaking Italy," edited by Ascoli and von Henneberg, 1319
"Making Democracy in the French Revolution," by Livesey, 1302
"Making Harvard Modern," by Keller and Keller, 1578
"Making Houses, Crafting Capitalism," by Rilling, 194
"The Making of a Christian Empire," by Digeser, 587
"The Making of an Egyptian Arab Nationalist," by Coury, 316
"The Making of English Law," by Wormald, 1621
"The Making of King James II," by Callow, 934
"The Making of Modern Tourism," by Berghoff (E), 1692
"The Making of Nagorno-Karabagh," edited by Chorbajian (E), 329
"The Making of the Cold War Enemy," by Robin, 1251
"The Making of the Republican Citizen," by Harrison, 520
"Making Sense of War," by Weiner, 312
"Making the Heartland Quilt," by Meyer, 873
Malamud, Margaret, Sandra R. Joshel, and Donald T. McGuire, Jr., editors, "Imperial Projections: Ancient Rome in Modern Popular Culture" (E), 1339
Malcolm, Joyce Lee (R), 177
Malik, Hafeez (R), 981
Malmstedt, Göran (R), 638
Malmstedt, Göran, "Bondetro och kyrkoro: Religiös mentalitet i stormaktstidens Sverige," 1645
Maltz, Earl M., "The Chief Justiceship of Warren Burger, 1969–1986," 250
"Managing the Counterrevolution," by Streeter, 1609
"The Manchu Way," by Elliott, 856
"The Manchurian Myth," by Mitter, 171
"Manchus and Han," by Rhoads, 858
Mandell, Nikki, "The Corporation as Family: The Gendering of Corporate Welfare, 1890–1930," 1569
Mann, Alastair J., "The Scottish Book Trade, 1500–1720: Print Commerce and Print Control in Early Modern Scotland," 1290
Mann, Ralph (R), 879
Manning, Patrick, *Introduction*, 419–24
Manning, Roger B. (R), 1630
" 'Mannlicher Muth und Teutsche Ehre,' " by Hagemann, 1650
Manore, Jean L. (R), 1215
Mantl, Elisabeth, "Heirat als Privileg: Obrigkeitliche Heiratsbeschränkungen in Tirol und Vorarlberg 1820 bis 1920," 642
Mantzer, Raymond A., and Andrew Spicer, editors, "Society and Culture in the Huguenot World 1559–1685" (E), 1347
"Manufacturing Montreal," by Lewis, 531

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ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

"The Many-Headed Hydra," by Linebaugh and Rediker, 1529
"Mao's China and the Cold War," by Chen, 1204
"Mao's War against Nature," by Shapiro, 862
"Marco Polo and the Discovery of the World," by Larner, 271
Marcos Bonano, Luis, coordinator, "Estudios de historia social de Tucumán: Educación y política en los siglos XIX y XX" (E), 998
Margerison, Kenneth (R), 949; (C), 1705
"Marianne in the Market," by Tiersten, 953
Marino, Joseph, and Melinda Schlitt, editors, "Perspectives on Early Modern and Modern Intellectual History: Essays in Honor of Nancy S. Struever" (E), 328
Markel, Howard, and Alexandra Minna Stern, editors, "Formative Years: Children's Health in the United States, 1880–2000" (E), 1690
Markkola, Pirjo (R), 1647
Markova: Comfort Gay, directed by Portes, reviewed by Sadashige, 1336
Marks, Lara V., "Sexual Chemistry: A History of the Contraceptive Pill," 1536
Markwick, Roger D., "Rewriting History in the Soviet Russia: The Politics of Revisionist Historiography, 1956–1974," 1522
Marling, Karal Ann, "Merry Christmas! Celebrating America's Greatest Holiday," 182
Marquart, James W. (R), 1252
"Marriage Disputes in Medieval England," by Pedersen, 268
Marshall, Oliver, editor, "English-Speaking Communities in Latin America" (E), 998
"The Marshall Plan," edited by Schain (E), 328
Martin, A. Lynn, "Alcohol, Sex, and Gender in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe," 1627
Martin, A. Lynn (C), 1704
Martin, Benjamin F., "France and the Après Guerre 1918–1924: Illusions and Disillusionment," 954
Martin, Cheryl E. (R), 536
Martin, John Jeffries (R), 1315
Martin, Robert W. T., "The Free and Open Press: The Founding of American Democratic Press Liberty, 1640–1800," 1548
Martin, Terry, "An Affirmative Action Empire: Nations and Nationalism in the Soviet Union, 1923–1939," 1325
Martin, Terry, and Ronald Grigor Suny, editors, "A State of Nations: Empire and Nation-Making in the Age of Lenin and Stalin" (E), 1003
Martindale, Jane, Pauline Stafford, and Janet L. Nelson, editors, "Law, Laity and Solidarities: Essays in Honor of Susan Reynolds" (E), 1345
Martines, Lauro (R), 1625
"Marx, the Young Hegelians, and the Origin of Radical Social Theory," by Breckman, 158
Mason, Laura (R), 1302
Masonen, Pekka, "The Negroland Revisited: Discovery and Invention of the Sudanese Middle Ages," 496
Mass, Jeffrey P., "Yoritomo and the Founding of the First Bakufu: The Origins of Dual Government in Japan," 523
Massell, David, "Amassing Power: J. B. Duke and the Saguenay River, 1897–1927," 1215
Masters, Bruce (R), 160
"Masturbation," by Stengers and Van Neck, 849
"The Material Culture of Sex, Procreation, and Marriage in Premodern Europe," edited by McClanan and Encarnación (E), 1344
"Matheus Miller's Memoir," by Safley, 1307
Mathy, Jean-Philippe, "French Resistance: The French-American Culture Wars," 293
"Matrimoni in dubbio," edited by Menchi and Quaglioni (E), 1694
Matsusaka, Yoshihisa Tak (R), 525
Matteo, Sante, editor, "ItaliAfrica: Bridging Continents and Cultures" (E), 1339
Matthee, Rudi, and Nikki R. Keddie, editors, "Iran and the Surrounding World: Interactions in Culture and Cultural Politicst" (E), 1694
Matthews, Jean V. (R), 538
Matthews, John F., "Laying Down the Law: A Study of the Theodosian Code," 1275
"Der Mauerbau," by Steininger, 515
Mawdsley, Evan (R), 974
May, Kirse Granat, "Golden State, Golden Youth: The California Image in Popular Culture, 1955–1966," 1588
May, Lary (R), 235
"May Her Likes Be Multiplied," by Booth, 667
Mayer, Kenneth R., "With the Stroke of the Pen: Executive Orders and Presidential Power," 1553
Mayer, Michael S. (R), 240
Mayer, Thomas F. (R), 1318
Mayne, Alan, and Tim Murray, editors, "The Archaeology of Urban Landscapes: Explorations in *Slumland*" (E), 1342
Maynes, Mary Jo (R), 297, 962
Mazlish, Bruce, "The Uncertain Sciences," 1524
Mazower, Mark, *Violence and the State in the Twentieth Century*, 1158–78
McAlister, Melani, "Epic Encounters: Culture, Media, and U.S. Interests in the Middle East, 1945–2000," 910
McBeth, Brian S., "Gunboats, Corruption, and Claims: Foreign Intervention in Venezuela, 1899–1908," 1610
McBride, Joseph, "Searching for John Ford: A Life," 900
McCall, Laura, Matthew Basso, and Dee Garceau, editors, "Across the Great Divide: Cultures of Manhood in the American West," 1219
McCandless, Peter (R), 1292
McCann, David, and Barry S. Strauss, editors, "War and Democracy: A Comparative Study of the Korean War and the Peloponnesian War" (E), 994
McCann, Sean, "Gumshoe America: Hard-Boiled Crime Fiction and the Rise and Fall of New Deal Liberalism," 235
McCants, Anne E. C. (R), 1644
McCaskie, T. C., "Asante Identities: History and Modernity in an African Village 1850–1950," 669
McClanan, Anne L., and Karen Rosoff Encarnación, editors, "The Material Culture of Sex, Procreation, and Marriage in Premodern Europe" (E), 1344
McClellan, Charles W. (R), 982
McClelland, Charles E. (R), 629
McCluskey, Audrey Thomas (R), 507
McCormick, John P., editor, "Confronting Mass Democracy and Industrial Technology: Political and Social Theory from Nietzsche to Habermas" (E), 1693
McCurdy, Charles W. (R), 226
McCurdy, Sheryl A., and Dorothy L. Hodgson, editors,

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" 'Wicked' Women and the Reconfiguration of Gender in Africa" (E), 1349
McDonough, Daniel (R), 1224
McEnaney, Laura, "Civil Defense Begins at Home: Militarization Meets Everyday Life in the Fifties," 571
McFarland, Gerald W., "Inside Greenwich Village: A New York City Neighborhood, 1898–1918," 889
McFarland, Gerald W. (R), 1227
McFarlane, Anthony (R), 1265
McFeely, Eliza, "Zuni and the American Imagination," 215
McFerson, Hazel M., editor, "Mixed Blessing: The Impact of the American Colonial Experience on Politics and Society in the Philippines" (E), 996
McGowan, Margaret M., "The Vision of Rome in Late Renaissance France," 625
McGrath, John T., "The French in Early Florida: In the Eye of the Hurricane," 184
McGrath, Patrick J., "Scientists, Business, and the State, 1890–1960," 1245
McGregor, JoAnn, Jocelyn Alexander, and Terence Ranger, "Violence and Memory: One Hundred Years in the 'Dark Forests' of Matabeleland," 1680
McGuire, Donald T., Jr., Sandra R. Joshel, and Margaret Malamud, editors, "Imperial Projections: Ancient Rome in Modern Popular Culture" (E), 1339
McLaren, Anne, *Gender, Religion, and Early Modern Nationalism: Elizabeth I, Mary Queen of Scots, and the Genesis of English Anti-Catholicism*, 739–67
McMahon, Darrin M., "Enemies of the Enlightenment: The French Counter-Enlightenment and the Making of Modernity," 1300
McMurray, Jonathan S., "Distant Ties: Germany, the Ottoman Empire, and the Construction of the Baghdad Railway," 1531
McNally, Michael D., "Ojibwe Singers: Hymns, Grief, and a Native Culture in Motion," 214
McNamara, Jo Ann (R), 268
McReynolds, Louise (R), 1530
McSheffrey, Shannon (R), 268
McWilliam, Rohan (R), 1682
Me You Them [*Eu, Tu, Eles*], directed by Waddington, reviewed by Davis, 322
"Medicine and the German Jews," by Efron, 1308
"Medieval Concepts of the Past," edited by Althoff, Fried, and Geary (E), 1345
"Medieval Mercenaries," by Fowler, 600
Meehan, Brenda (R), 1323
Meikle, Jeffrey L. (R), 1217
Meirelles, Fernando, 322, 1684
Meisel, Joseph S., "Public Speech and the Culture of Public Life in the Age of Gladstone," 1294
Melzer, Richard, "Coming of Age in the Great Depression: The Civilian Conservation Corps Experience in New Mexico, 1933–1942," 234
"The Memory of Judgment," by Douglas, 851
"Memory's Nation," by Seelye, 1547
Menand, Louis, "The Metaphysical Club," 1233
Menchi, Silvana Seidel, and Diego Quaglioni, editors, "Matrimoni in dubbio: Unioni controverse e nozze clandestine in Italia dal XIV al XVIII secolo" (E), 1694
Mendle, Michael, editor, "The Putney Debates of 1647: The Army, the Levellers and the English State" (E), 1001
Mennel, Barbara (R), 320
"Mental Disability in Victorian England," by Wright, 1636
"Mercados indígenas en México, Chile y Argentina," by Silva Riquer and Escobar Ohmstede (E), 998
"Merchants and Marvels," edited by Smith and Findlen (E), 1000
Meriwether, Margaret L. (R), 1674
Merkl, Peter H. (R), 1658
Merridale, Catherine, "Night of Stone: Death and Memory in Twentieth-Century Russia," 666
Merritt, J. F., "Imaging Early Modern London: Perceptions and Portrayals of the City from Stow to Strype, 1598–1720" (E), 1346
"Merry Christmas! Celebrating America's Greatest Holiday," by Marling, 182
" 'Messieurs des finances,' " by Hamon, 288
"Metamorphosis and Identity," by Bynum, 1623
"The Metaphysical Club," by Menand, 1233
Metcalf, Barbara D. (R), 1212
"Metropolis in the Making," edited by Sitton and Deverell (E), 327
"Mexico in the 1940s," by Niblo, 581
Meyer, Douglas K., "Making the Heartland Quilt: A Geographical History of Settlement and Migration in Early-Nineteenth-Century Illinois," 873
Meyer, Michael (R), 646
Meyer, Stephen Grant, "As Long as They Don't Move Next Door: Segregation and Racial Conflict in American Neighborhoods," 1237
Michelson, Paul E. (R), 968
"The Middle East between the Great Powers," by Petersen, 668
"The Midwives of Seventeenth-Century London," by Evenden, 274
Mierzejewski, Alfred C., "The Most Valuable Asset of the Reich: A History of the German National Railway," 644
"Migrants against Slavery," by Schwarz, 542
Miller, Maureen C., "The Bishop's Palace: Architecture and Authority in Medieval Italy," 595
Miller, Nicholas J. (R), 506
Miller, Peter, 1336
Miller, Randall M. (R), 1596
Miller, Randall M., and Paul A. Cimbala, editors, "The Freedmen's Bureau and Reconstruction: Reconsiderations," 202
Miller, Susan Gilson, and Rahma Bourqia, editors, "In the Shadow of the Sultan: Culture, Power, and Politics in Morocco," 982
Mills, Frederick V., Sr. (R), 1222
Millward, James A. (R), 271
Minchin, Timothy J., "The Color of Work: The Struggle for Civil Rights in the Southern Paper Industry, 1945–1980," 567
"Mind and Labor on the Farm in Black-Earth Russia, 1861–1914," by Kerans, 1669
Minear, Richard H. (R), 526
Mines, Mattison (R), 865
Minichiello, Sharon A. (R), 1207
Minton, Henry L., "Departing from Deviance: A History of Homosexual Rights and Emancipatory Science in America," 1598
"The Miracles of St. John Capistran," by Andrić, 600
"The Mirror of Spain, 1500–1700," by Hillgarth, 282

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"The Mississippi State Sovereignty Commission," by Katagiri, 1253
Mitchell, Allan (R), 1531
Mitchell, Rosemary, "Picturing the Past: English History in Text and Image 1830–1870," 1182
Mitter, Rana, "The Manchurian Myth: Nationalism, Resistance, and Collaboration in Modern China," 171
"Mixed Blessing," edited by McFerson (E), 996
"Un modello per la storia," by Papagno, 504
"Modern Forests," by Sivaramakrishnan, 1211
Modern Inequality and Early Modernity, by Ludden, 470–80
Moehring, Eugene P. (R), 232
Moeller, Robert G. (R), 647
Moeller, Robert G., "War Stories: The Search for a Usable Past in the Federal Republic of Germany," 1659
Mohl, Raymond A. (R), 889
Mojab, Shahrzad, Himani Bannerji, and Judith Whitehead, editors, "Of Property and Propriety: The Role of Gender and Class in Imperialism and Nationalism" (E), 326
Molina, Iván, and Steven Palmer, "Educando a Costa Rica: Alfabetización popular, formación docente y género (1880–1950)," 257
"Money, Morals, and Politics," by Hartford, 1556
"The Monied Metropolis," by Beckert, 557
Monius, Anne E. (R), 866
Monkkonen, Eric H., "Murder in New York City," 181
Montgomery, William E. (R), 554
Moore, Deborah Dash, and S. Ilan Troen, editors, "Divergent Jewish Cultures: Israel and America" (E), 1342
Moore, Leonard J. (R), 1238
"La morale comunista," by Bellassai, 304
Moran, Rachel F., "Interracial Intimacy: The Regulation of Race and Romance," 886
Moreira, Isabel (R), 590
Morgan, Douglas, "Adventism and the American Republic: The Public Involvement of a Major Apocalyptic Movement," 1562
Morgan, Marjorie, "National Identities and Travel in Victorian Britain," 1635
Moring, Beatrice (R), 287
Morris, Jonathan (R), 1661
Morrison, Susan Signe, "Women Pilgrims in Late Medieval England: Private Piety as Public Performance," 927
Morton, Fred (R), 1180
Moses, Wilson J. (R), 497
Moskowitz, Eva S., "In Therapy We Trust: America's Obsession with Self-Fulfillment," 252
"The Most Ancient of Minorities," edited by Pugliese (E), 1347
"The Most Dangerous Area in the World," by Rabe, 1255
"The Most Valuable Asset of the Reich," by Mierzejewski, 644
"Mother Jones," by Gorn, 217
Mottahedeh, Roy Parvis, and Angeliki E. Laiou, editors, "The Crusades from the Perspective of Byzantium and the Muslim World," 596
Mouré, Kenneth, and Martin S. Alexander, editors, "Crisis and Renewal in France, 1918–1962" (E), 1347
"Moving Stories," edited by Casper and Long (E), 997
Moysey, Robert A. (R), 1270
"Mrs. Stanton's Bible," by Kern, 216
Muel-Dreyfus, Francine, "Vichy and the Eternal Feminine: A Contribution to a Political Sociology of Gender," 954
Mulholland, Marc, "Northern Ireland at the Crossroads: Ulster Unionism in the O'Neill Years 1960–9," 943
Mullenix, Elizabeth Reitz, "Wearing the Breeches: Gender on the Antebellum Stage," 191
Muller, Eric L., "Free to Die for Their Country: The Story of the Japanese American Draft Resisters in World War II," 904
Müller, Frank Lorenz, "Britain and the German Question: Perceptions of Nationalism and Political Reform, 1830–63," 1634
Müller, Jan-Werner, "Another Country: German Intellectuals, Unification and National Identity," 647
Mullin, Molly H., "Culture in the Marketplace: Gender, Art, and Value in the American Southwest," 243
Mumford, Eric, "The CIAM Discourse on Urbanism, 1928–1960," 850
Muncy, Robyn (R), 242
Mungello, D. E., "The Spirit and the Flesh in Shandong, 1650–1785," 516
Munn, Mark, "The School of History: Athens in the Age of Socrates," 1271
"Murder in New York City," by Monkkonen, 181
Murphy, James H., "Abject Loyalty: Nationalism and Monarchy in Ireland during the Reign of Queen Victoria," 1295
Murray, Alexander, "Suicide in the Middle Ages: The Curse on Self-Murder," 264
Murray, Alexander Callander, editor, "After Rome's Fall: Narrators and Sources of Early Medieval History," 922
Murray, Alexander Callander (R), 923
Murray, Hugh (C), 340
Murray, Jacqueline (R), 651
Murray, Scott W. (R), 1634
Murray, Tim, and Alan Mayne, editors, "The Archaeology of Urban Landscapes: Explorations in Slumland" (E), 1342
Murray, Williamson, and MacGregor Knox, editors, "The Dynamics of Military Revolution 1300–2050" (E), 677
Murti, Kamakshi P. (R), 1188
"Muscular Christianity," by Putney, 1233
"Museums in the German Art World," by Sheehan, 295
Musson, Anthony, editor, "Expectations of the Law in the Middle Ages" (E), 999
"Mutua Christianorum Tolerantia," by van Eijnatten, 604
"Myth, Memory, and the Making of the American Landscape," edited by Shackel, 1185
"The Myth of Pope Joan," by Boureau, 926

Nadell, Pamela S., "Women Who Would Be Rabbis: A History of Women's Ordination, 1889–1985," 907
Nadell, Pamela S., and Jonathan D. Sarna, editors, "Women and American Judaism: Historical Perspectives" (E), 326
Naiman, Eric (R), 310
Naimark, Norman M., "Fires of Hatred: Ethnic Cleansing in Twentieth-Century Europe," 609

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"The Nanjing Massacre in History and Historiography," by Fogel, 525
"Nanking," by Yamamoto, 525
"Nanking 1937," edited by Li, Sabella, and Liu (E), 1342
"Napoleon III and His Regime," by Baguley, 846
Naquin, Susan, "Peking: Temples and City Life, 1400–1900," 167
Naquin, Susan (R), 517
Nardon, Franco, "Benandanti e inquisitori nel Friuli del Seicento," 1315
Naro, Nancy Priscilla (R), 912
Naro, Nancy Priscilla, "A Slave's Place, a Master's World: Fashioning Dependency in Rural Brazil," 1267
"A Nation Collapses," by Agarossi, 967
"A Nation for All," by Fuente, 1605
"The Nation in the Village," by Stauter-Halstad, 1663
"National Character and Public Spirit in Britain and France, 1750–1914," by Romani, 1285
"National Identities and Travel in Victorian Britain," by Morgan, 1635
"Nationalism and African Intellectuals," by Falola, 670
"Nationalism and Historiography," by Krapauskas, 1666
"Nationalism and the Crowd in Liberal Hungary, 1848–1914," by Freifeld, 656
"Nationality and Citizenship in Revolutionary France," by Rapport, 291
"Den nationella modern," by Tornbjer, 1647
"The Natural West," by Flores, 890
"Nature and the English Diaspora," by Dunlap, 509
"The Navigation of Feeling," by Reddy, 1181
Naylor, Phillip C., "France and Algeria: A History of Decolonization and Transformation," 1534
"Nazi Terror," by Johnson, 964
"Negotiating Power in Early Modern Society," edited by Braddick and Walter (E), 679
"Negotiating Property in Africa," edited by Juul and Lund (E), 1694
"The Negroland Revisited," by Masonen, 496
Negruzzo, Simona, "Collegij a forma di Seminario: Il sistema di formazione teologica nello Stato di Milano in età spagnola," 966
Neiberg, Michael S. (R), 1531
"Neighbors," by Gross, 970
Nelson, James G., "Publisher to the Decadents: Leonard Smithers in the Careers of Beardsley, Wilde, Dowson," 277
Nelson, Janet L. (R), 1279
Nelson, Janet L., Pauline Stafford, and Jane Martindale, editors, "Law, Laity and Solidarities: Essays in Honor of Susan Reynolds" (E), 1345
Nelson, John K., "A Blessed Company: Parishes, Parsons, and Parishioners in Anglican Virginia, 1690–1776," 1222
Nelson, William E., "The Legalist Reformation: Law, Politics, and Ideology in New York, 1920–1980," 226
"Nervenkitzel und Freizeitvergnügen," by Haubner, 298
Neuschel, Kristen B. (R), 1297
"New Deal Modernism," by Szalay, 235
"The New Disability History," edited by Longmore and Umansky, 1523
"New Frontiers," edited by Bickers and Henriot (E), 1343
Newman, Mark (R), 1253
Newman, Mark, "Getting Right with God: Southern Baptists and Desegregation, 1945–1995," 1596
Newman, Simon P., William Pencak, and Matthew Dennis, editors, "Riot and Revelry in Early America" (E), 1689
Newman, William R., and Anthony Grafton, editors, "Secrets of Nature: Astrology and Alchemy in Early Modern Europe" (E), 1000
News, Public, Nation, by Schudson, 481–95
Ngai, Mae M. (R), 903
Ní Chatháin, Próinséas, and Michael Richter, editors, "Ireland and Europe in the Early Middle Ages: Texts and Transmission" (E), 999
Niblo, Stephen R., "Mexico in the 1940s: Modernity, Politics, and Corruption," 581
Nicassio, Susan Vandiver, "Tosca's Rome: The Play and the Opera in Historical Perspective," 847
Nichols, John A. (R), 927
Nielson, Kim E., "Un-American Womanhood: Antiradicalism, Antifeminism, and the First Red Scare," 1242
Nieman, Donald G., and Christopher Waldrep, editors, "Local Matters: Race, Crime, and Justice in the Nineteenth-Century South," 1230
Nieto, Santiago Aguadé, and Joseph Pérez, editors, "Les origines de la féodalité: Hommage à Claudio Sánchez Albornoz," 591
"Nigerian Chiefs," by Vaughan, 986
"Night of Stone," by Merridale, 666
Nirenberg, David, *Conversion, Sex, and Segregation: Jews and Christians in Medieval Spain*, 1065–93
"Nixon's Civil Rights," by Kotlowski, 1256
No Man's Land [Nikogarsnja zemlja], directed by Tanović, reviewed by Portuges, 675
"No Peace, No Honor," by Berman, 574
"No Place Like Home," by Buhler-Wilkerson, 1574
Noble, Thomas F. X. (R), 263
Noll, Mark A., editor, "God and Mammon: Protestants, Money, and the Market, 1790–1860" (E), 997
Nord, Philip (R), 634, 1641
Nordin, Jonas, "Ett fattigt men fritt folk: Nationell och politisk självbild i Sverige från sen stormaktstid till slutet av frihetstiden," 1646
Norgren, Tiana, "Abortion before Birth Control: The Politics of Reproduction in Postwar Japan," 864
"Norm und Wirklichkeit religiöser Frauengemeinschaften im Frühmittelalter," by Schilp, 263
"The Normans and Their Adversaries at War," edited by Abels and Bachrach (E), 999
Norris, Harry, Celia Hawkesworth, and Muriel Heppell, editors, "Religious Quest and National Identity in the Balkans" (E), 1002
Norris, Jim (R), 1261
"Northern Ireland at the Crossroads," by Mulholland, 943
"A Not So Foreign Affair," by Slane, 574
"Novel History," edited by Carnes, 502
Novick, Peter (R), 156
Nye, David E. (R), 895
"Nymphomania," by Groneman, 501

Oakes, James (R), 196
O'Brien, Patrick, *et al.*, editors, "Urban Achievement in Early Modern Europe: Golden Ages in Antwerp, Amsterdam, and London," 603

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O'Connell, Marvin R., "Edward Sorin," 1561
O'Connor, Alice, "Poverty Knowledge: Social Science, Social Policy, and the Poor in Twentieth-Century U.S. History," 906
O'Connor, Maura (R), 847
Oddie, Geoffrey A. (R), 527
Odhiambo, E. S. Atieno (R), 317
O'Donnell, James H. (R), 255
Of Civilization and Savages, by Eskildsen, 388–418
"Of Property and Propriety," edited by Bannerji, Mojab, and Whitehead (E), 326
"Of Religion and Empire," edited by Geraci and Khodarkovsky, 1668
Offen, Karen, "European Feminisms 1700–1950: A Political History," 272
Offner, Arnold A., "*Another Such Victory: President* Truman and the Cold War, 1945–1953," 1583
Oh, Bonnie B. C., editor, "Korea under the American Military Government, 1945–1948" (E), 1689
"Oil and Ideology," by Olien and Olien, 569
"Ojibwe Singers," by McNally, 214
Okey, Robin (R), 1667
Olegario, Rowena (R), 1235
Olien, Diana Davids, and Roger M. Olien, "Oil and Ideology: The Cultural Creation of the American Petroleum Industry," 569
Olien, Roger M., and Diana Davids Olien, "Oil and Ideology: The Cultural Creation of the American Petroleum Industry," 569
Oliphant, John, "Peace and War on the Anglo-Cherokee Frontier 1756–63," 872
Oliphant, John (R), 1225
Olsen, Christopher J., "Political Culture and Secession in Mississippi: Masculinity, Honor, and the Antiparty Tradition, 1830–1860," 544
Olsen, Christopher J. (R), 545
Olson, Richard (R), 1524
Omissi, David, and Andrew S. Thompson, editors, "The Impact of the South African War" (E), 1340
"On Barbarian Identity," by Gillett (E), 1691
"On Hallowed Ground," by Diggins, 157
"On the Backroad to Heaven," by Kraybill and Bowman, 225
"One Nation Underground," by Rose, 572
"One Woman's Jihad," by Mack and Boyd, 318
Ongiri, Amy Abugo (R), 675
Ônibus [Bus 174], directed by Padilha, reviewed by Davis, 1684
"Only One Place of Redress," by Bernstein, 567
"Ontario's Cattle Kingdom," by Derry, 1545
Opdycke, Sandra (R), 1575
"Opium Regimes," edited by Brook and Wakabayashi, 169
"Opium, State, and Society," by Slack, 169
"Ordini religiosi a società politica in Italia e Germania nei secoli XIV e XV," edited by Chittolini and Elm (E), 1691
"Organizing the Spontaneous," by Sasaki-Uemura, 863
"Les origines de la féodalité," edited by Pérez and Nieto, 591
"The Origins of Irish Convict Transportation to New South Wales," by Reece, 176
Ormrod, W. M., and Chris Humphrey, editors, "Time in the Medieval World" (E), 999
"Ornamentalism," by Cannadine, 497
Orr, James J., "The Victim as Hero: Ideologies of Peace and National Identity in Postwar Japan," 1207
Ortiz, David, Jr., "Paper Liberals: Press and Politics in Restoration Spain," 283
Osgerby, Bill, "Playboys in Paradise: Masculinity, Youth and Leisure-Style in Modern America," 1257
Osheim, Duane J. (R), 1314
"The Other Enlightenment," by Hesse, 1638
"The Other Rebellion," by Young, 1606
Ottanelli, Fraser, and Donna R. Gabaccia, editors, "Italian Workers of the World: Labor Migration and the Formation of Multiethnic States," 1193
Otte, T. G., editor, "The Makers of British Foreign Policy: From Pitt to Thatcher" (E), 1346
Ottoman Orientalism, by Makdisi, 768–96
"Our Common Country," by Rugh, 874
"*Out of Our Minds,*" by *Fabian,* 1678
"Out of the Dead House," by Wells, 501
"Les ouvriers d'une vigne stérile," by Castelnau-L'Estoile, 1613
Øverland, Orm, "Immigrant Minds, American Identities: Making the United States Home, 1870–1930," 218
Owusu-Ansah, David (R), 669
"P. A. Stolypin," by Ascher, 662
Pabel, Hilmar M., and Kathleen M. Comerford, editors, "Early Modern Catholicism: Essays in Honour of John W. O'Malley, S.J." (E), 1000
"Pacific Pioneers," by Van Sant, 173
Padilha, José, 1684
Page, Max (R), 1589
"Painting Professionals," by Swinth, 1571
Palermo, Joseph A., "In His Own Right: The Political Odyssey of Senator Robert F. Kennedy," 1600
"Palestine," by Friedman, 316
Palmer, Michael A. (R), 1553
Palmer, Steven, and Iván Molina, "Educando a Costa Rica: Alfabetización popular, formación docente y género (1880–1950)," 257
Pang, Eul-Soo (R), 1615
"Pantaloons and Power," by Fischer, 538
Papagno, Giuseppe, "Un modello per la storia: Materiale, attività, funzione," 504
Papastathis, Ch., editor, "Byzantine Law: Proceedings of the International Symposium of Jurists Thessaloniki, 10–13 December 1998" (E), 1003
"Paper Liberals," by Ortiz, 283
"Papermaking in Eighteenth-Century France," by Rosenband, 290
"A Paradise Lost," by Wong, 860
Parascandola, John (R), 577
Parenteau, Bill (R), 1546
Paret, Peter (R), 639
Parker, Richard (R), 261
"Parlor Politics," by Allgor, 190
Parpart, Jane L. (R), 1680
Parrott, David, "Richelieu's Army: War, Government and Society in France, 1624–1642," 1298
"The Paston Family in the Fifteenth Century, Endings," by Richmond, 1284
Patch, Robert W. (R), 1602
"Paternalism in a Southern City," edited by Cashin and Eskew, 553

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ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Path to War, directed by Frankenheimer, reviewed by Cull, 1685
"The Paths of History," by Diakonoff, 154
"The Patrician Tribune," by Tatum, 262
"Patterns of Disengagement," by Berkowitz, 1537
Patterson, Cynthia (R), 1617
Patterson, James T., "Brown v. Board of Education: A Civil Rights Milestone and Its Troubled Legacy," 247
"Paul Robeson," by Boyle and Bunie, 564
Payen, Philippe, "Les arrêts de règlement du Parlement de Paris au XVIII[e] siècle: Dimension et doctrine," 1301
Payen, Philippe, "La physiologie de l'arrêt de règlement du Parlement de Paris au XVIII[e] siècle," 1301
Paz, Denis (R), 938
"Peace and War on the Anglo-Cherokee Frontier 1756–63," by Oliphant, 872
Peachin, Michael (R), 921
Pearson, Fred Lamar, Jr. (R), 184
Pearson, Norman (R), 1296
Pearson, Ruth, Beverly Lemire, and Gail Campbell, editors, "Women and Credit: Researching the Past, Refiguring the Future" (E), 1688
Peck, Raoul, 675
"The Peculiar Democracy," by Hettle, 545
Pedersen, Frederik, "Marriage Disputes in Medieval England," 268
Peel, J. D. Y., "Religious Encounter and the Making of the Yoruba," 985
Peel, J. D. Y. (R), 986
Peffer, George Anthony (R), 1582
Pegg, Mark Gregory, "The Corruption of Angels: The Great Inquisition of 1245–1246," 925
Pekacz, Jolanta T. (R), 1300
"Peking," by Naquin, 167
Peltovuori, Risto, "Sankarikansa ja kavaltajat: Suomi Kolmannen valtakunnan lehdistössä 1940–1944," 1648
Pencak, William, Matthew Dennis, and Simon P. Newman, editors, "Riot and Revelry in Early America" (E), 1689
Peniston-Bird, Corinna, and Gerard J. DeGroot, editors, "A Soldier and a Woman: Sexual Integration in the Military," 1199
Penslar, Derek J., "Shylock's Children: Economics and Jewish Identity in Modern Europe," 928
"Penumbral Visions," by Subrahmanyam, 865
" 'A People Born to Slavery,' " by Poe, 658
"The People of the Parish," by French, 1624
"The People with No Name," by Griffin, 1190
"Peoples of a Spacious Land," by Main, 1221
"Percival Lowell," by Strauss, 210
Pérez, Joseph, and Santiago Aguadé Nieto, editors, "Les origines de la féodalité: Hommage à Claudio Sánchez Albornoz," 591
Pérez, Louis A., Jr., "Winds of Change: Hurricanes and the Transformation of Nineteenth-Century Cuba," 578
Perkins, Elizabeth A. (R), 1185
Perman, Michael, "Struggle for Mastery: Disfranchisement in the South, 1888–1908," 885
"Perón y el mito de la nación católica," by Zanatta, 917
Pérotin-Dumon, Anne, "La ville aux Iles, la ville dans l'île: Basse-Terre et Pointe-à-Pitre, Guadeloupe, 1650–1820," 1258
"Perpetual Happiness," by Tsai, 515
"The Persistence of Victorian Liberalism," by Haggard, 618
"Perspectives on Early Modern and Modern Intellectual History," edited by Marino and Schlitt (E), 328
Péter, Katalin, editor, "Beloved Children: History of Aristocratic Childhood in Hungary in the Early Modern Age," 655
Peters, Carol Heher, and Kenneth Lipartito, "Investing for Middle America: John Elliott Tappan and the Origins of American Express Financial Advisors," 1235
Petersen, Tore T., "The Middle East between the Great Powers: Anglo-American Conflict and Cooperation, 1952–7," 668
Peterson, Ed (R), 1249
Petro, Patrice, and Mark Philip Bradley, editors, "Truth Claims: Representation and Human Rights" (E), 1689
Petrone, Karen, "Life Has Become More Joyous, Comrades: Celebrations in the Time of Stalin," 311
Pettegree, Andrew (R), 635
"Philadelphia's Enlightenment, 1740–1800," by Reid-Maroney, 1221
"The Philippine War 1899–1902," by Linn, 530
"The Philosophy and Politics of Czech Dissidence from Patočka to Havel," by Tucker, 306
"La physiologie de l'arrêt de règlement du Parlement de Paris au XVIII[e] siècle," by Payen, 1301
Pianetto, Ofelia, and James P. Brennan, editors, "Region and Nation: Politics, Economics, and Society in Twentieth-Century Argentina," 915
Piccato, Pablo (R), 1261
Pickstone, John V. (R), 939
"Picturing the Past," by Mitchell, 1182
Pierson, Frank, 674
"Piety in Providence," by Schantz, 189
Pilbeam, Pamela, "French Socialists before Marx: Workers, Women and the Social Question in France," 951
Pilcher, Jeffrey M., "Cantinflas and the Chaos of Mexican Modernity," 914
"Pious Traders in Medicine," by Wilson, 186
Pisani, Donald J. (R), 562
Pisano, Dominick A. (R), 894
Pitcher, M. Anne (R), 1334
Pitre, Merline (R), 1574
"A Place in the Sun," by Gregor, 1203
"The Places Where Men Pray Together," by Wheatley, 976
Planert, Ute, "Antifeminismus im Kaiserreich: Diskurs, soziale Formation und politische Mentalität," 962
"Playboys in Paradise," by Osgerby, 1257
Plotkin, Mariano Ben, "Freud in the Pampas: The Emergence and Development of a Psychoanalytic Culture in Argentina," 583
"Plural Medicine, Tradition and Modernity, 1800–2000," edited by Ernst (E), 1687
Plut-Pregelj, Leopoldina (R), 657
Pocock, J. G. A., "Barbarism and Religion," 498
Poe, Marshall T., " 'A People Born to Slavery': Russia in Early Modern European Ethnography, 1476–1748," 658
Poiger, Uta G. (R), 1197
Pointer, Richard W. (R), 1221
Pointon, Marcia (R), 1629
"The Polish-Lithuanian Monarchy in European Context, c. 1500–1795," edited by Butterwick (E), 1002
"The Polish-Lithuanian State, 1386–1795," by Stone, 1665

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"Political Discourses in African Thought," by van Hensbroek, 317
Political Economy and Ecology on the Eve of Industrialization, by Pomeranz, 425–46
"Political Woman," by Strom, 241
"The Political Work of Northern Women Writers and the Civil War, 1850–1872," by Sizer, 546
"The Politicization of Islam," by Karpat, 1327
"The Politics of Consumption," edited by Daunton and Hilton (E), 1341
"The Politics of Interventionism in Ottoman Lebanon, 1830–1861," by Farah, 1673
"The Politics of Long Division," by Ratcliffe, 193
"The Politics of Multiculturalism," edited by Hefner (E), 996
"The Politics of Population," by Curtis, 1544
"The Politics of Regicide in England, 1760–1850," by Poole, 1293
"The Politics of Social Conflict," by Wood, 612
"The Politics of the Excluded, c. 1500–1850," edited by Harris (E), 1001
"The Politics of Whiteness," by Brattain, 1239
Polsgrove, Carol (R), 253
Pomeranz, Kenneth, *Political Economy and Ecology on the Eve of Industrialization: Europe, China, and the Global Conjuncture*, 425–46
Poole, Steve, "The Politics of Regicide in England, 1760–1850," 1293
"Poor People's Politics," by Auyero, 585
Popkin, Jeremy D. (R), 628
Popkin, Jeremy D., "Press, Revolution, and Social Identities in France 1830–1835," 1640
Porch, Douglas (R), 945
"The Portable Queen," by Cole, 931
Porter, Roy S., and Ole Peter Grell, editors, "Toleration in Enlightenment Europe," 604
Porter, Theodore M. (R), 1544
Portes, Gil, 1336
Portes, Jacques, "Fascination and Misgivings: The United States in French Opinion, 1870–1914," 633
"Le Portugal et l'Atlantique" (E), 994
Portuges, Catherine (R), 675
"Possessed," by Worobec, 660
"Possible Pasts," edited by St. George (E), 997
Postel-Vinay, Gilles, Philip T. Hoffman, and Jean-Laurent Rosenthal, "Priceless Markets: The Political Economy of Credit in Paris, 1660–1870," 626
Potter, David S., "Literary Texts and the Roman Historian," 1619
Potts, D. T. (R), 1179
"Poverty Knowledge," by O'Connor, 906
Power, Thomas P. (R), 942
"Power, Authority, and the Anabaptist Tradition," edited by Redekop and Redekop (E), 1001
"The Power of Money," by Figueira, 1270
Powers, James F. (R), 593
Powers, Karen Vieira (R), 1603
Powers, Richard Gid (R), 1586
Prashad, Vijay, "Untouchable Freedom: A Social History of a Dalit Community," 869
Prazniak, Roxann (R), 1537
"The Premonstratensian Order in Late Medieval England," by Gribbin, 267
"Press Censorship in Jacobean England," by Clegg, 1631
"Press, Revolution, and Social Identities in France 1830–1835," by Popkin, 1640
Price, Roger (R), 615
"Priceless Markets," by Hoffman, Postel-Vinay, and Rosenthal, 626
Prieto, Laura R., "At Home in the Studio: The Professionalization of Women Artists in America," 1571
"Prince Henry 'the Navigator,' " by Russell, 285
"Print and Protestantism in Early Modern England," by Green, 1289
"Prisoners from Nambu," by Hesselink, 1205
Pritchett, Wendell, "Brownsville, Brooklyn: Blacks, Jews, and the Changing Face of the Ghetto," 1590
"Professors of the Law," by Lemmings, 1633
"Prophet of Decline," by Farrenkopf, 500
"Protestants, Catholics and Jews in Germany, 1880–1914," edited by Smith (E), 1001
"The Public Culture of the Victorian Middle Class," by Gunn, 937
"Public Speech and the Culture of Public Life in the Age of Gladstone," by Meisel, 1294
"Publisher to the Decadents," by Nelson, 277
Puddington, Arch, "Broadcasting Freedom: The Cold War Triumph of Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty," 930
Pugliese, Stanislao G. (R), 321
Pugliese, Stanislao G., editor, "The Most Ancient of Minorities: The Jews of Italy" (E), 1347
"The Punished Self," by Bontemps, 1559
Purcell, Edward A., Jr. (R), 248
"Purchasing Identity in the Atlantic World," by Hunter, 1549
Puskás, Julianna, "Ties That Bind, Ties That Divide: 100 Years of Hungarian Experience in the United States," 219
Putney, Clifford, "Muscular Christianity: Manhood and Sports in Protestant America, 1880–1920," 1233
"The Putney Debates of 1647," edited by Mendle (E), 1001

"Qing Colonial Enterprise," by Hostetler, 857
Quaglioni, Diego, and Silvana Seidel Menchi, editors, "Matrimoni in dubbio: Unioni controverse e nozze clandestine in Italia dal XIV al XVIII secolo" (E), 1694
"Quand la télévision explore le temps," by Veyrat-Masson, 1643
Quataert, Donald (R), 1327
Quataert, Jean H., "Staging Philanthropy: Patriotic Women and the National Imagination in Dynastic Germany, 1813–1916," 1651
"Querying the Medieval," by Inden, Walters, and Ali, 1521
Quiroz, Alfonso W. (R), 1268

Rabasa, José, "Writing Violence on the Northern Frontier: The Historiography of Sixteenth-Century New Mexico and Florida and the Legacy of Conquest," 1180
Rabe, Stephen G., "The Most Dangerous Area in the

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World: John F. Kennedy Confronts Communist Revolution in Latin America," 1255
Rable, George C. (R), 880
"Race against Time," by Davis, 245
"Race and Reunion," by Blight, 203
"Race and the Writing of History," by Keita, 497
"Race, War, and Surveillance," by Ellis, 1573
"Race Woman," by Horne, 243
"Racial Theories in Fascist Italy," by Gillette, 1320
Radcliff, Pamela B. (R), 624
Radding, Cynthia (R), 1180
"The Radical Face of the Ancient Constitution," by Greenberg, 1632
"Radio and Television Regulation," by Slotten, 238
"Radio Goes to War," by Horten, 1248
"Rajantakainen Venäjä," by Suomela, 1287
Ramirez, Bruno (R), 1195
Ranger, Terence (R), 670
Ranger, Terence, Jocelyn Alexander, and JoAnn McGregor, "Violence and Memory: One Hundred Years in the 'Dark Forests' of Matabeleland," 1680
Ransel, David L., "Village Mothers: Three Generations of Change in Russia and Tataria," 665
Rapport, Michael, "Nationality and Citizenship in Revolutionary France: The Treatment of Foreigners 1789–1799," 291
Ratcliffe, Donald J., "The Politics of Long Division: The Birth of the Second Party System in Ohio, 1818–1828," 193
Rauchway, Eric, "The Refuge of Affections: Family and American Reform Politics, 1900–1920," 1568
Rauh, Nicholas K. (R), 262
Ravel, Jeffrey S. (R), 948
Ravid, Benjamin, and Robert C. Davis, editors, "The Jews of Early Modern Venice" (E), 1002
Rawcliffe, Carole, Christopher Harper-Bill, and Richard G. Wilson, editors, "East Anglia's History: Studies in Honour of Norman Scarfe" (E), 1692
Rawson, Timothy, "Changing Tracks: Predators and Politics in Mt. McKinley National Park," 893
"Readers and Society in Nineteenth-Century France," by Lyons, 1304
"Reading Southern History," edited by Feldman (E), 679
Reagan, Leslie J. (R), 1599
Rearick, Charles (R), 1643
"Reasonable Use," by Cumbler, 212
"Rebel and a Cause," by Hamm, 1252
"Rebellion, Repression, Reinvention," edited by Hathaway (E), 325
"Receiving Erin's Children," by Gallman, 1191
"Reconstructing History," edited by Fox-Genovese and Lasch-Quinn, 156
"Reconstructing Italian Fashion," by White, 852
"Reconstruction in the Cane Fields," by Rodrigue, 551
"Recovery and Restoration," by Wend, 1197
"The Red Cross and the Holocaust," by Favez, 959
Reddin, Paul (R), 1557
Reddy, William M., "The Navigation of Feeling: A Framework for the History of Emotions," 1181
Redekop, Benjamin W. (R), 641
Redekop, Benjamin W., and Calvin W. Redekop, editors, "Power, Authority, and the Anabaptist Tradition" (E), 1001
Redekop, Calvin W., and Benjamin W. Redekop, editors, "Power, Authority, and the Anabaptist Tradition" (E), 1001
Rediker, Marcus, and Peter Linebaugh, "The Many-Headed Hydra: Sailors, Slaves, Commoners, and the Hidden History of the Revolutionary Atlantic," 1529
"Redrawing Nations," edited by Ther and Siljak (E), 1348
Reece, Bob, "The Origins of Irish Convict Transportation to New South Wales," 176
Reed, Bradly W. (R), 857
Reed, Merl E. (R), 567
"Re-examining the Cold War," edited by Ross and Changbin (E), 995
"Reform and Resistance," by Knupfer, 1241
"Reformers on Stage," by Waite, 635
"A Refuge in Thunder," by Harding, 260
"The Refuge of Affections," by Rauchway, 1568
"Region and Nation," edited by Brennan and Pianetto, 915
Rehder, John B., "Delta Sugar: Louisiana's Vanishing Plantation Landscape," 255
Reid, John G. (R), 1214
Reid, Susan E., and David Crowley, editors, "Style and Socialism: Modernity and Material Culture in Post-War Eastern Europe" (E), 1348
Reid-Maroney, Nina, "Philadelphia's Enlightenment, 1740–1800: Kingdom of Christ, Empire of Reason," 1221
Reif, Heinz, editor, "Adel und Bürgertum in Deutschland: Entwicklungslinien und Wendepunkte im 19. Jahrhundert" (E), 1693
Reif, Heinz, editor, "Adel und Bürgertum in Deutschland: Entwicklungslinien und Wendepunkte im 20. Jahrhundert" (E), 1693
Reill, Peter Hanns, and Keith Michael Baker, editors, "What's Left of Enlightenment? A Postmodern Question" (E), 677
"Reinforced Concrete and the Modernization of American Building, 1900–1930," by Slaton, 1236
Reinhardt, Nicole, "Macht und Ohnmacht der Verflechtung: Rom und Bologna unter Paul V," 965
"Reinventing Voltaire," by Bird, 292
Reisch, Michael, and Janice Andrews, "The Road Not Taken: A History of Radical Social Work in the United States," 1570
Reiss, Benjamin, "The Showman and the Slave: Race, Death, and Memory in Barnum's America," 1557
"Religion and Personal Law in Secular India," edited by Larson (E), 996
"Religion in the Modern American West," by Szasz, 555
"Religious Encounter and the Making of the Yoruba," by Peel, 985
"Religious Quest and National Identity in the Balkans," edited by Hawkesworth, Heppell, and Norris (E), 1002
"Remaking Chinese America," by Zhao, 1582
Remy, Johannes, and Chris J. Chulos, editors, "Imperial and National Identities in Pre-Revolutionary, Soviet, and Post-Soviet Russia" (E), 1349
"Renaissance Humanism and the Papal Curia," by Celenza, 650
Rennie, Bradford James, "The Rise of Agrarian Democracy: The United Farmers and Farm Women of Alberta, 1909–1921," 1216
Reply, by Eisenstein, 126–28
"A Republic of Righteousness," by Sassi, 1555

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Reschly, Steven D., Kimberly D. Schmidt, and Diane Zimmerman Umble, editors, "Strangers at Home: Amish and Mennonite Women in History" (E), 1341
A Response to "Beyond the Cultural Turn," by Brantlinger, 1500–12
Restad, Penne (R), 182
"Rethinking the 1898 Reform Period," edited by Karl and Zarrow (E), 1342
"Rethinking Vienna 1900," edited by Beller (E), 1002
"Rethinking World-Systems," by Stein, 975
Reuther, Thomas, "Die Ambivalente Normalisierung: Deutschlanddiskurs und Deutschlandbilder in den USA, 1941–1955," 1249
"La Revolución," by Benjamin, 580
"Revolution, Counter-revolution and Union," edited by Smyth, 942
"A Revolution in Language," by Rosenfeld, 948
"Revolutionary Britannia? Reflections on the Threat of Revolution in Britain, 1789–1848," by Royle, 615
"Revolutionizing the Family," by Diamant, 1539
"Rewriting History in the Soviet Russia," by Markwick, 1522
Rheinheimer, Martin, "Arme, Bettler, und Vaganten: Überleben in der Not 1450–1850," 604
"Rhetoric and Reality in Air Warfare," by Biddle, 1531
Rhinehart, Marilyn D. (R), 1243
Rhoads, Edward J. M., "Manchus and Han: Ethnic Relations and Political Power in Late Qing and Early Republican China, 1861–1928," 858
Rice-Maximin, Edward (R), 955
"Richard I," by Gillingham, 266
Richards, Michael (R), 284
Richards, Yevette, "Maida Springer: Pan-Africanist and International Labor Leader," 1532
Richardson, R. C. (R), 613
"Richelieu's Army," by Parrott, 1298
Richmond, Colin, "The Paston Family in the Fifteenth Century, Endings," 1284
Richter, Daniel K., "Facing East from Indian Country: A Native History of Early America," 872
Richter, Michael, and Próinséas Ní Chatháin, editors, "Ireland and Europe in the Early Middle Ages: Texts and Transmission" (E), 999
Rieber, Alfred J. (C), 341
Riekenberg, Michael, Stefan Rinke, and Peer Schmidt, editors, "Kultur-Diskurs: Kontinuität und Wandel der Diskussion um Identitäten in Lateinamerika im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert; 24 Beiträge gewidmet Hans-Joachim König" (E), 1690
Rigby, Nigel, H. V. Bowen, and Margarette Lincoln, editors, "The Worlds of the East India Company" (E), 1687
Rigby, S. H. (R), 154
Riley, James C., "Rising Life Expectancy: A Global History," 1526
Riley, Philip F., "A Lust for Virtue: Louis XIV's Attack on Sin in Seventeenth-Century France," 1299
Riley-Smith, Jonathan (R), 599
Rilling, Donna J., "Making Houses, Crafting Capitalism: Builders in Philadelphia, 1790–1850," 194
Rinke, Stefan, Michael Riekenberg, and Peer Schmidt, editors, "Kultur-Diskurs: Kontinuität und Wandel der Diskussion um Identitäten in Lateinamerika im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert; 24 Beiträge gewidmet Hans-Joachim König" (E), 1690
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"The Rise and Fall of Synanon," by Janzen, 911
"The Rise and Fall of the European Defense Community," by Ruane, 514
"The Rise of Agrarian Democracy," by Rennie, 1216
"The Rise of Professional Women in France," by Clark, 629
"Rising Life Expectancy," by Riley, 1526
Ritvo, Harriet (R), 509
"Rival Jerusalems," by Snell and Ell, 617
Rivers, Larry Eugene, and Canter Brown, Jr., "Laborers in the Vineyard of the Lord: The Beginnings of the AME Church in Florida, 1865–1895," 554
Rivoal, Isabelle, "Les maîtres du secret: Ordre mondain et ordre religieux dans la communauté Druze en Israël," 1330
"The Road Not Taken," by Reisch and Andrews, 1570
"Robert the Burgundian and the Counts of Anjou, ca. 1025–1098," by Jessee, 593
Robin, Ron, "The Making of the Cold War Enemy: Culture and Politics in the Military-Intellectual Complex," 1251
Robinson, Phil Alden, 991
Rock, David (R), 915
Rodén, Marie-Louise, "Church Politics in Seventeenth-Century Rome: Cardinal Decio Azzolino, Queen Christina of Sweden, and the Squadrone Volante," 1318
Rodrigue, John C., "Reconstruction in the Cane Fields: From Slavery to Free Labor in Lousiana's Sugar Parishes, 1862–1880," 551
Rodríguez Sáenz, Eugenia, "Hijas, novias y esposas: Familia, matrimonio y violencia doméstica en el Valle Central de Costa Rica (1750–1850)," 1263
Roediger, David (R), 1237
Rogan, Eugene L., "Frontiers of the Ottoman State, Transjordan 1850–1921," 978
Rogers, Clifford J., and Mark Grimsley, editors, "Civilians in the Path of War" (E), 1341
Rogers, John (R), 1306
Rogoziński, Jan, "Honor among Thieves: Captain Kidd, Henry Every, and the Pirate Democracy in the Indian Ocean," 1676
Roller, Matthew B., "Constructing Autocracy: Aristocrats and Emperors in Julio-Claudian Rome," 1273
Romani, Roberto, "National Character and Public Spirit in Britain and France, 1750–1914," 1285
"Romanian Policy towards Germany, 1936–40," by Haynes, 307
"Romanization in the Time of Augustus," by MacMullen, 921
"Rome's Eastern Trade," by Young, 1274
Romney, Paul, "Getting It Wrong: How Canadians Forgot Their Past and Imperilled Confederation," 871
Ronda, James P., "Finding the West: Explorations with Lewis and Clark," 1555
Ropp, Paul S., "Banished Immortal: Searching for Shuangqing, China's Peasant Woman Poet," 518
Rosario, Vernon A. (R), 1598
Rose, James D., "Duquesne and the Rise of Steel Unionism," 1243
Rose, James D. (R), 1594
Rose, Jonathan (R), 277

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Rose, Jonathan, "The Intellectual Life of the British Working Classes," 938
Rose, Kenneth D., "One Nation Underground: The Fallout Shelter in American Culture," 572
Rose, Kenneth D. (R), 1587
Rose, Mary B., "Firms, Networks and Business Values: The British and American Cotton Industries since 1750," 1192
Roseman, Mark, and Carl Levy, editors, "Three Postwar Eras in Comparison: Western Europe 1918–1945–1989" (E), 1688
Rosemblatt, Karin Alejandra, "Gendered Compromises: Political Culture and the State in Chile, 1920–1950," 586
Rosen, Deborah A. (R), 537
Rosen, Stanley (R), 1539
Rosenband, Leonard N., "Papermaking in Eighteenth-Century France: Management, Labor, and Revolution at the Montgolfier Mill, 1761–1805," 290
Rosenfeld, Sophia, "A Revolution in Language: The Problem of Signs in Late Eighteenth-Century France," 948
Rosenthal, Jean-Laurent, Philip T. Hoffman, and Gilles Postel-Vinay, "Priceless Markets: The Political Economy of Credit in Paris, 1660–1870," 626
Rosenwein, Barbara (R), 1181
Rosenwein, Barbara H., *Worrying about Emotions in History*, 821
Roshwald, Aviel (R), 609
Ross, Robert S., and Jiang Changbin, editors, "Re-examining the Cold War: U.S.-China Diplomacy, 1954–1973" (E), 995
Rosser, Gervase (R), 1624
"Rossiia kak problema Vsemirnoi istorii," by Wada, 972
Rotter, Andrew J., "Comrades at Odds: The United States and India, 1947–1964," 239
Rousey, Dennis C. (R), 1230
Roy, Tirthankar, "Traditional Industry in the Economy of Colonial India," 866
Roydhouse, Marion W. (R), 208
Royle, Edward, "Revolutionary Britannia? Reflections on the Threat of Revolution in Britain, 1789–1848," 615
Rozario, Kevin (R), 892
Ruane, Christine (R), 661
Ruane, Kevin, "The Rise and Fall of the European Defense Community: Anglo-American Relations and the Crisis of European Defense, 1950–55," 514
Rubiés, Joan-Pau, "Travel and Ethnology in the Renaissance: South India through European Eyes, 1250–1625," 1188
Rubin, Patricia Lee, and Giovanni Ciappelli, editors, "Art, Memory, and Family in Renaissance Florence," 302
Ruble, Blair A., "Second Metropolis: Pragmatic Pluralism in Gilded Age Chicago, Silver Age Moscow, and Meiji Osaka," 1530
Ruderman, David B., "Jewish Enlightenment in an English Key: Anglo-Jewry's Construction of Modern Jewish Thought," 275
Ruff, Julius R. (R), 649
Rugeley, Terry (R), 1260
Rugh, Susan Sessions, "Our Common Country: Family Farming, Culture, and Community in the Nineteenth-Century Midwest," 874
"Ruins and Rivals," by Snead, 562
"Die Rumänisierung der Bukowina," by Hausleitner, 969
Ruotsila, Markku, "British and American Anticommunism before the Cold War," 853
Rusco, Elmer R., "A Fateful Time: The Background and Legislative History of the Indian Reorganization Act," 566
Russell, Frank Santi, "Information Gathering in Classical Greece," 918
Russell, Peter, "Prince Henry 'the Navigator': A Life," 285
Russell-Wood, A. J. R. (R), 1613
"Russia Enters the Railway Age, 1842–1855," by Haywood, 661
"Russian Modernity," edited by Hoffmann and Kotsonis, 664
"Russia's First Civil War," by Dunning, 658
Rystad, Göran (R), 1646

Sabella, Robert, Fei Fei Li, and David Liu, editors, "Nanking 1937: Memory and Healing" (E), 1342
Sack, Daniel (R), 182
Sadashige, Jacqui (R), 989, 1336; (C), 1367
Sadowsky, Jonathan (R), 1678
Saeger, James Schofield, "The Chaco Mission Frontier: The Guaycuruan Experience," 1261
Safley, Thomas Max, "Matheus Miller's Memoir: A Merchant's Life in the Seventeenth Century," 1307
Saler, Michael (R), 1635
Salman, Michael, "The Embarrassment of Slavery: Controversies over Bondage and Nationalism in the American Colonial Philippines," 1543
"The Salt Merchants of Tianjin," by Kwan, 859
Sandelowski, Margarete, "Devices and Desires: Gender, Technology, and American Nursing," 896
"Sandinista," by Zimmermann, 1262
Sandweiss, Eric, "St. Louis: The Evolution of an American Urban Landscape," 559
Sangwan, Satpal (R), 867
"Sankarikansa ja kavaltajat," by Peltovuori, 1648
Santosuosso, Antonio (R), 1269
Santosuosso, Antonio, "Storming the Heavens: Soldiers, Emperors, and Civilians in the Roman Empire," 1620
Sarantakes, Nicholas Evan (R), 622
Sarna, Jonathan D., and Pamela S. Nadell, editors, "Women and American Judaism: Historical Perspectives" (E), 326
Sarotte, M. E., "Dealing with the Devil: East Germany, Detente, and Ostpolitik, 1969–1973," 301
Sasaki-Uemura, Wesley, "Organizing the Spontaneous: Citizen Protest in Postwar Japan," 863
Sassi, Jonathan D., "A Republic of Righteousness: The Public Christianity of the Post-Revolutionary New England Clergy," 1555
Sassi, Maria Michela, "The Science of Man in Ancient Greece," 1270
Satterwhite, James (R), 306
Scarpellini, Emanuela, "Comprare all'americana: Le origini della rivoluzione commerciale in Italia 1945–1971," 1661
Schain, Martin A., editor, "The Marshall Plan: Fifty Years After" (E), 328
Schantz, Mark S., "Piety in Providence: Class Dimensions of Religious Experience in Antebellum Rhode Island," 189

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Schechter, Patricia A., "Ida B. Wells-Barnett and American Reform, 1880–1930," 1566
Scheer, Monique, *From Majesty to Mystery: Change in the Meanings of Black Madonnas from the Sixteenth to Nineteenth Centuries*, 1412–40
Scheuerman, William E., and Peter C. Caldwell, editors, "From Liberal Democracy to Fascism" (E), 1347
Schiebinger, Londa (R), 183
"Schiedsrichter, Gesetzgeber und Gesetzgebung im Archaischen Griechenland," by Hölkeskamp, 1618
Schild, Georg (R), 515
Schilp, Thomas, "Norm und Wirklichkeit religiöser Frauengemeinschaften im Frühmittelalter: Die *Instituto sanctimonialium Aguisgranensis* des Jahres 816 und die Problematik der Verfassung von Frauenkommunitäten," 263
Schissler, Hanna (R), 1659
Schleunes, Karl A. (R), 1310
Schlitt, Melinda, and Joseph Marino, editors, "Perspectives on Early Modern and Modern Intellectual History: Essays in Honor of Nancy S. Struever" (E), 328
Schmidt, Kimberly D., Diane Zimmerman Umble, and Steven D. Reschly, editors, "Strangers at Home: Amish and Mennonite Women in History" (E), 1341
Schmidt, Peer, Michael Riekenberg, and Stefan Rinke, editors, "Kultur-Diskurs: Kontinuität und Wandel der Diskussion um Identitäten in Lateinamerika im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert; 24 Beiträge gewidmet Hans-Joachim König" (E), 1690
Schmitt, Oliver Jens, "Das venezianische Albanien (1392–1479)," 1283
Schmitthenner, Peter L., "Telugu Resurgence: C. P. Brown and Cultural Consolidation in Nineteenth-Century South India," 866
Schneider, Eric C. (R), 1241
Schneider, Gregory L. (R), 908
Schneider, Mark Robert, " 'We Return Fighting': The Civil Rights Movement in the Jazz Age," 1574
"The School of History," by Munn, 1271
Schoppa, R. Keith (R), 519
Schudson, Michael, *News, Public, Nation*, 481–95
Schulte, Jan Erik, "Zwangsarbeit und Vernichtung: Das Wirtschaftsimperium der SS; Oswald Pohl und das SS-Wirtschafts-Verwaltungshauptamt 1933–1945," 1312
Schulte, Jan Erik (R), 1657
Schulten, Susan, "The Geographical Imagination in America, 1880–1950," 226
Schulten, Susan (R), 561
Schultheiss, Katrin, "Bodies and Souls: Politics and the Professionalization of Nursing in France, 1880–1922," 952
Schultz, April R. (R), 218
Schultz, Debra L., "Going South: Jewish Women in the Civil Rights Movement," 1254
Schumaker, Lyn, "Africanizing Anthropology: Fieldwork, Networks, and the Making of Cultural Knowledge in Central Africa," 1679
Schutte, Anne Jacobson, "Aspiring Saints: Pretense of Holiness, Inquisition, and Gender in the Republic of Venice 1618–1750," 1317
Schwartz, Marie Jenkins (R), 1223
Schwartz, Marie Jenkins, "Born in Bondage: Growing Up Enslaved in the Antebellum South," 1231
Schwarz, Philip J., "Migrants against Slavery: Virginians and the Nation," 542
"Science and Civilisation in China," by Golas, 855
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Scott, Ridley, 1338
"The Scottish Book Trade, 1500–1720," by Mann, 1290
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Scull, Andrew, and Jonathan Andrews, "Undertaker of the Mind: John Monro and Mad-Doctoring in Eighteenth-Century England," 1292
The Search for European Differences and Domination in the Early Modern World, by Wong, 447–69
"Searching for John Ford," by McBride, 900
Seaver, Paul S. (R), 1289
"The Second Battlefield," by Smith, 929
"Second Metropolis," by Ruble, 1530
Secord, James A., "Victorian Sensation: The Extraordinary Publication, Reception, and Secret Authorship of *Vestiges of the Natural History of Creation*," 616
"Secret Dialogues," by Serbin, 1615
"Secrets of Nature," edited by Newman and Grafton (E), 1000
"Secrets of Victory," by Sweeney, 237
"See America First," by Shaffer, 561
Seeing Double, by Elliott, 26–54
"Seeing Red," by Congdon, 1322
"Seeking Modernity in China's Name," by Ye, 519
Seelye, John, "Memory's Nation: The Place of Plymouth Rock," 1547
Sellars, Nigel Anthony (R), 1244
Sellers, Christopher (R), 570
"Selling the True Time," by Bartky, 540
Selwood, Dominic, "Knights of the Cloister: Templars and Hospitallers in Central-Southern Occitania c.1100–c.1300," 1280
Selwyn, Pamela E., "Everyday Life in the German Book Trade: Friedrich Nicolai as Bookseller and Publisher in the Age of Enlightenment 1740–1810," 641
Sen, Satadru, "Disciplining Punishment: Colonialism and Convict Society in the Andaman Islands," 1211
Sen, Sudipta (R), 164
"Sense of History," by Glassberg, 1187
"A Sense of Their Duty," by Holman, 176
Serbin, Kenneth P., "Secret Dialogues: Church-State Relations, Torture, and Social Justice in Authoritarian Brazil," 1615
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"Sexual Chemistry," by Marks, 1536

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Shaffer, Marguerite S. (R), 1588
Shamir, Ronen, "The Colonies of Law: Colonialism, Zionism and Law in Early Mandate Palestine," 1672
"The Shaping of Southern Culture," by Wyatt-Brown, 1226
Shapiro, Barry (R), 291
Shapiro, Jerome F., "Atomic Bomb Cinema: The Apocalyptic Imagination on Film," 1587
Shapiro, Judith, "Mao's War against Nature: Politics and the Environment in Revolutionary China," 862
"A Shared World," by Greene, 161
Sharf, Elizabeth Horton, and Robert H. Sharf, editors, "Living Images: Japanese Buddhist Icons in Context" (E), 1342
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Shepherd, Samuel C., Jr., "Avenues of Faith: Shaping the Urban Religious Culture of Richmond, Virginia, 1900–1929," 223
Shepherd, Verene A., editor, "Working Slavery, Pricing Freedom: Perspectives from the Caribbean, Africa and the African Diaspora" (E), 1340
Sheriff, Carol (R), 194
Shih, Shu-mei, "The Lure of the Modern: Writing Modernism in Semicolonial China, 1917–1937," 521
Shindo, Charles J. (R), 1245
Shipps, Jan, "Sojourner in the Promised Land: Forty Years among the Mormons," 1188
"Shitao," by Hay, 517
Shlaim, Avi, "The Iron Wall: Israel and the Arab World," 1329
Shore, Elliott, and Frank Trommler, editors, "The German-American Encounter: Conflict and Cooperation between Two Cultures, 1800–2000" (E), 677
"Shouldering the Burdens of Defeat," by Hughes, 1658
Showalter, D. E. (R), 644
Showalter, Elaine C. (R), 621
"The Showman and the Slave," by Reiss, 1557
Shull, Michael S. (R), 899
"Shylock's Children," by Penslar, 928
Siegfried, Detlef, "Der Fliegerblick: Intellektuelle, Radikalismus und Flugzeugproduktion bei Junkers 1914 bis 1934," 963
Siegfried, Detlef (R), 1310
Sigal, Pete, "From Moon Goddesses to Virgins: The Colonization of Yucatecan Maya Sexual Desire," 1260
Silay, Kemal (R), 1326
Siljak, Ana, and Philipp Ther, editors, "Redrawing Nations: Ethnic Cleansing in East-Central Europe, 1944–1948" (E), 1348
Silva Riquer, Jorge, and Antonio Escobar Ohmstede, coordinators, "Mercados indígenas en México, Chile y Argentina: Siglos XVIII–XIX" (E), 998
Silverman, Lisa, "Tortured Subjects: Pain, Truth, and the Body in Early Modern France," 289
Silverman, Victor (R), 941
Simeone, James, "Democracy and Slavery in Frontier Illinois: The Bottomland Republic," 543
Simpson, Brooks D., and Mark Grimsley, editors, "The Collapse of the Confederacy," 883
Simpson, Caroline Chung, "An Absent Presence: Japanese Americans in Postwar American Culture, 1945–1960," 1581
Sinha, Manisha (R), 544
Sinha, Manisha, "The Counterrevolution of Slavery: Politics and Ideology in Antebellum South Carolina," 878
"The Sino-American Friendship as Tradition and Challenge," by Zaccarini, 513
Sinsheimer, Bernard (C), 1021
Sirén, Kirsi, "Suuresta suvusta pieneen perheeseen: Itäsuomalainen perhe 1700-luvulla," 287
Sitton, Tom, and William Deverell, editors, "Metropolis in the Making: Los Angeles in the 1920s" (E), 327
Sivaramakrishnan, K., "Modern Forests: Statemaking and Environmental Change in Colonial Eastern India," 1211
Sizer, Lyde Cullin, "The Political Work of Northern Women Writers and the Civil War, 1850–1872," 546
Slack, Edward R., Jr., "Opium, State, and Society: China's Narco-Economy and the Guomindang, 1924–1937," 169
Slane, Andrea, "A Not So Foreign Affair: Fascism, Sexuality, and the Cultural Rhetoric of American Democracy," 574
Slaton, Amy E., "Reinforced Concrete and the Modernization of American Building, 1900–1930," 1236
"Slave Patrols," by Hadden, 195
"Slavery and the Demographic and Economic History of Minas Gerais, Brazil, 1720–1888," by Bergad, 258
"A Slave's Place, A Master's World," by Naro, 1267
Sloan, Robert, "William Smith O'Brien and the Young Ireland Rebellion of 1848," 281
Slotten, Hugh R., "Radio and Television Regulation: Broadcast Technology in the United States, 1920–1960," 238
"Slovenia and the Slovenes," by Gow and Carmichael, 657
Sluglett, Peter (R), 980
Sluhovsky, Moshe, *The Devil in the Convent*, 1379–1411
Small, Melvin (R), 251
A Small Way of Saying "No," by Edelman, 1441–75
Smeins, Linda E., "Building an American Identity: Pattern Book Homes and Communities, 1870–1900," 1564
Smith, Allan (R), 871
Smith, Angela K., "The Second Battlefield: Women, Modernism, and the First World War," 929
Smith, Brendan (R), 1278
Smith, F. Todd (R), 207
Smith, Helmut Walser, editor, "Protestants, Catholics and Jews in Germany, 1880–1914" (E), 1001
Smith, Helmut Walser (R), 1651
Smith, Helmut Walser, Christhard Hoffmann, and Werner Bergmann, editors, "Exclusionary Violence: Antisemitic Riots in Modern German History" (E), 1693
Smith, Jean Edward, "Grant," 882

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Smith, Pamela H., and Paula Findlen, editors, "Merchants and Marvels: Commerce, Science, and Art in Early Modern Europe" (E), 1000
Smith, Shawn Michelle, "American Archives: Gender, Race, and Class in Visual Culture," 547
Smith, Sherry L. (R), 215
Smith, Simon C., "Kuwait 1950–1965 : Britain, the al-Sabah and Oil," 980
Smith, Woodruff D. (R), 1652
Smits, Gregory (R), 1206
Smyth, Jim (R), 932
Smyth, Jim, editor, "Revolution, Counter-revolution and Union: Ireland in the 1790s," 942
Snead, James E., "Ruins and Rivals: The Making of Southwest Archaeology," 562
Snell, K. D. M., and Paul S. Ell, "Rival Jerusalems: The Geography of Victorian Religion," 617
"Social Scientists for Social Justice," by Jackson, 1597
"Social Transformation in Modern China," by Zhang, 522
"Society and Culture in the Huguenot World 1559–1685," edited by Mantzer and Spicer (E), 1347
Sodhy, Pamela (R), 1209
"Sojourner in the Promised Land," by Shipps, 1188
Søland, Birgitte, "Becoming Modern: Young Women and the Reconstruction of Womanhood in the 1920s," 637
"A Soldier and a Woman," edited by DeGroot and Peniston-Bird, 1199
"Soldiers as Citizens," by Lockenour, 1313
Soliday, Gerald L. (R), 1307
"South Carolina and the New Deal," by Hayes, 898
"The South vs. the South," by Freehling, 199
"The Southern Elite and Social Change," edited by Finley and DeBlack (E), 1343
Sowell, David, "The Tale of Healer Miguel Perdomo Neira: Medicine, Ideologies, and Power in the Nineteenth-Century Andes," 1611
"Sowing the American Dream," by Blanke, 209
"Spaniards and Nazi Germany," by Bowen, 284
"Spaniards, Planters, and Slaves," by Din, 187
Spaulding, Jay (R), 496
"Speaking with Vampires," by White, 983
Spence, Jonathan (R), 169
Spence, Jonathan D., "Treason by the Book," 1201
Spence, Mary Lee (R), 1555
Spencer, Thomas M., "The St. Louis Veiled Prophet Celebration: Power on Parade, 1877–1995," 560
Sperber, Murray (R), 1234
Sperling, Jutta (R), 1317
Sperling, Jutta Gisela, "Convents and the Body Politic in Late Renaissance Venice," 303
Spicer, Andrew, and Raymond A. Mantzer, editors, "Society and Culture in the Huguenot World 1559–1685" (E), 1347
Spickard, Paul (R), 173
Spindel, Donna J. (R), 195
Spinner, Thomas J., Jr. (R), 256
"The Spirit and the Flesh in Shandong, 1650–1785," by Mungello, 516
"Spiritual Economies," by Warren, 268
"The Spiritual Franciscans," by Burr, 1282
"Spiritual Kinship and Social Practice," by Jussen, 1277
"Spiritualism and British Society between the Wars," by Hazelgrove, 621
Spitzer, Alan B. (R), 631
"Sport in Latin America and the Caribbean," edited by Arbena and LaFrance (E), 1344
"Spreading Germs," by Worboys, 939
Srebnick, Amy Gilman (R), 181
St. George, Robert Blair, editor, "Possible Pasts: Becoming Colonial in Early America" (E), 997
"St. Louis," by Sandweiss, 559
"The St. Louis Veiled Prophet Celebration," by Spencer, 560
St. Pierre, Maurice, "Anatomy of Resistance: Anti-Colonialism in Guyana 1823–1966," 256
"Staatsbürgerschaft in Europa," edited by Conrad and Kocka (E), 328
Stackelberg, Roderick (R), 1654
Stafford, Pauline, Janet L. Nelson, and Jane Martindale, editors, "Law, Laity and Solidarities: Essays in Honor of Susan Reynolds" (E), 1345
"Staging Philanthropy," by Quataert, 1651
"Staging the Past," edited by Bucur and Wingfield, 1662
"Stalinist Reconstruction and the Confirmation of a New Elite, 1945–1953," by Duskin, 974
Stanley, Brian, editor, "Christian Missions and the Enlightenment" (E), 1345
Stapleton, Tim, and Chris Youé, editors, "Agency and Action in Colonial Africa: Essays for John E. Flint" (E), 680
Starn, Randolph (R), 302
"State and Society in the Early Middle Ages," by Innes, 923
"A State of Nations," edited by Suny and Martin (E), 1003
"State of the Union," edited by Holzer (E), 997
"State of the Union," by Lichtenstein, 1592
Stauter-Halstad, Keely, "The Nation in the Village: The Genesis of Peasant National Identity in Austrian Poland, 1848–1914," 1663
Steed, Christopher, and Bengt Sundkler, "A History of the Church in Africa," 1676
"Steel and Steelworkers," by Hinshaw, 1594
Steffen, Lisa, "Defining a British State, Treason and National Identity, 1608–1820," 932
Steiman, Lionel B. (R), 928
Stein, Andrew (C), 1021
Stein, Gil J., "Rethinking World-Systems: Diasporas, Colonies, and Interaction in Uruk Mesopotamia," 975
Stein, Stanley J. (R), 848
Steinberg, Ted (R), 214
Steinberg, Ted, *Down to Earth: Nature, Agency, and Power in History*, 798–820
Steinfeld, Robert J., "Coercion, Contract, and Free Labor in the Nineteenth Century," 1193
Steininger, Rolf, "Der Mauerbau: Die Westmächte und Adenauer in der Berlinkrise 1958–1963," 515
Steinweis, Alan E. (R), 674
Stengers, Jean, and Anne Van Neck, "Masturbation: The History of a Great Terror," 849
Stephanson, Anders (R), 239
Stern, Alexandra Minna, and Howard Markel, editors, "Formative Years: Children's Health in the United States, 1880–2000" (E), 1690
Sterngass, Jon (R), 1564
Stevens, Carol B. (R), 658

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Stocking, George W., Jr. (R), 1679
Stocking, Rachel L., "Bishops, Councils, and Consensus in the Visigothic Kingdom, 589–633," 590
Stock-Morton, Phyllis H., "The Life of Marie d'Agoult, alias Daniel Stern," 1639
Stoianovich, Traian (R), 1661
Stokes, Raymond G., "Constructing Socialism: Technology and Change in East Germany 1945–1990," 300
Stoll, Steven, "The Fruits of Natural Advantage: Making the Industrial Countryside in California," 891
Stone, Dan, editor, "Theoretical Interpretations of the Holocaust" (E), 328
Stone, Daniel, "The Polish-Lithuanian State, 1386–1795," 1665
Stone, David R., "Hammer and Rifle: The Militarization of the Soviet Union, 1926–1933," 973
Stone, Judith F. (R), 952
"Storm on the Horizon," by Doenecke, 1579
"Storming the Heavens," by Santosuosso, 1620
Storrs, Christopher (R), 931
Story, Ronald (R), 1233
"The Story of Taxol," by Goodman and Walsh, 577
Stott, Richard (R), 194
Stow, Kenneth, "Theater of Acculturation: The Roman Ghetto in the Sixteenth Century," 1318
"The Strange Death of American Liberalism," by Brands, 1601
"Strangers at Home," edited by Schmidt, Umble, and Reschly (E), 1341
Strategies of Narrative Synthesis in American History, by Bender, 129–53
Strauss, Barry S., and David McCann, editors, "War and Democracy: A Comparative Study of the Korean War and the Peloponnesian War" (E), 994
Strauss, David, "Percival Lowell: The Culture and Science of a Boston Brahmin," 210
Streeter, Stephen M., "Managing the Counterrevolution: The United States and Guatemala, 1954–1961," 1609
"Strike Songs of the Depression," by Lynch, 901
"Striking a Bargain," by Jaffe, 936
Stroll, Mary (R), 595
Strom, Sharon Hartman (R), 227
Strom, Sharon Hartman, "Political Woman: Florence Luscomb and the Legacy of Radical Reform," 241
"The Strozzi of Florence," by Crabb, 651
"Struggle for Mastery," by Perman, 885
Stuchtey, Benedikt, and Eckhardt Fuchs, editors, "Across Cultural Borders: Historiography in Global Perspective" (E), 1687
Sturken, Marita (R), 1187
"Style and Socialism," edited by Reid and Crowley (E), 1348
"Subject Matter," by Chaplin, 183
Subjects into Citizens, by Bradley, 1094–1123
"Subjects or Citizens? Elementary School Policy and Practice in Bavaria 1800–1918," by Welch, 297
Subrahmanyam, Sanjay, "Penumbral Visions: Making Polities in Early Modern South India," 865
Subtelny, Orest (R), 1667
"Suicide in the Middle Ages," by Murray, 264
"La Suisse et les réfugiés à l'époque du national-socialism," 957
Sullivan-González, Douglass (R), 1264
Sundkler, Bengt, and Christopher Steed, "A History of the Church in Africa," 1676
Suny, Ronald Grigor, *Back and Beyond: Reversing the Cultural Turn?* 1476–99
Suny, Ronald Grigor, and Michael D. Kennedy, editors, "Intellectuals and the Articulation of the Nation," 506
Suny, Ronald Grigor, and Terry Martin, editors, "A State of Nations: Empire and Nation-Making in the Age of Lenin and Stalin" (E), 1003
Suomela, Julitta, "Rajantakainen Venäjä: Venäläisten emigranttien aatteelliset ja poliittiset mielipiteet Euroopan venäläisissä sanomalehdissä vuosina 1918–1940," 1287
"Superpowers Defeated," by Borer, 166
"Surviving the City," by Wang, 558
"Suspect Relations," by Fischer, 1550
Sutcliffe, Adam (R), 604
"Suunnitelmatalous Neuvosto-Karjalassa 1928–1941," by Autio, 1670
"Suuresta suvusta pieneen perheeseen," by Sirén, 287
Suziedelis, Saulius (R), 1666
Swain, Gladys, and Marcel Gauchet, "Madness and Democracy: The Modern Psychiatric Universe," 159
Swan, Claudia (R), 1628
Swanson, R. N. (R), 267
Sweeney, Michael S., "Secrets of Victory: The Office of Censorship and the American Press and Radio in World War II," 237
Swierenga, Robert P., "Faith and Family: Dutch Immigration and Settlement in the United States, 1820–1920," 1229
"Swing Shift," by Tucker, 902
"Swing, That Modern Sound," by Bindas, 901
Swinth, Kirsten, "Painting Professionals: Women Artists and the Development of Modern American Art, 1870–1930," 1571
Sylvester, Kenneth Michael, "The Limits of Rural Capitalism: Family, Culture, and Markets in Montcalm, Manitoba, 1870–1940," 1545
Szalay, Michael, "New Deal Modernism: American Literature and the Invention of the Welfare State," 235
Szasz, Ferenc Morton, "Religion in the Modern American West," 555
Szasz, Ferenc Morton, "Scots in the North American West, 1790–1917," 510
Szylvian, Kristin, John F. Bauman, and Roger Biles, editors, "From Tenements to the Taylor Homes: In Search of an Urban Housing Policy in Twentieth-Century America," 232

Tager, Jack (R), 1218
"Taíno Revival," edited by Haslip-Viera (E), 679
Taithe, Bertrand, "Defeated Flesh: Medicine, Welfare, and Warfare in the Making of Modern France," 632
"The Tale of Healer Miguel Perdomo Neira," by Sowell, 1611
Tanović, Danis, 675
Tashjian, Victoria, and Jean Allman, " 'I Will Not Eat Stone': A Women's History of Colonial Asante," 984

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ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Tatum, W. Jeffrey, "The Patrician Tribune: Publius Clodius Pulcher," 262
Tatum, W. Jeffrey (R), 1272
"Die Teilung der Leitung," by Berg, 155
"Telugu Resurgence," by Schmitthenner, 866
Tenorio-Trillo, Mauricio (R), 914
Terry, Jennifer, "An American Obsession: Science, Medicine, and Homosexuality in Modern Society," 254
"Theater of Acculturation," by Stow, 1318
"Theatre and War 1933–1945," edited by Balfour (E), 680
Thelin, John R. (R), 1578
Theoharis, Athan (R), 909, 1220
Theoharis, Athan, "Chasing Spies: How the FBI Failed in Counterintelligence but Promoted the Politics of McCarthyism in the Cold War Years," 1584
"Theoretical Interpretations of the Holocaust," edited by Stone (E), 328
Ther, Philipp (R), 299
Ther, Philipp, and Ana Siljak, editors, "Redrawing Nations: Ethnic Cleansing in East-Central Europe, 1944–1948" (E), 1348
"These Fiery Frenchified Dames," by Branson, 538
"Thinking Confederates," by Frost, 552
"Thinking Orientals," by Yu, 219
Thomas, Carol G., and Craig Conant, "Citadel to City-State: The Transformation of Greece, 1200–700 B.C.E.," 1616
Thompson, Alastair R., "Left Liberals, the State, and Popular Politics in Wilhelmine Germany," 1653
Thompson, Andrew S., and David Omissi, editors, "The Impact of the South African War" (E), 1340
Thompson, Elizabeth (R), 1328
Thompson, Elizabeth, "Colonial Citizens: Republican Rights, Paternal Privilege, and Gender in French Syria and Lebanon," 1674
Thorpe, Andrew, "The British Communist Party and Moscow, 1920–1943," 941
" 'Those of My Blood,' " by Bouchard, 924
"Those without a Country," by Topp, 1195
"Three Postwar Eras in Comparison," edited by Levy and Roseman (E), 1688
Through the Consul's Eye, directed by Amat, reviewed by Xiao, 990
Thurber, Timothy N. (R), 1256
Thurston, Robert W. (R), 312
Thyrêt, Isolde, "Between God and Tsar: Religious Symbolism and the Royal Women of Muscovite Russia," 1323
Tibbetts, John C. (R), 673, 1683
The Tichborne Claimant, directed by Yates, reviewed by McWilliam, 1682
Tichi, Cecelia, "Embodiment of a Nation: Human Form in American Places," 1186
Tiersten, Lisa, "Marianne in the Market: Envisioning Consumer Society in Fin-de-Siècle France," 953
"Ties That Bind," by Jacobson, 895
"Ties That Bind, Ties That Divide," by Puskás, 219
Tilly, Charles (R), 504, 1303
"Time Full of Trial," by Click, 549
"Time in the Medieval World," edited by Humphrey and Ormrod (E), 999
"A Time of Crisis," by Smith, 1207
Tipton, Elise K. (R), 864
Tischler, Ulrike, "Die habsburgische Politik gegenüber den Serben und Montenegrinern 1791–1822: Förderung oder Vereinnahmung?" 1667
"To Come to the Land," by David, 977
"To Speak for the People," by Cowans, 949
Todd, Malcolm (R), 922
Toledano, Ehud R. (R), 977
"Toleration in Enlightenment Europe," edited by Grell and Porter, 604
Tomasevich, Jozo, "War and Revolution in Yugoslavia, 1941–1945: Occupation and Collaboration," 971
Tombs, Robert (R), 1638
Tooze, J. Adam (R), 956
Toplin, Robert Brent (R), 900
Topp, Michael Miller, "Those without a Country: The Political Culture of Italian American Syndicalists," 1195
Tornbjer, Charlotte, "Den nationella modern: Moderskap i konstruktioner av svensk nationell gemenskap under 1900-talets första hälft," 1647
"Tornel and Santa Anna," by Fowler, 913
Torpey, John, and Jane Caplan, editors, "Documenting Individual Identity: The Development of State Practices in the Modern World" (E), 994
"Tortured Subjects," by Silverman, 289
"Tosca's Rome," by Nicassio, 847
Tosh, John (R), 619
Tóth, István György, "Literacy and Written Culture in Early Modern Central Europe," 654
Tóth, István György, and Eszter Andor, editors, "Frontiers of Faith: Religious Exchange and the Constitution of Religious Identities 1400–1750" (E), 1000
"Toward the Rising Sun," by van der Oye, 1324
"Towards an Urban Nation," edited by Lenger (E), 1693
"Town and Country in Europe, 1300–1800," edited by Epstein, 601
Townsend, Kenneth William, "World War II and the American Indian," 1580
Townson, Nigel, "The Crisis of Democracy in Spain: Centrist Politics under the Second Republic, 1931–1936," 624
Tracy, James D., editor, "City Walls: The Urban Enceinte in Global Perspective," 160
"Traditional Industry in the Economy of Colonial India," by Roy, 866
"Transatlantic Ties in the Spanish Empire," by Altman, 848
"The Transformation of the Southeastern Indians, 1540–1760," edited by Ethridge and Hudson (E), 996
"Transgressing the Bounds," by Breen, 185
"Travel and Ethnology in the Renaissance," by Rubiés, 1188
"Treason by the Book," by Spence, 1201
Treggiari, Susan (R), 1620
Trennert, Robert A. (R), 1560
"Tribes and the American Constitution," by Hutchins, 533
Triner, Gail D., "Banking and Economic Development: Brazil, 1889–1930," 1268
Troebst, Stefan (R), 1283
Troen, S. Ilan, and Deborah Dash Moore, editors, "Divergent Jewish Cultures: Israel and America" (E), 1342
Trommler, Frank, and Elliott Shore, editors, "The German-American Encounter: Conflict and

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Cooperation between Two Cultures, 1800–2000" (E), 677
"Truth Claims," edited by Bradley and Petro (E), 1689
" 'A Truthful Impression of the Country,' " by Clifford, 1196
Tsai, Shih-shan Henry, "Perpetual Happiness: The Ming Emperor Yongle," 515
Tsin, Michael (R), 859
Tuchscherer, Michel, editor, "Le commerce du café avant l'ère des plantations coloniales: Espaces, réseaux, sociétés (XV^e–XIX^e siècle" (E), 993
Tuck, Stephen G. N., "Beyond Atlanta: The Struggle for Racial Equality in Georgia, 1940–1980," 1595
Tucker, Aviezer, "The Philosophy and Politics of Czech Dissidence from Patočka to Havel," 306
Tucker, Sherrie (R), 901
Tucker, Sherrie, "Swing Shift: 'All-Girl' Bands of the 1940s," 902
Tulchin, Joseph S. (R), 1255
Tuller, Roger H., " 'Let No Guilty Man Escape': A Judicial Biography of 'Hanging Judge' Isaac C. Parker," 550
Tunnell, Ted, "Edge of the Sword: The Ordeal of Carpetbagger Marshall H. Twitchell in the Civil War and Reconstruction," 550
Turner, Henry Ashby, Jr. (R), 1311
Turner, James (R), 210
Turner, Mary (R), 1193
Turner, Michael (R), 1637
"Twentieth-Century Anglo-American Relations," edited by Hollowell (E), 325
"Two Cultures of Rights," edited by Berg and Geyer (E), 1341

"The U.S. Navy and the Origins of the Military-Industrial Complex, 1847–1883," by Hackemer, 201
"The Ukrainians," by Wilson, 1667
Umansky, Lauri, and Paul K. Longmore, editors, "The New Disability History: American Perspectives," 1523
Umbach, Maiken, "Federalism and Enlightenment in Germany, 1740–1806," 960
Umbach, Maiken, editor, "German Federalism: Past, Present, Future" (E), 1347
Umble, Diane Zimmerman, Kimberly D. Schmidt, and Steven D. Reschly, editors, "Strangers at Home: Amish and Mennonite Women in History" (E), 1341
An Unacknowledged Revolution Revisited, by Eisenstein, 87–105
"Un-American Womanhood," by Nielson, 1242
"The Uncertain Sciences," by Mazlish, 1524
"Uncivil War," by Le Sueur, 1332
"Undertaker of the Mind," by Andrews and Scull, 1292
"Unintended Consequences of Constitutional Amendment," edited by Kyvig, 178
"The Union That Shaped the Confederacy," by Davis, 198
"Untouchable Freedom," by Prashad, 869
"The Unvarnished Truth," by Fabian, 1183
"Unwelcome Americans," by Herndon, 188
"Urban Achievement in Early Modern Europe," edited by O'Brien, *et al.*, 603
Uribe-Uran, Victor M., "Honorable Lives: Lawyers, Family, and Politics in Colombia, 1780–1850," 1265
Uribe-Uran, Victor M. (R), 1266
Utley, R. E., "The French Defence Debate: Consensus and Continuity in the Mitterrand Era," 1305

Van Cleve, John Vickrey (R), 1523
Van de Mieroop, Marc, "Cuneiform Texts and the Writing of History," 1179
van der Oye, David Schimmelpenninck, "Toward the Rising Sun: Russian Ideologies of Empire and the Path to War with Japan," 1324
van Drenth, Annemieke (R), 636
van Eijnatten, Joris, "Mutua Christianorum Tolerantia: Irenicism and Toleration in the Netherlands; The Stinstra Affair 1740–1745," 604
van Hensbroek, Pieter Boele, "Political Discourses in African Thought: 1860 to the Present," 317
van Leeuwen, Marco H. D., "The Logic of Charity: Amsterdam, 1800–1850," 636
Van Neck, Anne, and Jean Stengers, "Masturbation: The History of a Great Terror," 849
Van Sant, John E., "Pacific Pioneers: Japanese Journeys to America and Hawaii, 1850–80," 173
VanBurkleo, Sandra F., " 'Belonging to the World': Women's Rights and American Constitutional Culture," 1552
VanBurkleo, Sandra F., Kermit L. Hall, and Robert J. Kaczorowski, editors, "Constitutionalism and American Culture: Writing the New Constitutional History" (E), 1344
Varsori, Antonio, and Elena Calandri, editors, "The Failure of Peace in Europe, 1943–48" (E), 1346
"Vasco da Gama and the Linking of Europe and Asia," edited by Disney and Booth (E), 993
Vaughan, Olufemi, "Nigerian Chiefs: Traditional Power in Modern Politics, 1890s-1990s," 986
"Das venezianische Albanien (1392–1479)," by Schmitt, 1283
"Venice and the Slavs," by Wolff, 1661
"Venice Transfigured," by Eglin, 614
Verhey, Jeffrey (R), 1653
"A Very Dangerous Citizen," by Buhle and Wagner, 1586
Veyrat-Masson, Isabelle, "Quand la télévision explore le temps: L'histoire au petit écran, 1953–2000," 1643
"Vichy and the Eternal Feminine," by Muel-Dreyfus, 954
"Vichy in the Tropics," by Jennings, 1533
Vicinus, Martha (R), 1292
Vickery, Kenneth P. (R), 165
"The Victim as Hero," by Orr, 1207
"Victor Considerant and the Rise and Fall of French Romantic Socialism," by Beecher, 631
"Victorian Sensation," by Secord, 616
Vigarello, Georges, "A History of Rape: Sexual Violence in France from the Sixteenth to the Twentieth Century," 625
Vihavainen, Timo (R), 1670
"Village Mothers," by Ransel, 665
"La ville aux Iles, la ville dans l'île," by Pérotin-Dumon, 1258
Vincent, K. Steven (R), 951
Vincent, Nicholas, "The Holy Blood: King Henry III and the Westminster Blood Relic," 1622
Vincent, Stephen A. (R), 206
Vinson, Ben III (R), 1604

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"Violence and Memory," by Alexander, McGregor, and Ranger, 1680
Violence and the State in the Twentieth Century, by Mazower, 1158–78
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"The Vision of Rome in Late Renaissance France," by McGowan, 625
"Visions of the Future in Germany and America," edited by Finzsch and Wellenreuther (E), 995
Viswanathan, Gauri (R), 1213
Voeltz, Richard A. (R), 643
Vogt, Timothy R., "Denazification in Soviet-Occupied Germany: Brandenburg, 1945–1948," 299
"Voices from S-21," by Chandler, 1209
"The Voices of Morebath," by Duffy, 1630
Voisenet, Jacques, "Bêtes et hommes dans le monde médiéval: La bestiaire des clercs du V^{e} au XII^{e} siècle," 1277
Volkov, Shulamit (R), 1308
Von Eschen, Penny (R), 1532
von Henneberg, Krystyna, and Albert Russell Ascoli, editors, "Making and Remaking Italy: The Cultivation of National Identity around the Risorgimento," 1319
von Hoffman, Alexander (R), 1564
Vondung, Klaus, "The Apocalypse in Germany," 639
"Votes for Women," edited by Baker (E), 1344

Wacker, Grant, "Heaven Below: Early Pentecostals and American Culture," 224
Wada, Huruki, "Rossiia kak problema Vsemirnoi istorii: Izbrannye trudy," 972
Waddington, Andrucha, 322
Waddington, Keir, "Charity and the London Hospitals 1850–1898," 276
"The Wages of Sickness," by Hoffman, 231
Wagner, Dave, and Paul Buhle, "A Very Dangerous Citizen: Abraham Lincoln Polonsky and the Hollywood Left," 1586
Waiser, Bill (R), 211
Waite, Gary K., "Reformers on Stage: Popular Drama and Religious Propaganda in the Low Countries of Charles V, 1515–1556," 635
Wakabayashi, Bob Tadashi, and Timothy Brook, editors, "Opium Regimes: China, Britain, and Japan, 1839–1952," 169
Wakefield, Wanda Ellen (R), 1239
Waldrep, Christopher, and Donald G. Nieman, editors, "Local Matters: Race, Crime, and Justice in the Nineteenth-Century South," 1230
Walker, Brett L. (R), 1205
Walker, Brett L., "The Conquest of Ainu Lands: Ecology and Culture in Japanese Expansion, 1590–1800," 1206
"Walking in the Way of Peace," by Weddle, 1528
Walsh, Vivien, and Jordan Goodman, "The Story of Taxol: Nature and Politics in the Pursuit of an Anti-Cancer Drug," 577
Walter, John, and Michael J. Braddick, editors, "Negotiating Power in Early Modern Society: Order, Hierarchy and Subordination in Britain and Ireland" (E), 679
Walter, Richard J. (R), 585
Walters, Jonathan, Ronald Inden, and Daud Ali, "Querying the Medieval: Texts and the History of Practices in South Asia," 1521
Wandel, Lee Palmer (R), 604
Wandycz, Piotr S. (C), 1367
Wang, Q. Edward (R), 171
Wang, Xi (R), 245
Wang, Xinyang, "Surviving the City: The Chinese Immigrant Experience in New York City, 1890–1970," 558
"War and Democracy," edited by McCann and Strauss (E), 994
"War and National Reinvention," by Dickinson, 174
"War and Revolution in Yugoslavia, 1941–1945," by Tomasevich, 971
"War, Institutions, and Social Change in the Middle East," edited by Heydemann, 313
"War Stories," by Moeller, 1659
Ward, Chris (R), 1522
Ward, James A. (R), 192
Waring, Stephen P. (R), 1245
Waris, Elina, "Yksissä leivissä: Ruokolahtelainen perhelaitos ja yhteisöllinen toiminta 1750–1850," 287
Warren, Louis S., *Buffalo Bill Meets Dracula: William F. Cody, Bram Stoker, and the Frontiers of Racial Decay*, 1124–57
Warren, Nancy Bradley, "Spiritual Economies: Female Monasticism in Later Medieval England," 268
Warren, Richard (R), 1606
Warren-Findley, Jannelle (R), 1184
Washbrook, D. A. (R), 1211
Wasserstrom, Jeffrey N., and Susan Brownell, editors, "Chinese Femininities/Chinese Masculinities: A Reader" (E), 995
Wasson, Ellis, "Born to Rule: British Political Elites," 934
Wataru, Masuda, "Japan and China: Mutual Representations in the Modern Era," 172
Watt, Jeffrey R., "Choosing Death: Suicide and Calvinism in Early Modern Geneva," 648
Watts, Jill, "Mae West: An Icon in Black and White," 1576
The Way We Laughed [*Così ridevano*], directed by Amelio, reviewed by Pugliese, 321
"We Grew Up Together," by Atkins, 208
" 'We Return Fighting,' " by Schneider, 1574
"Wearing the Breeches," by Mullenix, 191
Weaver, Mary Jo (R), 1561
Webb, Clive, "Fight against Fear: Southern Jews and Black Civil Rights," 1254
Webb, Diana (R), 270
Weber, Charles W. (R), 1676
Weber, Eugen (R), 292, 950
Weber, Harold (R), 1631
Weddle, Meredith Baldwin, "Walking in the Way of Peace: Quaker Pacifism in the Seventeenth Century," 1528
Wei, C. X. George, and Xiaoyuan Liu, editors, "Chinese Nationalism in Perspective: Historical and Recent Cases" (E), 678
Weigley, Russell F., "A Great Civil War: A Military and Political History, 1861–1865," 548
Weindling, Paul Julian, "Epidemics and Genocide in Eastern Europe 1890–1945," 1656
Weiner, Amir, "Making Sense of War: The Second World War and the Fate of the Bolshevik Revolution," 312
Weintraub, Stanley (R), 940
Weir, Robert E. (R), 568
Weisbrot, Robert (R), 1250
Weise, Robert S., "Grasping at Independence: Debt,

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Male Authority, and Mineral Rights in Appalachian Kentucky, 1850–1915," 1228
Welch, Steven R., "Subjects or Citizens? Elementary School Policy and Practice in Bavaria 1800–1918," 297
Wellenreuther, Hermann, and Norbert Finzsch, editors, "Visions of the Future in Germany and America" (E), 995
Wellenreuther, Hermann, and Elisabeth Glaser, editors, "Bridging the Atlantic: The Question of American Exceptionalism in Perspective" (E), 1688
Wells, Susan, "Out of the Dead House: Nineteenth-Century Women Physicians and the Writing of Medicine," 501
Wells, Tom, "Wild Man: The Life and Times of Daniel Ellsberg," 251
Wells, Wyatt, "Antitrust and the Formation of the Postwar World," 1535
Wend, Henry Burke, "Recovery and Restoration: U.S. Foreign Policy and the Politics of Reconstruction of West Germany's Shipbuilding Industry, 1945–1955," 1197
"West Indians in West Africa, 1808–1880," by Blyden, 1677
"Western Views of Islam in Medieval and Early Modern Europe," edited by Blanks and Frassetto (E), 327
Westwood, J. N. (R), 1324
Whalen, Carmen Teresa, "From Puerto Rico to Philadelphia: Puerto Rican Workers and Postwar Economies," 852
"What's Left of Enlightenment? A Postmodern Question," edited by Baker and Reill (E), 677
Wheatley, Paul, "The Places Where Men Pray Together: Cities in Islamic Lands Seventh through the Tenth Centuries," 976
"While God Is Marching On," by Woodworth, 1232
White, Kevin (R), 1257
White, Luise, "Speaking with Vampires: Rumor and History in Colonial Africa," 983
White, Nicola, "Reconstructing Italian Fashion: America and the Development of the Italian Fashion Industry," 852
"The White Image in the Black Mind," by Bay, 887
Whited, Tamara L., "Forests and Peasant Politics in Modern France," 947
Whitehead, Judith, Himani Bannerji, and Shahrzad Mojab, editors, "Of Property and Propriety: The Role of Gender and Class in Imperialism and Nationalism" (E), 326
Whites, LeeAnn (R), 881
Whitney, Robert (R), 1259
Whittington, Keith E. (R), 532
Whittle, Jane (R), 1281
"'Wicked' Women and the Reconfiguration of Gender in Africa," edited by Hodgson and McCurdy (E), 1349
Wickett, Murray R., "Contested Territory: Whites, Native Americans, and African Americans in Oklahoma 1865–1907," 207
Widdig, Bernd, "Culture and Inflation in Weimar Germany," 963
Wiesen, S. Jonathan (R), 1197
"Wild Man," by Wells, 251
Wilkie, James W. (R), 581
"William Osler," by Bliss, 532
"William Smith O'Brien and the Young Ireland Rebellion of 1848," by Sloan, 281
Williams, Kathleen Broome, "Improbable Warriors: Women Scientists and the U.S. Navy in World War II," 1246
Williams, Lillian Serece (R), 888
Williams, Robert C. (R), 663
Williams, Vernon J., Jr. (R), 1597
Wills, John E., Jr. (R), 856
Wilson, Andrew, "The Ukrainians: Unexpected Nation," 1667
Wilson, Mary C. (R), 978
Wilson, Renate, "Pious Traders in Medicine: A German Pharmaceutical Network in Eighteenth-Century North America," 186
Wilson, Richard G., Christopher Harper-Bill, and Carole Rawcliffe, editors, "East Anglia's History: Studies in Honour of Norman Scarfe" (E), 1692
Winch, Julie, "A Gentleman of Color: The Life of James Forten," 1550
"Winds of Change," by Pérez, 578
Wingerd, Mary Lethert, "Claiming the City: Politics, Faith, and the Power of Place in St. Paul," 1591
Wingfield, Nancy M. (R), 611
Wingfield, Nancy M., and Maria Bucur, editors, "Staging the Past: The Politics of Commemoration in Habsburg Central Europe, 1848 to the Present," 1662
"Wingless Eagle," by Johnson, 894
Winship, Michael P. (R), 185
"With the Stroke of the Pen," by Mayer, 1553
Withers, Charles W. J., and Paul Wood, editors, "Science and Medicine in the Scottish Enlightenment" (E), 1692
Wokeck, Marianne S. (R), 186
Wolensky, Kenneth C., Nicole H. Wolensky, and Robert P. Wolensky, "Fighting for the Union Label: The Women's Garment Industry and the ILGWU in Pennsylvania," 1593
Wolensky, Nicole H., Kenneth C. Wolensky, and Robert P. Wolensky, "Fighting for the Union Label: The Women's Garment Industry and the ILGWU in Pennsylvania," 1593
Wolensky, Robert P., Kenneth C. Wolensky, and Nicole H. Wolensky, "Fighting for the Union Label: The Women's Garment Industry and the ILGWU in Pennsylvania," 1593
Wolff, Larry (R), 654
Wolff, Larry, "Venice and the Slavs: The Discovery of Dalmatia in the Age of Enlightenment," 1661
Wollons, Roberta, "Kindergartens and Cultures: The Global Diffusion of an Idea," 162
Wolton, Suke, "Lord Hailey, the Colonial Office and the Politics of Race and Empire in the Second World War: The Loss of White Prestige," 622
"Women Alone," by Hill, 1292
"Women and American Judaism," edited by Nadell and Sarna (E), 326
"Women and Credit," edited by Lemire, Pearson, and Campbell (E), 1688
"Women and Monarchy in Macedonia," by Carney, 1617
"Women and the Colonial State," by Locher-Scholten, 528
"Women in Labor," by Hepler, 1241
"Women in the Stalin Era," edited by Ilič (E), 1003
"Women Pilgrims in Late Medieval England," by Morrison, 927
"Women Who Would Be Rabbis," by Nadell, 907
"Women Workers in the Soviet Interwar Economy," by Ilič, 1671
"Women's Work and Public Policy," by Laughlin, 242
Wong, K. Scott (R), 558
Wong, R. Bin, *The Search for European Differences and*

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Domination in the Early Modern World: A View from Asia, 447–69
Wong, Young-tsu, "A Paradise Lost: The Imperial Garden Yuanming Yuan," 860
Wood, Andy, "The Politics of Social Conflict: The Peak Country, 1520–1770," 612
Wood, Paul, and Charles W. J. Withers, editors, "Science and Medicine in the Scottish Enlightenment" (E), 1692
Woodard, Komozi (R), 1590
Woods, Robert, "The Demography of Victorian England and Wales," 935
Woodworth, Steven E., editor, "Grant's Lieutenants: From Cairo to Vicksburg" (E), 678
Woodworth, Steven E. (R), 882
Woodworth, Steven E., "While God Is Marching On: The Religious World of Civil War Soldiers," 1232
Woolf, D. R. (R), 498
Worboys, Michael, "Spreading Germs: Disease, Theories and Medical Practice in Britain, 1865–1900," 939
"Working Slavery, Pricing Freedom," edited by Shepherd (E), 1340
"Working Women of Early Modern Venice," by Chojnacka, 652
"World War II and the American Indian," by Townsend, 1580
"The Worlds of the East India Company," edited by Bowen, Lincoln, and Rigby (E), 1687
Wormald, Patrick, "The Making of English Law: King Alfred to the Twelfth Century," 1621
Worobec, Christine D., "Possessed: Women, Witches, and Demons in Imperial Russia," 660
Worrall, Janet E. (R), 1193
Worrying about Emotions in History, by Rosenwein, 821
Wright, Bradford W., "Comic Book Nation: The Transformation of Youth Culture in America," 253
Wright, David, "Mental Disability in Victorian England: The Earlswood Asylum, 1847–1901," 1636
Wright, Miriam, "A Fishery for Modern Times: The State and the Industrialization of the Newfoundland Fishery, 1934–1968," 1546
Wright, Rochelle (R), 286
Wrigley, Julia (R), 620
"Writing Violence on the Northern Frontier," by Rabasa, 1180
Wyatt-Brown, Bertram, "The Shaping of Southern Culture: Honor, Grace, and War, 1760s-1890s," 1226
Wynn, Charters (R), 1325

Xiao, Zhiwei (R), 990

Yalof, David (R), 250
Yamamoto, Masahiro, "Nanking: Anatomy of an Atrocity," 525
Yaney, George (R), 662
Yang, Dali L. (R), 862
Yates, David, 1682
Ye, Weili, "Seeking Modernity in China's Name: Chinese Students in the United States, 1900–1927," 519
"Yellow Music," by Jones, 1202
"Yksissä leivissä," by Waris, 287
Yoo, David (R), 904
"Yoritomo and the Founding of the First Bakufu," by Mass, 523
Youé, Chris, and Tim Stapleton, editors, "Agency and Action in Colonial Africa: Essays for John E. Flint" (E), 680
Young, Eric Van, "The Other Rebellion: Popular Violence, Ideology, and the Mexican Struggle for Independence, 1810–1821," 1606
Young, Gary K., "Rome's Eastern Trade: International Commerce and Imperial Policy, 31 BC–AD 305," 1274
Young, Glennys (R), 971
Young, Jeffrey Robert (R), 1231
Youngblood, Denise J. (R), 311
"Youth in Revolutionary Russia," by Gorsuch, 310
Yu, Henry, "Thinking Orientals: Migration, Contact, and Exoticism in Modern America," 219
Yu, Henry (R), 1581

Zaccarini, M. Cristina, "The Sino-American Friendship as Tradition and Challenge: Dr. Ailie Gale in China, 1908–1950," 513
Zaccarini, M. Cristina (R), 1585
Zamponi, Simonetta Falasca (R), 653
Zanatta, Loris, "Del estado liberal a la nacion católica: Iglesia y ejército en los orígenes del peronismo; 1930–1943," 917
Zanatta, Loris, "Perón y el mito de la nación católica: Iglesia y ejército en los orígenes del peronismo (1943–1946)," 917
"Zarathustra in Paris," by Forth, 634
Zarrow, Peter (R), 520
Zarrow, Peter, and Rebecca E. Karl, editors, "Rethinking the 1898 Reform Period: Political and Cultural Change in Late Qing China" (E), 1342
"Zeppelin! Germany and the Airship, 1900–1939," by de Syon, 1310
Zhang, Xin, "Social Transformation in Modern China: The State and Local Elites in Henan, 1900–1937," 522
Zhang, Yingjin, editor, "Cinema and Urban Future in Shanghai, 1922–1943" (E), 326
Zhao, Xiaojian, "Remaking Chinese America: Immigration, Family, and Community, 1940–1965," 1582
Zheng, Wang (R), 521
Ziegler, Herbert F. (R), 964
Zimmerman, Andrew, "Anthropology and Antihumanism in Imperial Germany," 1652
Zimmermann, Matilde, "Sandinista: Carlos Fonseca and the Nicaraguan Revolution," 1262
Zinoman, Peter, "The Colonial Bastille: A History of Imprisonment in Vietnam, 1862–1940," 1208
Zisser, Eyal, "Lebanon: The Challenge of Independence," 979
Zmora, Nurith (R), 229
Zonderman, David A. (R), 1192
Zuckert, Michael P. (R), 157
"Zuni and the American Imagination," by McFeely, 215
Županov, Ines G., "Disputed Mission: Jesuit Experiments and Brahmanical Knowledge in Seventeenth-Century India," 527
Zurndorfer, Harriet T. (R), 518
"Zwangsarbeit und Vernichtung," by Schulte, 1312
Zweiniger-Bargielowska, Ina, "Austerity in Britain: Rationing, Controls, and Consumption 1939–1955," 278

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Topical Index to Volume 107

Administration
237, 238, 242, 247, 263, 265, 266, 267, 269, 276, 278, 279, 288, 300, 523, 581, 590, 592, 629, 644, 662, 893, 923, 941, 1201, 1211, 1220, 1255, 1256, 1270, 1279, 1298, 1309, 1311, 1312, 1316, 1318, 1537, 1553, 1562, 1584, 1607, 1625, 1637, 1645, 1665, 1670

Agriculture
155, 182, 205, 209, 255, 670, 874, 891, 898, 982, 1216, 1258, 1281, 1545, 1637, 1669

Anthropology/Archaeology
215, 562, 586, 855, 975, 1270, 1330, 1603, 1611, 1616, 1617, 1652, 1678, 1679

Art/Architecture
160, 163, 167, 191, 194, 243, 295, 302, 517, 547, 595, 613, 625, 850, 860, 941, 963, 976, 1182, 1202, 1564, 1571, 1628, 1629

Biography
172, 198, 199, 210, 211, 216, 217, 241, 243, 249, 250, 251, 259, 262, 265, 266, 281, 285, 305, 306, 316, 318, 515, 517, 528, 532, 537, 539, 550, 564, 606, 613, 631, 662, 663, 667, 867, 882, 900, 913, 914, 920, 931, 934, 1184, 1201, 1224, 1235, 1262, 1276, 1292, 1318, 1532, 1550, 1554, 1561, 1566, 1567, 1576, 1583, 1585, 1600, 1617, 1639, 1654

Business/Finance
155, 164, 209, 238, 255, 277, 288, 290, 539, 541, 557, 568, 569, 606, 626, 644, 649, 651, 852, 860, 891, 936, 1192, 1215, 1235, 1244, 1245, 1268, 1307, 1310, 1311, 1535, 1545, 1557, 1564, 1569, 1594, 1657, 1661

Career/Professions
194, 226, 227, 252, 257, 274, 626, 629, 562, 896, 907, 952, 1236, 1265, 1292, 1308, 1542, 1633

Childhood/Youth
162, 228, 229, 253, 304, 310, 655, 671, 1231, 1241, 1257, 1560, 1620

Class
176, 188, 189, 217, 232, 243, 280, 298, 522, 527, 531, 535, 547, 553, 557, 560, 604, 612, 618, 619, 620, 630, 636, 644, 652, 856, 858, 866, 869, 878, 879, 880, 901, 906, 907, 919, 936, 937, 938, 952, 974, 1182, 1193, 1212, 1235, 1239, 1273, 1328, 1550, 1556, 1594, 1596, 1604, 1620, 1633, 1640

Colonial/Postcolonial
165, 184, 255, 256, 258, 317, 497, 511, 512, 521, 527, 528, 579, 643, 667, 670, 848, 857, 865, 866, 867, 870, 872, 912, 913, 931, 942, 945, 955, 975, 979, 982, 983, 984, 985, 986, 987, 1180, 1189, 1208, 1210, 1211, 1212, 1213, 1255, 1258, 1260, 1267, 1286, 1295, 1331, 1332, 1334, 1533, 1534, 1541, 1543, 1603, 1604, 1606, 1608, 1612, 1613, 1652, 1672, 1674, 1677, 1678, 1679, 1680

Comparative
155, 160, 163, 166, 169, 269, 271, 272, 273, 293, 500, 506, 507, 509, 512, 596, 601, 603, 604, 609, 611, 850, 851, 852, 854, 1189, 1191, 1192, 1193, 1197, 1199, 1286, 1527, 1530

Constitutional
178, 248, 533, 543, 871, 1525, 1548, 1552, 1553, 1632, 1665, 1675

Crime/Violence
176, 181, 195, 264, 277, 289, 306, 308, 315, 507, 526, 550, 600, 625, 648, 649, 671, 915, 943, 959, 964, 1209, 1211, 1225, 1230, 1234, 1238, 1241, 1249, 1252, 1293, 1303, 1312, 1317, 1615, 1653, 1676, 1680

Cultural
161, 168, 172, 176, 182, 183, 185, 190, 191, 208, 214, 218, 222, 224, 227, 235, 239, 245, 252, 253, 264, 268, 274, 282, 286, 289, 292, 293, 295, 298, 302, 311, 315, 501, 504, 516, 517, 519, 520, 538, 544, 555, 560, 561, 562, 563, 564, 569, 571, 572, 573, 574, 580, 583, 588, 603, 613, 614, 616, 621, 625, 626, 633, 634, 637, 639, 644, 646, 648, 653, 654, 657, 658, 660, 664, 666, 846, 857, 860, 866, 874, 877, 881, 887, 889, 899, 900, 901, 902, 908, 909, 910, 914, 921, 924, 926, 928, 931, 933, 937, 938, 941, 954, 960, 963, 971, 982, 983, 1181, 1183, 1188, 1191, 1196, 1202, 1218, 1225, 1233, 1234, 1239, 1245, 1249, 1251, 1252, 1257, 1260, 1264, 1270, 1280, 1287, 1290, 1291, 1293, 1294, 1297, 1304, 1308, 1310, 1318, 1319, 1321, 1326, 1330, 1521, 1530, 1542, 1547, 1557, 1559, 1564, 1566, 1571, 1572, 1576, 1577, 1588, 1597, 1598, 1611, 1622, 1623, 1625, 1629, 1638, 1639, 1641, 1644, 1645, 1649, 1659, 1662, 1667 1679

Demography
181, 185, 264, 287, 617, 642, 873, 935, 1229, 1526

Diasporas
173, 176, 219, 243, 260, 509, 975, 1677

Economic
169, 194, 255, 258, 300, 307, 509, 536, 537, 541, 556, 562, 567, 568, 578, 579, 581, 582, 601, 606, 610, 626, 661, 668, 848, 852, 859, 860, 866, 874, 895, 915, 928, 933, 951, 963, 980, 1179, 1197, 1198, 1207, 1215, 1235, 1258, 1263, 1267, 1268, 1274, 1281, 1292, 1298, 1302, 1312, 1331, 1535, 1546, 1549, 1589, 1607, 1610, 1658, 1670, 1671

Education/Students
162, 168, 200, 247, 257, 297, 309, 519, 552, 611, 620, 654, 966, 1213, 1304, 1333, 1560, 1561, 1578

Empire
161, 164, 165, 175, 255, 259, 305, 309, 497, 515, 586, 596, 622, 643, 667, 848, 856, 857, 860, 865, 920, 921, 931, 944, 978, 1180, 1210, 1270, 1274, 1283, 1306, 1324, 1325, 1327, 1533, 1613, 1620, 1646, 1667, 1668, 1673

Environment/Landscape
212, 213, 214, 226, 509, 562, 570, 578, 589, 860, 862, 890, 891, 892, 893, 947, 1185, 1186, 1206, 1211, 1215, 1245, 1296, 1537, 1546, 1565, 1566

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Ethnicity
163, 165, 173, 218, 219, 220, 221, 275, 286, 309, 312, 510, 558, 565, 657, 856, 858, 866, 868, 886, 887, 889, 904, 905, 922, 969, 985, 986, 1180, 1188, 1190, 1221, 1227, 1229, 1270, 1279, 1306, 1334, 1541, 1581, 1582, 1590, 1667, 1668

Exploration/Travel
184, 210, 271, 285, 561, 633, 658, 1196, 1555, 1635, 1678

Family
208, 229, 230, 268, 287, 302, 303, 642, 651, 655, 665, 864, 874, 882, 886, 924, 934, 935, 961, 984, 1221, 1223, 1231, 1263, 1266, 1277, 1284, 1307, 1314, 1539, 1545, 1568, 1582, 1620, 1625, 1628, 1636, 1642, 1644

Film
574, 899, 900, 910, 914, 1576, 1586, 1587, 1588, 1596, 1659

Folklore
292, 294, 621, 983, 1315, 1611

Foreign Relations/Diplomatic
165, 166, 169, 174, 239, 240, 246, 273, 279, 284, 299, 301, 307, 316, 514, 515, 530, 574, 610, 622, 623, 628, 668, 853, 854, 903, 910, 918, 930, 931, 941, 954, 957, 967, 980, 1197, 1198, 1204, 1205, 1214, 1255, 1305, 1329, 1531, 1534, 1535, 1540, 1583, 1584, 1585, 1609, 1610, 1634, 1648, 1660, 1665, 1667, 1673

Frontiers/Borderlands
183, 184, 215, 510, 515, 536, 550, 868, 870, 875, 978, 1180, 1206, 1214, 1219, 1225, 1245, 1261, 1279, 1283

Gay/Lesbian
254, 261, 576, 1598

Gender
180, 189, 191, 208, 217, 222, 227, 229, 243, 261, 272, 304, 501, 512, 521, 528, 537, 544, 547, 553, 563, 586, 619, 621, 625, 637, 667, 671, 849, 852, 896, 901, 902, 926, 952, 953, 954, 961, 962, 984, 1186, 1199, 1216, 1219, 1223, 1233, 1241, 1244, 1257, 1260, 1263, 1266, 1270, 1304, 1317, 1328, 1539, 1550, 1552, 1557, 1568, 1569, 1571, 1574, 1584, 1612, 1614, 1615, 1627, 1639, 1640, 1647, 1650, 1674

Genocide
525, 609, 851, 964, 970, 1209, 1312, 1656, 1657

Health/Disease
212, 532, 583, 849, 864, 935, 1526, 1527, 1536, 1636, 1637, 1656

Historiography
154, 156, 196, 226, 277, 496, 497, 498, 500, 502, 503, 504, 505, 525, 555, 569, 591, 609, 871, 876, 890, 919, 920, 968, 1179, 1180, 1184, 1187, 1197, 1271, 1272, 1276, 1285, 1522, 1554, 1584, 1600, 1616, 1619, 1632, 1643, 1666

Ideology
171, 196, 197, 226, 235, 284, 291, 299, 301, 304, 310, 311, 315, 316, 317, 496, 520, 524, 545, 574, 609, 617, 623, 631, 646, 653, 663, 849, 853, 878, 882, 908, 917, 921, 930, 932, 941, 954, 956, 964, 970, 981, 1197, 1203, 1218, 1226, 1242, 1259, 1273, 1287, 1300, 1302, 1310, 1311, 1313, 1320, 1321, 1322, 1324, 1325, 1329, 1333, 1522, 1528, 1533, 1568, 1574, 1579, 1584, 1586, 1596, 1601, 1605, 1606, 1615, 1638, 1654, 1657, 1660, 1670

Immigration/Migration
173, 176, 218, 219, 220, 221, 270, 291, 511, 542, 558, 565, 628, 642, 643, 651, 848, 852, 873, 887, 888, 903, 905, 956, 957, 977, 1190, 1191, 1193, 1195, 1227, 1229, 1287, 1322, 1328, 1582, 1658

Indigenous Peoples
183, 207, 214, 215, 243, 255, 317, 511, 533, 566, 579, 866, 870, 872, 875, 890, 1206, 1213, 1221, 1261, 1334, 1541, 1560, 1580, 1602, 1603, 1608, 1613, 1677

Industry
155, 182, 194, 201, 205, 208, 213, 290, 531, 569, 577, 852, 855, 866, 895, 897, 898, 899, 936, 963, 973, 1192, 1193, 1197, 1215, 1228, 1241, 1325, 1565, 1593, 1594

Institutions
159, 167, 168, 200, 202, 222, 268, 270, 297, 313, 534, 541, 552, 554, 593, 617, 636, 638, 850, 854, 894, 895, 909, 911, 925, 959, 1184, 1208, 1209, 1220, 1243, 1245, 1253, 1261, 1268, 1282, 1285, 1296, 1297, 1301, 1523, 1551, 1562, 1574, 1575, 1578, 1636, 1651, 1676, 1679

Intellectual
154, 157, 158, 159, 172, 177, 185, 193, 210, 216, 219, 267, 271, 275, 277, 282, 292, 293, 306, 317, 496, 497, 498, 500, 503, 506, 516, 517, 518, 519, 521, 532, 552, 580, 587, 588, 594, 598, 600, 604, 614, 625, 631, 632, 633, 634, 639, 641, 647, 653, 658, 664, 670, 847, 849, 878, 887, 909, 933, 948, 951, 955, 960, 963, 1184, 1187, 1218, 1221, 1233, 1245, 1249, 1251, 1271, 1272, 1277, 1282, 1285, 1288, 1291, 1297, 1300, 1319, 1320, 1322, 1332, 1524, 1528, 1537, 1548, 1555, 1556, 1577, 1597, 1601, 1622, 1623, 1625, 1626, 1629, 1631, 1638, 1654, 1661, 1666

Journalism
283, 286, 524, 628, 930, 1249, 1287, 1294, 1326, 1548, 1572, 1640, 1647, 1648, 1653

Labor
189, 194, 208, 217, 227, 231, 290, 551, 567, 568, 612, 637, 852, 897, 898, 901, 905, 936, 974, 1193, 1195, 1236, 1239, 1241, 1243, 1244, 1257, 1325, 1532, 1569, 1592, 1593, 1594, 1615, 1671

Language/Linguistics
269, 292, 309, 532, 1625

Legal/Legislative
177, 178, 187, 213, 226, 247, 248, 250, 264, 268, 281, 289, 501, 507, 526, 533, 534, 550, 567, 570,

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

576, 593, 625, 649, 851, 877, 886, 893, 897, 904, 915, 923, 932, 946, 1193, 1201, 1208, 1211, 1220, 1228, 1230, 1237, 1249, 1252, 1265, 1275, 1277, 1297, 1299, 1301, 1315, 1318, 1525, 1538, 1551, 1565, 1599, 1618, 1621, 1633, 1654, 1671, 1672

Literature
158, 235, 269, 271, 277, 282, 292, 306, 318, 497, 502, 518, 521, 539, 546, 588, 589, 599, 604, 608, 616, 625, 635, 639, 641, 650, 846, 847, 881, 922, 923, 925, 926, 929, 938, 955, 966, 1180, 1181, 1182, 1183, 1188, 1196, 1278, 1289, 1301, 1303, 1304, 1307, 1326, 1521, 1537, 1619, 1621, 1623, 1625, 1626, 1628, 1635, 1638, 1639, 1644, 1646, 1649, 1661

Local/Regional
175, 176, 180, 185, 187, 193, 194, 204, 205, 206, 208, 211, 213, 223, 234, 245, 258, 292, 296, 297, 299, 522, 535, 543, 544, 549, 550, 551, 553, 555, 560, 562, 598, 600, 612, 630, 640, 669, 670, 859, 873, 877, 879, 880, 883, 888, 890, 891, 912, 915, 921, 937, 946, 950, 964, 965, 966, 970, 1187, 1218, 1221, 1222, 1223, 1226, 1228, 1238, 1239, 1310, 1315, 1317, 1545, 1547, 1556, 1558, 1566, 1588, 1589, 1595, 1596, 1624, 1625, 1670, 1676

Maritime
201, 285, 1205, 1529

Material Culture
182, 278, 298, 619, 852, 953, 963, 1217, 1297, 1564, 1572, 1577, 1627, 1661

Media/Communications
237, 238, 253, 283, 505, 524, 900, 902, 910, 930, 953, 1202, 1248, 1249, 1289, 1294, 1643, 1659

Medicine
186, 230, 231, 254, 274, 276, 289, 501, 509, 532, 577, 632, 665, 864, 896, 939, 952, 1241, 1292, 1308, 1536, 1574, 1575, 1599, 1611

Memory
203, 221, 292, 294, 302, 505, 585, 647, 656, 666, 851, 880, 941, 968, 1180, 1185, 1207, 1238, 1249, 1523, 1547, 1554, 1555, 1641, 1643, 1653, 1659, 1662, 1680

Methods
156, 163, 502, 504, 1179, 1185, 1188, 1521, 1524, 1615, 1619

Military
199, 200, 201, 279, 288, 514, 530, 548, 565, 592, 600, 856, 875, 882, 883, 894, 931, 945, 973, 1199, 1239, 1246, 1269, 1280, 1281, 1298, 1305, 1306, 1309, 1313, 1527, 1531, 1540, 1604, 1610, 1620

Music
646, 847, 901, 902, 1202, 1542, 1588

National Histories
157, 172, 282, 285, 295, 582, 624, 657, 658, 666, 858, 871, 919, 972, 977, 1290, 1544, 1555, 1601, 1667

Nationalism
171, 174, 265, 280, 291, 294, 296, 312, 316, 506, 520, 561, 620, 630, 632, 643, 656, 670, 849, 868, 881, 962, 968, 969, 971, 979, 985, 1182, 1203, 1207, 1213, 1259, 1285, 1295, 1325, 1534, 1605, 1634, 1635, 1638, 1646, 1647, 1650, 1651, 1661, 1662, 1663, 1666, 1667, 1672, 1674

Nobility
259, 265, 266, 277, 281, 305, 523, 528, 591, 592, 593, 655, 846, 924, 934, 944, 1273, 1278, 1281, 1323, 1617, 1621, 1625

Oral History
234, 284, 983, 1615

Peace
872, 904

Peasants
308, 518, 585, 660, 665, 947, 1663, 1669

Philanthropy
186, 228, 276, 636, 959, 1599, 1631, 1636, 1651

Philosophy
158, 295, 306, 608, 634, 960, 1221, 1233, 1300

Political
157, 172, 175, 177, 178, 180, 192, 193, 194, 198, 204, 220, 237, 240, 241, 242, 245, 246, 249, 250, 251, 262, 265, 272, 277, 278, 283, 292, 296, 299, 301, 303, 304, 306, 316, 511, 514, 515, 519, 520, 523, 532, 533, 534, 536, 538, 543, 544, 545, 566, 570, 571, 574, 578, 581, 585, 586, 587, 590, 591, 593, 595, 611, 612, 615, 617, 618, 623, 624, 628, 630, 647, 648, 657, 658, 662, 663, 668, 669, 859, 862, 863, 871, 872, 878, 882, 885, 894, 899, 906, 907, 908, 910, 915, 917, 918, 920, 921, 922, 934, 941, 942, 943, 944, 948, 949, 954, 960, 963, 965, 969, 971, 972, 978, 979, 980, 981, 982, 986, 1189, 1193, 1203, 1204, 1220, 1225, 1242, 1245, 1248, 1251, 1252, 1255, 1256, 1262, 1265, 1273, 1277, 1278, 1281, 1285, 1288, 1293, 1295, 1299, 1300, 1302, 1305, 1309, 1310, 1313, 1314, 1318, 1321, 1327, 1329, 1332, 1334, 1522, 1525, 1531, 1532, 1533, 1535, 1538, 1543, 1544, 1546, 1548, 1551, 1553, 1554, 1555, 1556, 1566, 1573, 1579, 1580, 1583, 1584, 1586, 1591, 1592, 1595, 1600, 1601, 1605, 1607, 1609, 1612, 1615, 1618, 1628, 1631, 1632, 1634, 1641, 1653, 1661, 1665, 1673, 1675

Psychology/Psychiatry
159, 252, 254, 503, 505, 583, 1181, 1233, 1292, 1293, 1597, 1623

Race/Racism
165, 183, 195, 196, 197, 202, 203, 204, 206, 207, 216, 219, 232, 243, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249, 255, 260, 286, 497, 535, 542, 546, 547, 549, 550, 551, 553, 558, 560, 563, 564, 567, 620, 622, 876, 880, 885, 886, 887, 888, 897, 902, 903, 907, 957, 987, 1219, 1230, 1237, 1238, 1239, 1250, 1253, 1254, 1256, 1308, 1310, 1311, 1320, 1532, 1543, 1550, 1557, 1558, 1559, 1566, 1573, 1574, 1581, 1595, 1596, 1597, 1604, 1605, 1656

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Radicalism
158, 243, 573, 615, 624, 901, 904, 911, 951, 1195, 1244, 1570, 1579, 1595, 1632

Reform
192, 202, 212, 223, 226, 228, 231, 232, 234, 242, 263, 276, 296, 297, 635, 640, 650, 654, 889, 1207, 1233, 1316, 1539, 1551, 1566, 1567, 1568, 1592

Religion
161, 167, 185, 186, 189, 199, 214, 216, 222, 223, 224, 225, 260, 263, 264, 267, 268, 270, 275, 303, 315, 318, 513, 516, 519, 527, 535, 553, 554, 555, 587, 588, 589, 590, 594, 595, 596, 598, 599, 600, 604, 617, 635, 638, 640, 648, 650, 868, 907, 908, 911, 917, 925, 926, 927, 928, 942, 943, 965, 966, 976, 977, 982, 985, 1188, 1190, 1221, 1222, 1229, 1232, 1233, 1254, 1261, 1264, 1277, 1279, 1280, 1282, 1285, 1288, 1289, 1297, 1299, 1303, 1315, 1316, 1317, 1318, 1323, 1327, 1330, 1333, 1528, 1549, 1555, 1561, 1562, 1591, 1596, 1608, 1613, 1622, 1624, 1626, 1630, 1631, 1638, 1645, 1649, 1668, 1672, 1673, 1676

Revolution
256, 281, 291, 310, 312, 580, 615, 624, 656, 661, 862, 942, 948, 949, 971, 972, 1181, 1203, 1210, 1259, 1262, 1264, 1302, 1326, 1529, 1606, 1609, 1634, 1638, 1640, 1667, 1675

Rural
209, 308, 601, 669, 874, 946, 947, 950, 1207, 1267, 1281, 1606, 1663, 1669, 1680

Science/Technology
154, 183, 210, 211, 238, 254, 264, 290, 298, 300, 540, 577, 589, 616, 661, 855, 857, 867, 892, 896, 939, 963, 987, 1217, 1236, 1245, 1246, 1291, 1310, 1531, 1536, 1537, 1545, 1598, 1599, 1626, 1631, 1643, 1652

Sexuality
191, 261, 277, 501, 512, 563, 574, 576, 621, 849, 1219, 1260, 1536, 1550, 1584, 1598, 1614, 1627

Slavery
187, 195, 196, 197, 199, 202, 207, 258, 260, 542, 543, 549, 876, 877, 878, 912, 919, 1180, 1183, 1230, 1231, 1267, 1529, 1543, 1559

Social History
154, 180, 181, 185, 187, 188, 199, 205, 208, 209, 214, 220, 224, 225, 245, 255, 257, 261, 280, 287, 311, 313, 510, 519, 522, 540, 542, 544, 549, 554, 557, 559, 565, 572, 578, 582, 604, 612, 629, 635, 648, 652, 655, 669, 858, 863, 865, 869, 873, 879, 883, 888, 889, 891, 923, 929, 935, 938, 939, 949, 950, 961, 972, 974, 982, 1202, 1207, 1211, 1212, 1216, 1225, 1227, 1228, 1232, 1236, 1237, 1239, 1242, 1261, 1266, 1283, 1284, 1286, 1307, 1316, 1325, 1330, 1523, 1537, 1538, 1539, 1544, 1549, 1550, 1557, 1562, 1565, 1569, 1578, 1581, 1590, 1591, 1596, 1614, 1615, 1620, 1624, 1676

Social Movements
171, 241, 245, 251, 280, 298, 306, 538, 567, 568, 573, 585, 586, 615, 638, 647, 653, 863, 876, 907, 911, 943, 951, 967, 1253, 1254, 1262, 1282, 1313, 1319, 1325, 1528, 1550, 1552, 1574, 1575, 1586, 1590, 1600, 1642, 1653

Social Policy
162, 188, 212, 214, 226, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232, 234, 246, 248, 253, 509, 550, 551, 556, 559, 566, 571, 576, 586, 618, 642, 646, 864, 892, 895, 897, 898, 903, 906, 1237, 1241, 1250, 1253, 1256, 1296, 1299, 1320, 1523, 1560, 1567, 1570, 1573, 1574, 1580, 1582, 1642, 1658

Sports
1234

Terrorism/Espionage
300, 854, 918, 1185, 1188, 1584, 1609

Theory
156, 497, 501, 504, 664, 915, 975, 1524, 1562, 1587

Tourism
561, 562, 644, 927, 1564, 1635

Trade
164, 186, 307, 610, 641, 860, 870, 875, 956, 1198, 1205, 1274, 1290, 1331, 1549, 1589, 1610

Transportation
194, 298, 644, 661, 895, 1531

Urban
160, 167, 181, 206, 221, 223, 232, 249, 531, 556, 559, 586, 601, 603, 619, 636, 652, 671, 859, 869, 888, 889, 895, 905, 937, 975, 976, 1191, 1202, 1227, 1258, 1261, 1303, 1318, 1530, 1558, 1564, 1590, 1591, 1661

Wars
166, 174, 197, 198, 199, 203, 237, 266, 273, 278, 279, 284, 298, 312, 313, 515, 525, 526, 530, 545, 546, 548, 571, 572, 574, 592, 596, 598, 599, 600, 610, 617, 622, 623, 632, 644, 658, 666, 853, 854, 872, 881, 882, 883, 894, 904, 913, 929, 941, 945, 956, 957, 959, 967, 969, 970, 971, 973, 981, 1197, 1198, 1204, 1207, 1225, 1232, 1246, 1248, 1249, 1250, 1251, 1269, 1280, 1283, 1286, 1309, 1314, 1324, 1332, 1540, 1573, 1579, 1580, 1581, 1583, 1587, 1648, 1650, 1653, 1658, 1660

Women
190, 216, 222, 230, 241, 242, 263, 268, 272, 274, 298, 303, 318, 501, 513, 518, 528, 537, 538, 546, 594, 629, 637, 638, 651, 652, 660, 661, 665, 905, 907, 919, 927, 929, 954, 962, 1199, 1217, 1223, 1224, 1241, 1242, 1246, 1254, 1263, 1266, 1292, 1321, 1323, 1552, 1567, 1570, 1572, 1585, 1593, 1614, 1617, 1638, 1642, 1651, 1671, 1674

World
160, 509, 976, 1189, 1216, 1525, 1526, 1529

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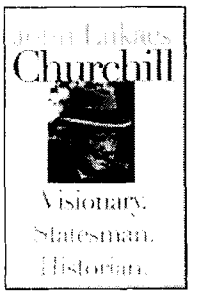
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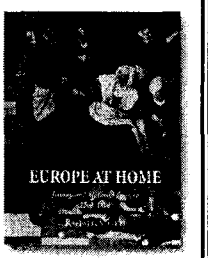
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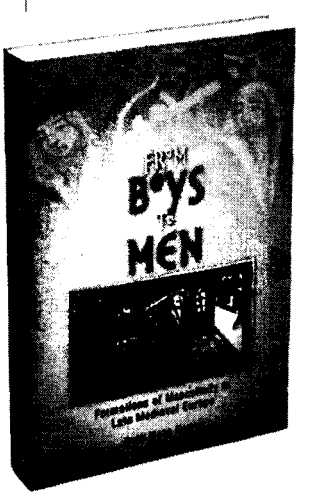
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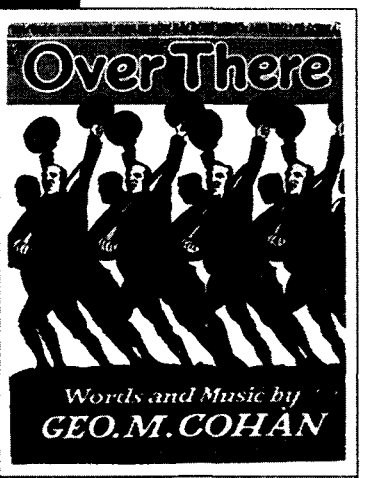
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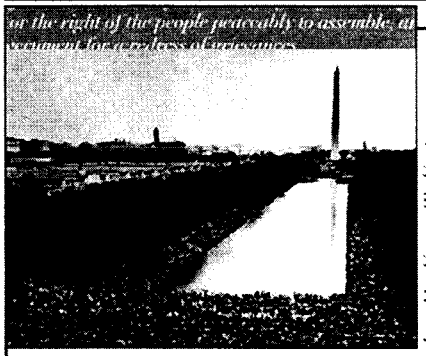
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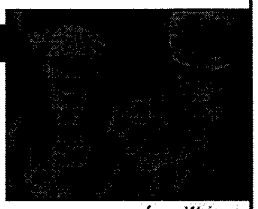
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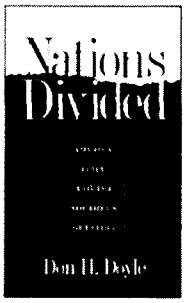
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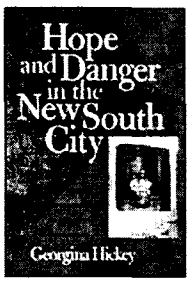
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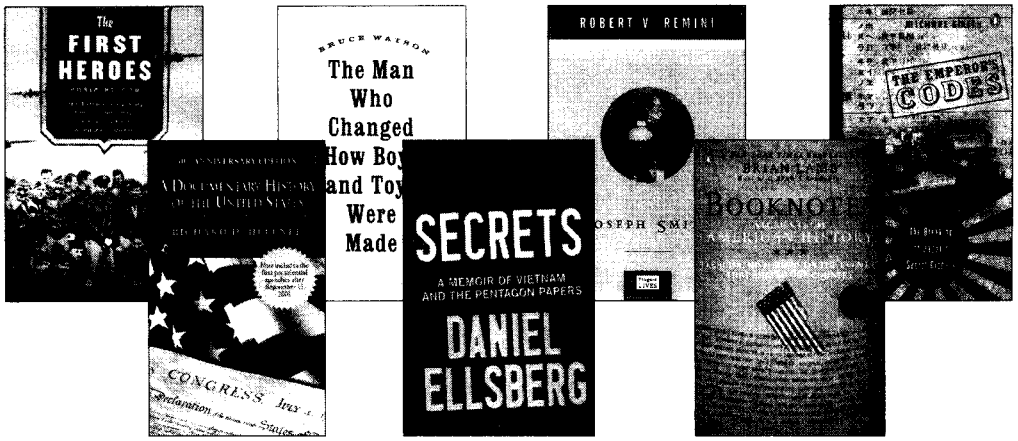
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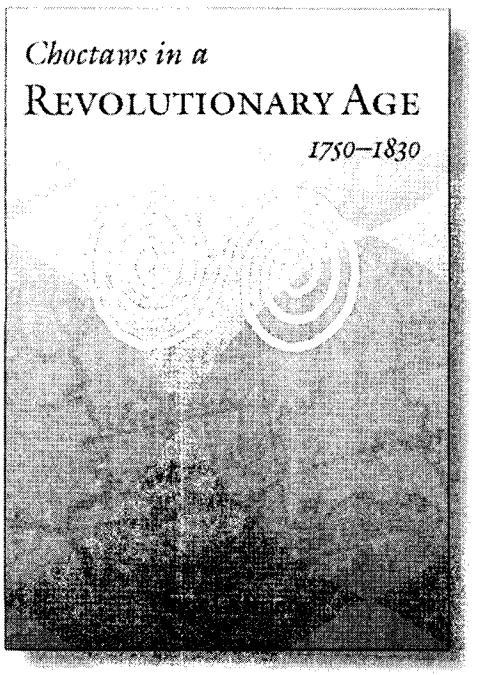


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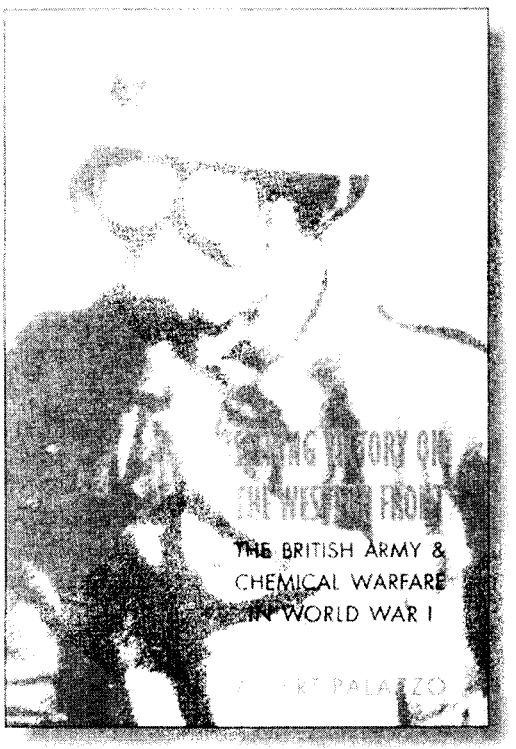
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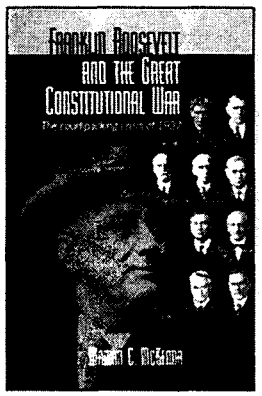
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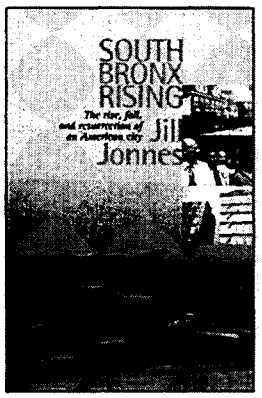
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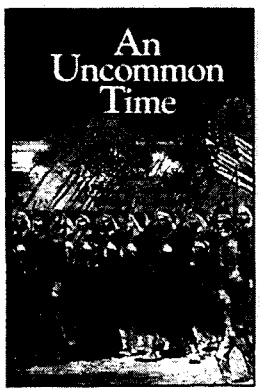
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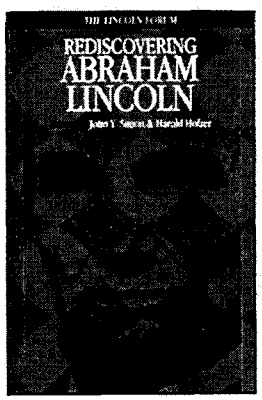
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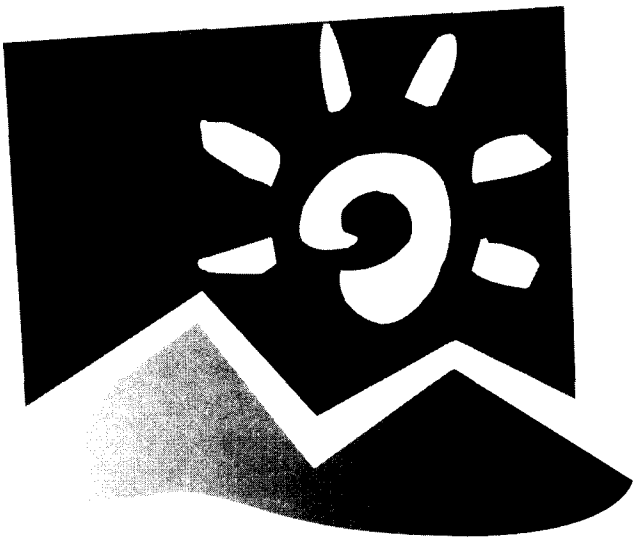
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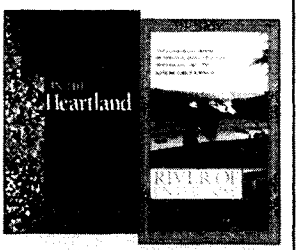
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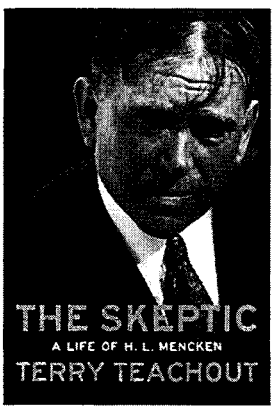
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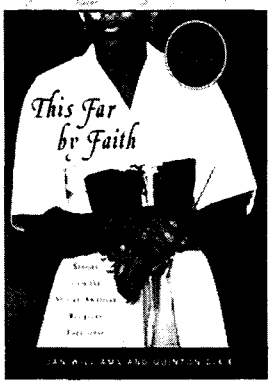
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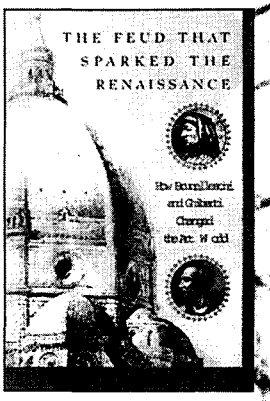
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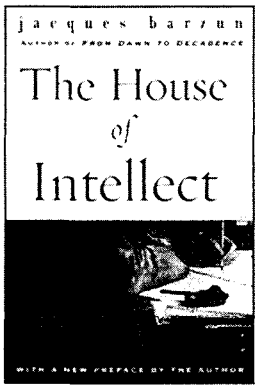
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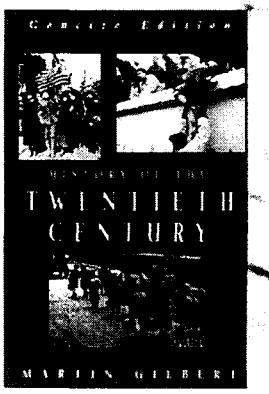
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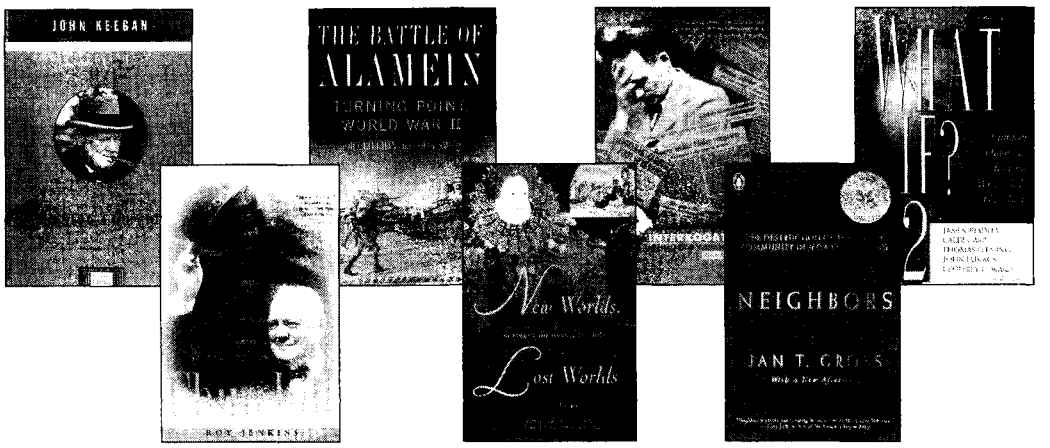
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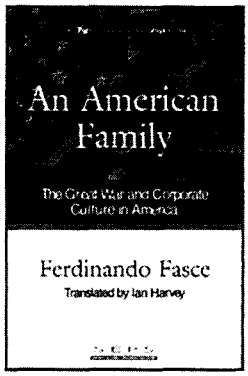
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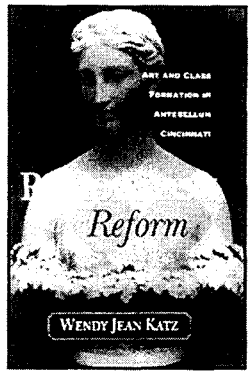
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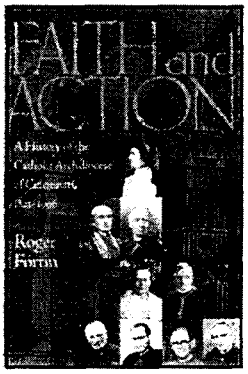
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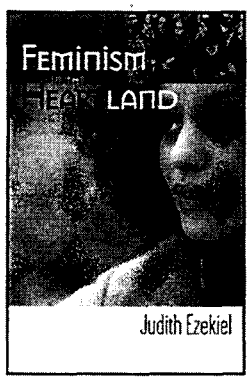
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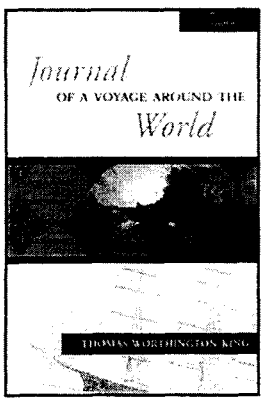
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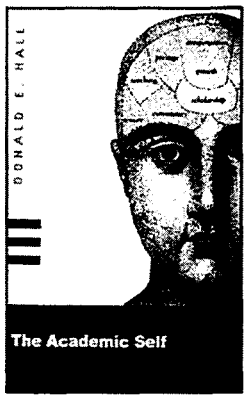
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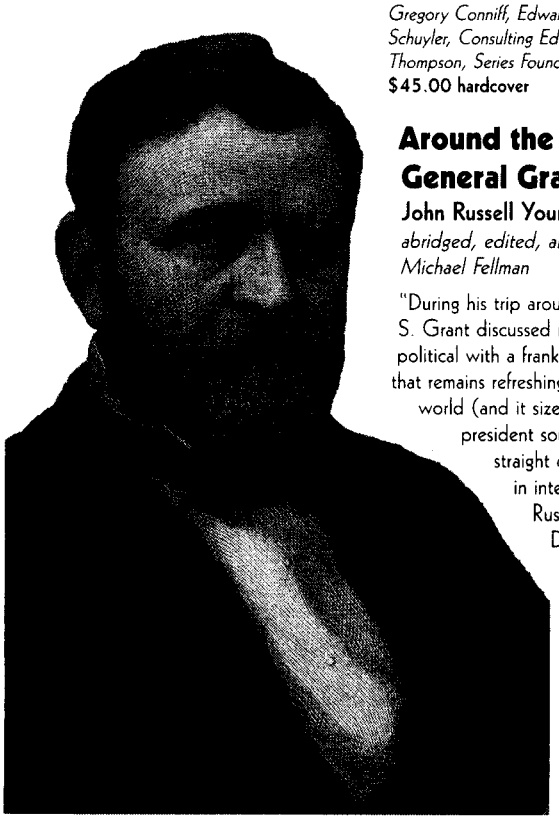
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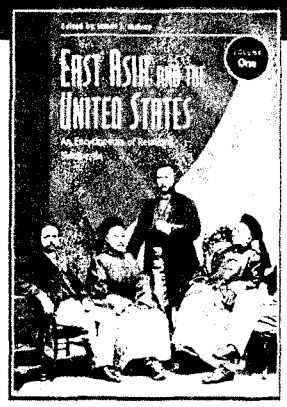
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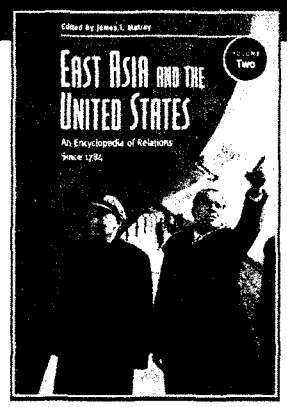
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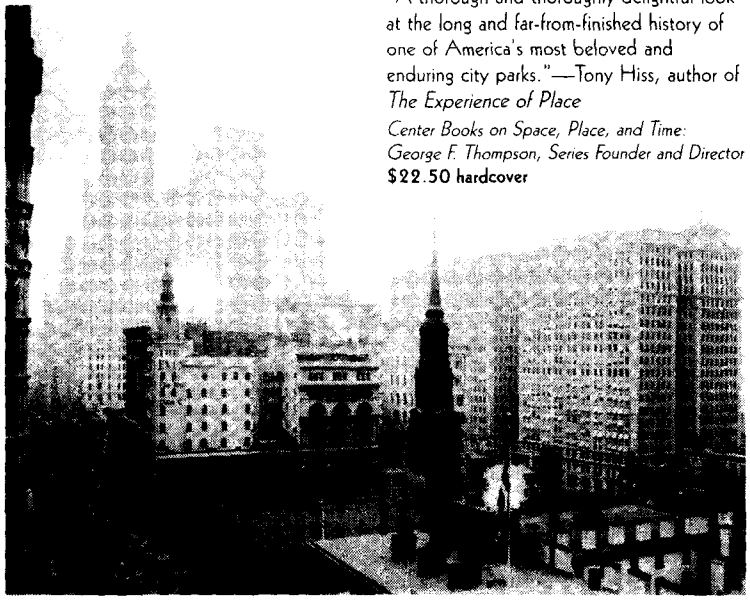
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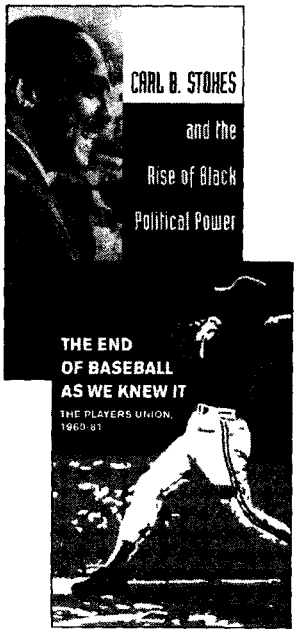
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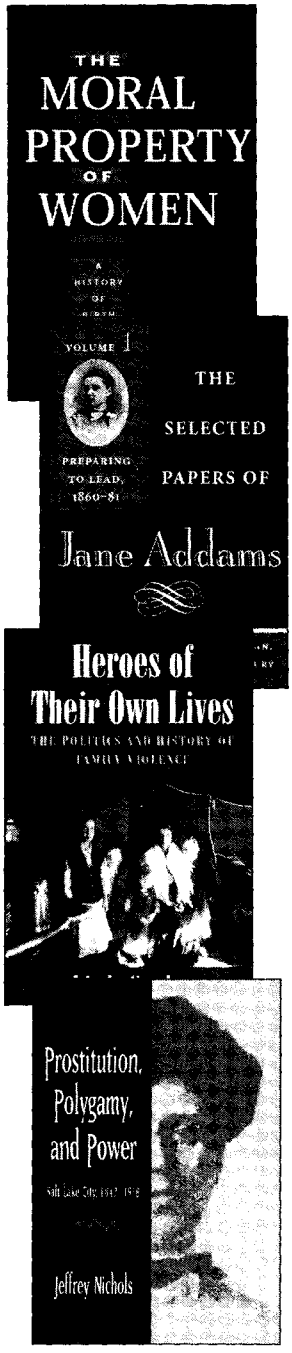
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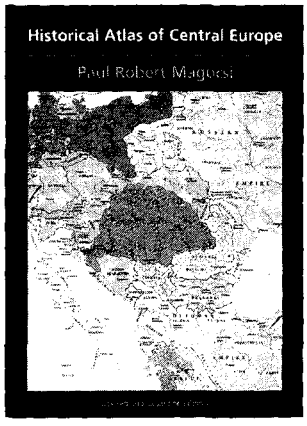
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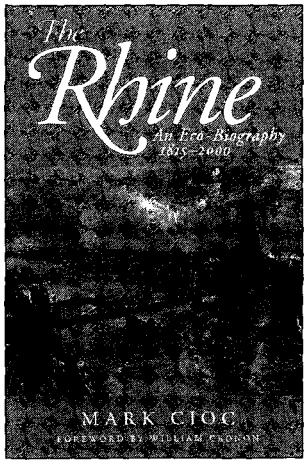
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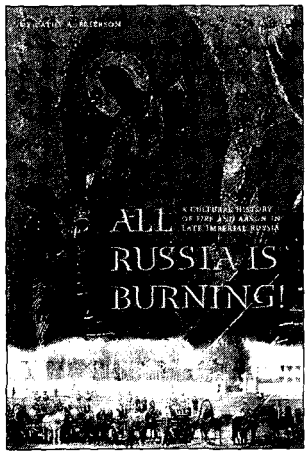
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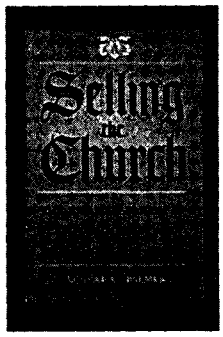
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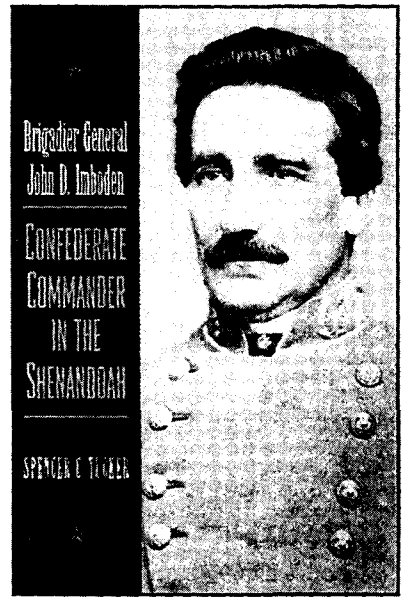
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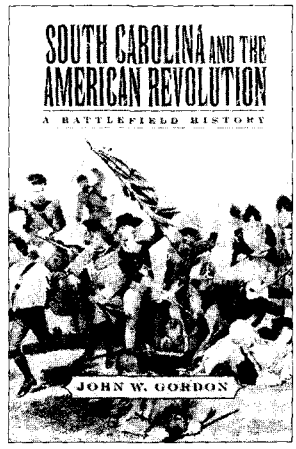
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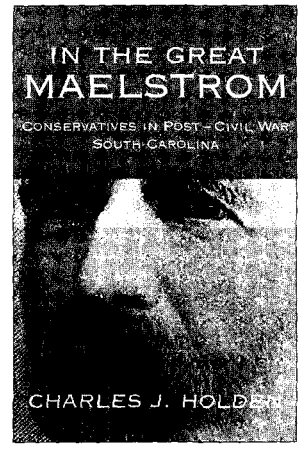
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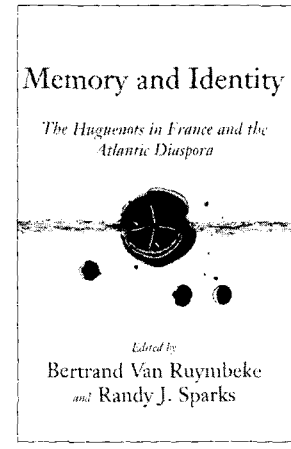
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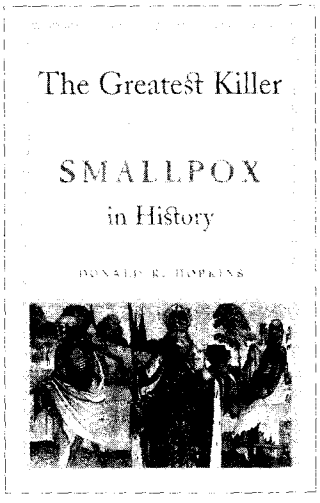


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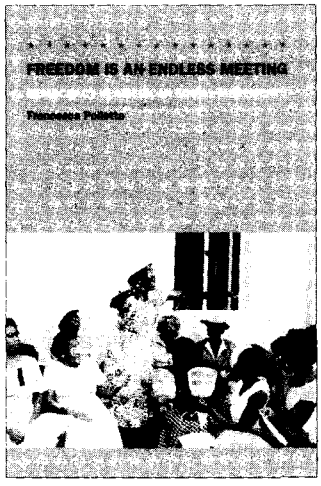
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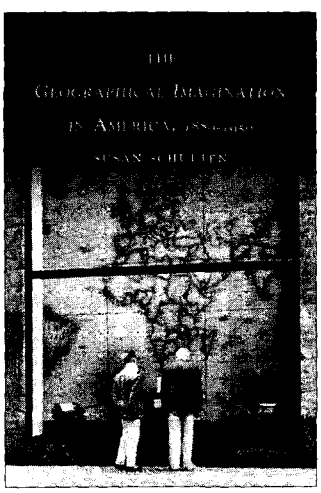
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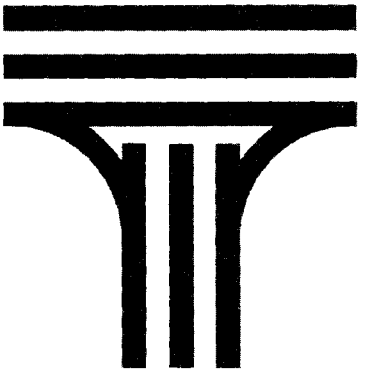
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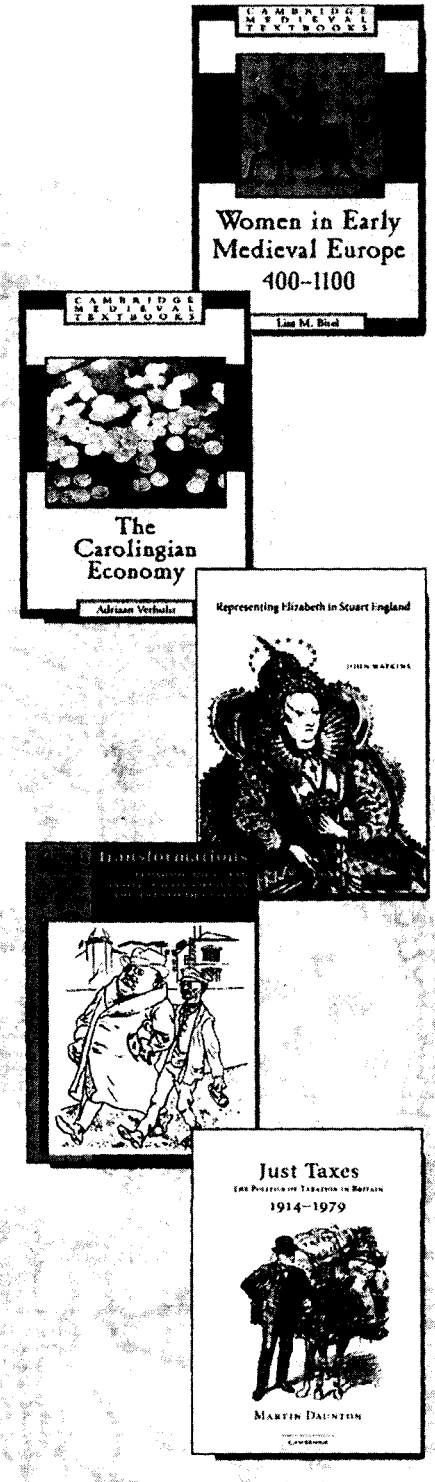
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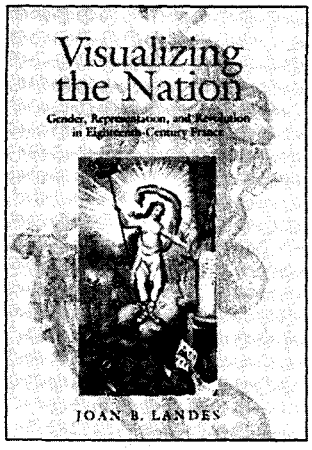
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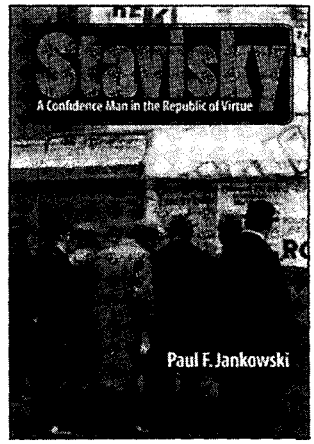
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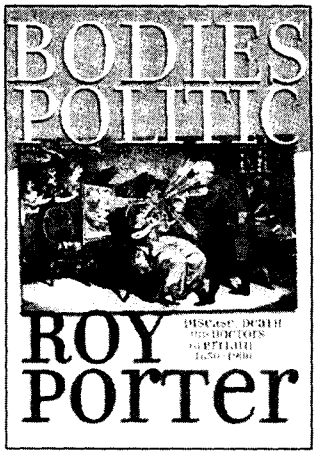
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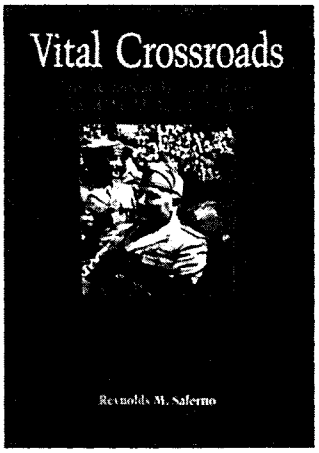


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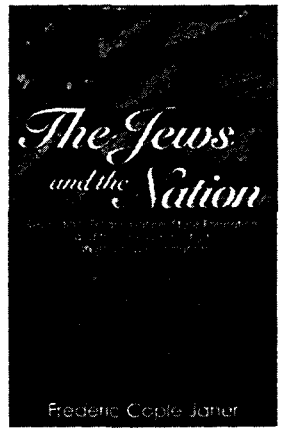
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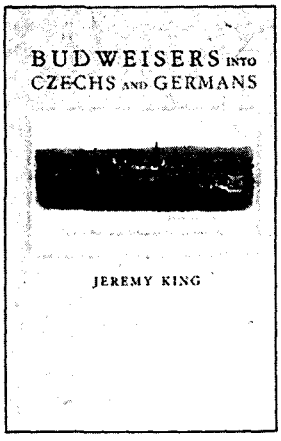
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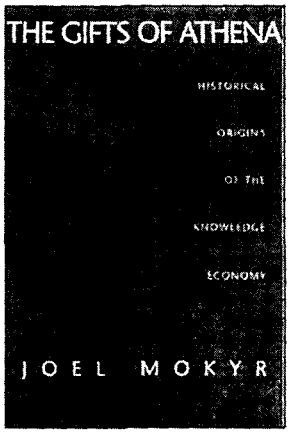
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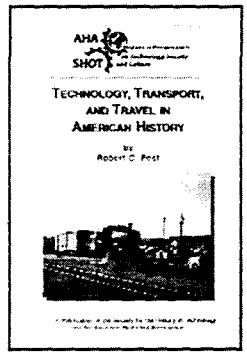
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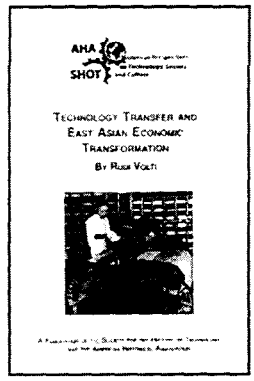
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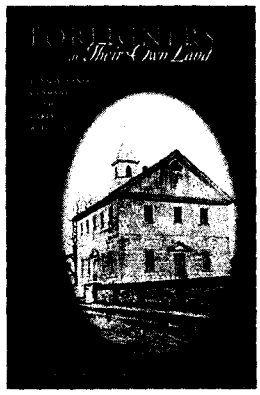
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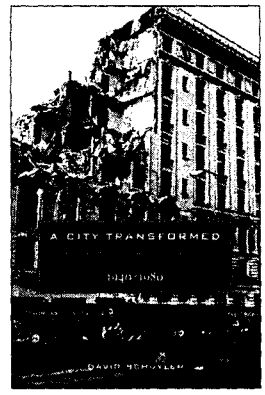
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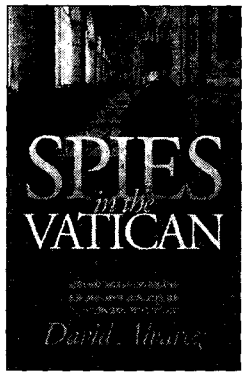
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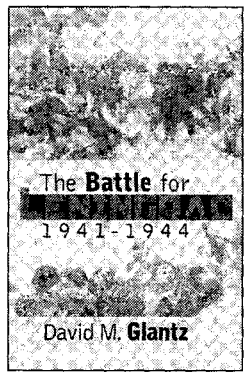
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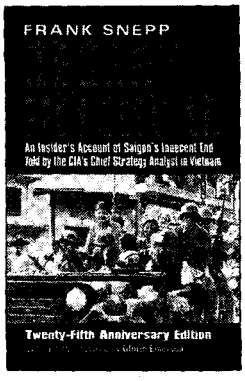
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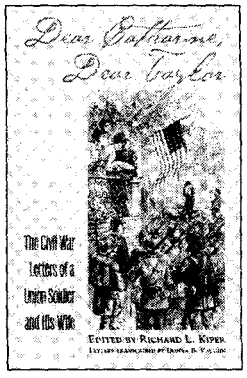
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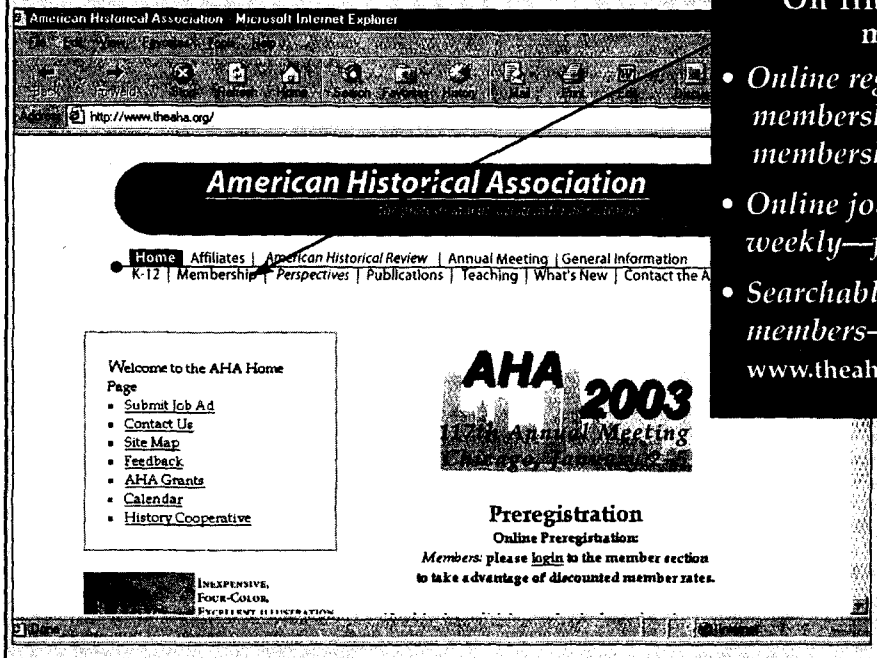
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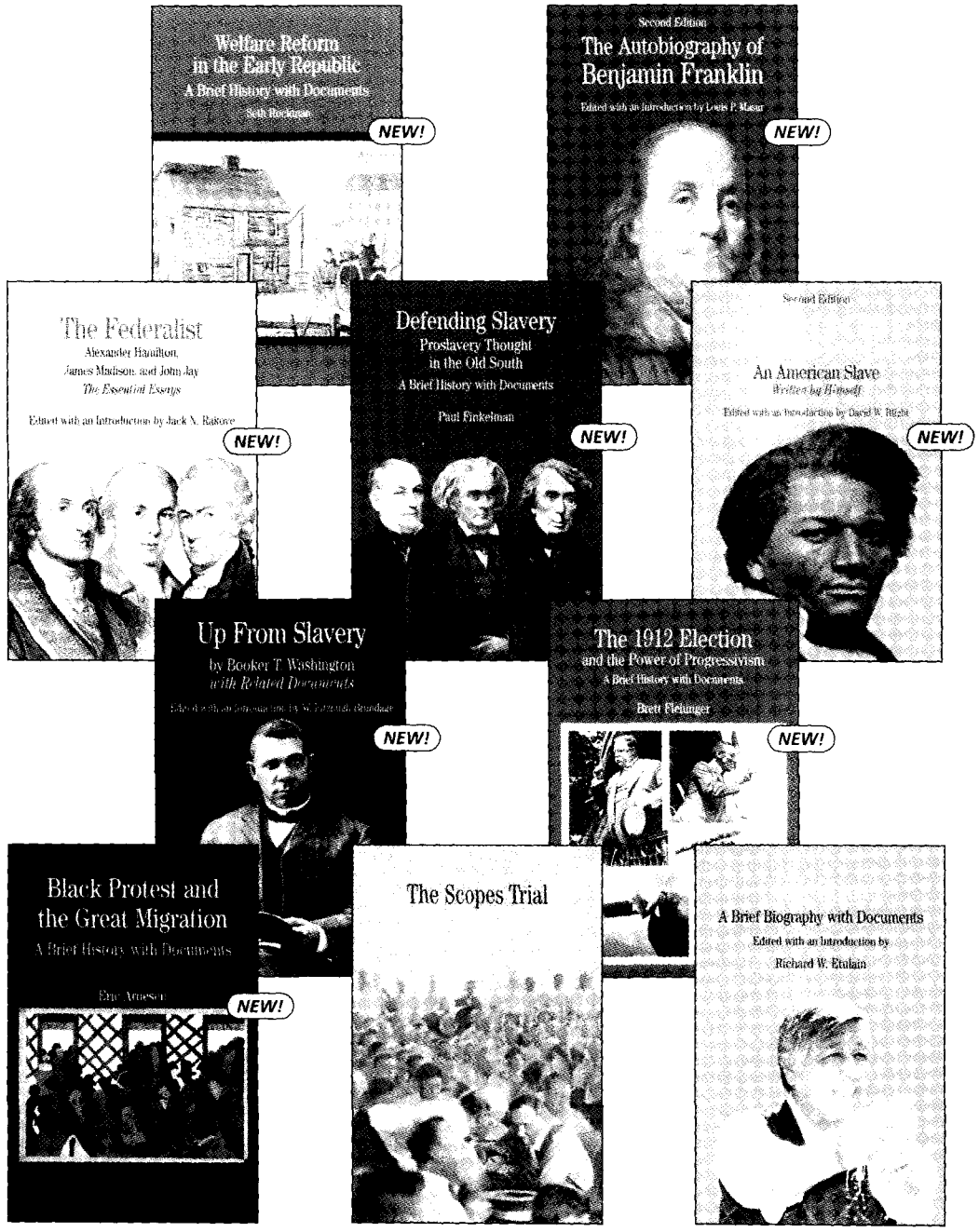
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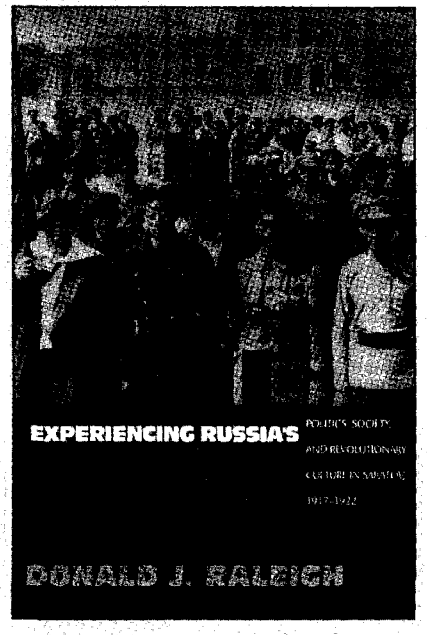


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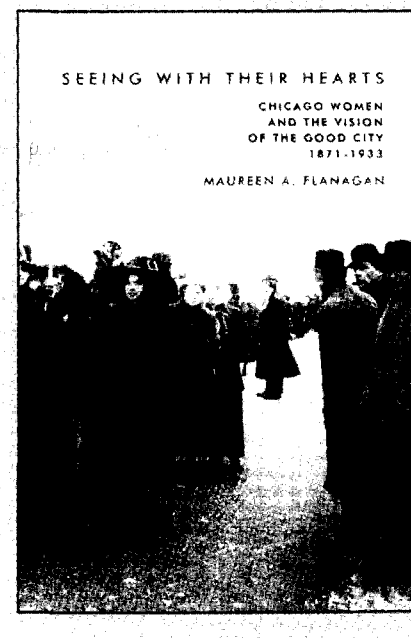
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